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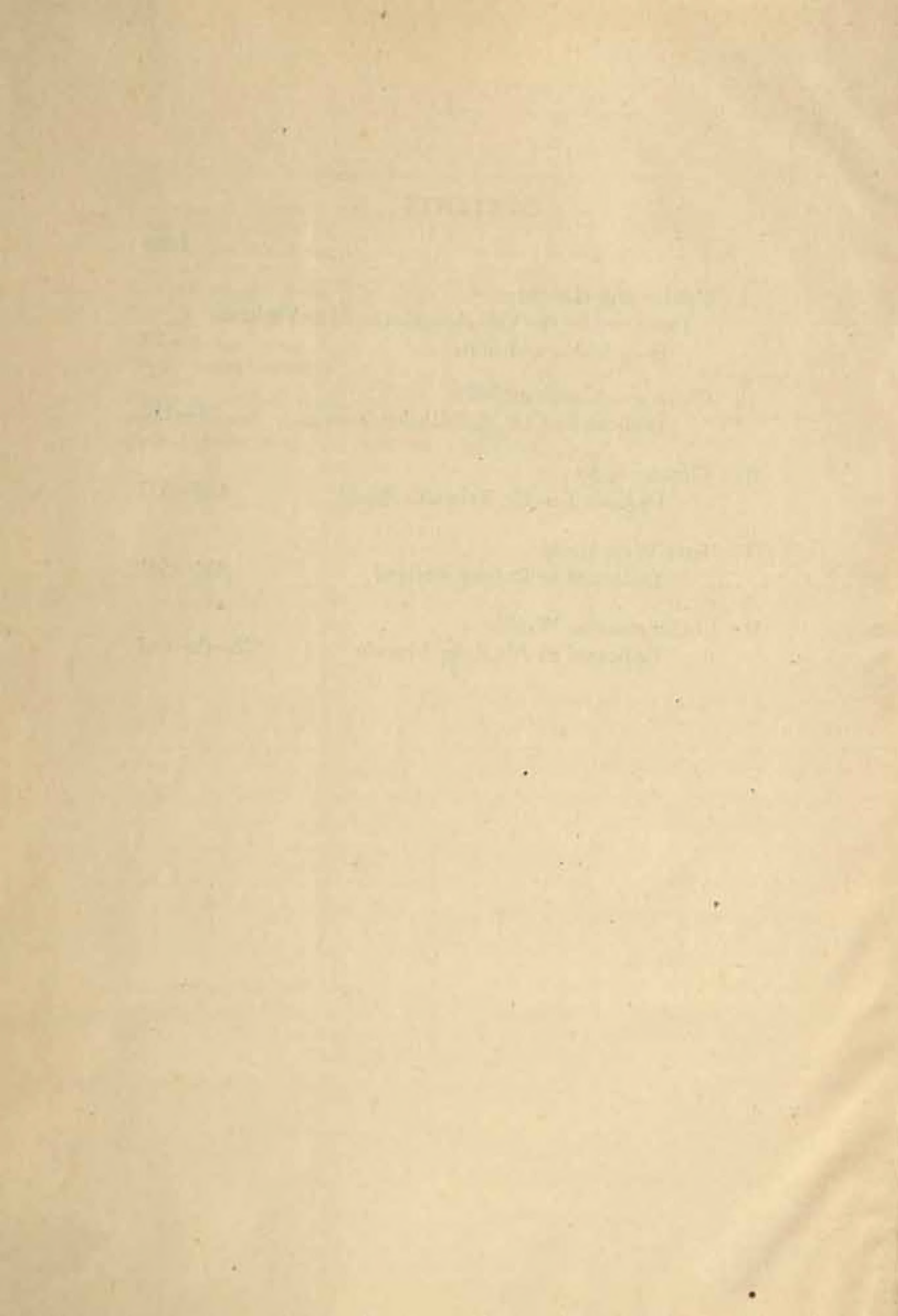
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Remembering

The 150th Anniversary of Abraham Lincoln
The Centenary of Rabindranath Tagore
The 90th Naissance of Mahatma Gandhi
and
The 70th Birthday of Jawaharlal Nehru.

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

When I finished my *Discovery of Asia* and presented the volume to our learned Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, he kindly enquired about my future plan of publication. The companion volume *Greater India*, I was glad to present to him on his 70th Birth-day. He gave me all academic facilities for the forthcoming volume, *Science and Culture of the Orient*.

Meanwhile, I was invited to preside over a section of the Congress of Religions at the University of Chicago, convened by the International Association of Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom (IARF founded 1900). During that fifth visit to America I had the pleasure of contacting some of my dear old friends of U.S.A, Canada and U.K. They urged me to complete soon my documentation of the East-West relations which I partially surveyed in my *Greater India*, while remembering the Soul of America, Abraham Lincoln (1809—1865) on his 150 birthday. That almost synchronized with the 90th (1869-1948) birth Anniversary of our Indian Liberator Mahatma Gandhi. His *Gurudev* Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) will be remembered on his Centenary, by his admirers all over the World.

So I offer my homage to those Great Souls while scribbling, the last lines, with my trembling hands.

KALIDAS NAQ

FOREWORD

"Oh Fire God ! Don't destroy cow, horse, man or anything that moves."

TAITTIRIYA SAMHITA.

I feel very much flattered on being asked, by the publishers, to write a foreword to this book on Tolstoy and Gandhi. Dr. Kalidas Nag is a distinguished writer with a great reputation for historic research, linguistic attainments and critical acumen. The appearance of his name as the author on the front page is powerful enough to command the attention of all serious and thoughtful readers to the book.

Very few great men are fortunate in getting a biographer who not only studies but fully understands them also. The attitude of sympathetic approach, combined with judicious appreciation of the hero, is a rare quality. To assess the merits and express them with precision is a gift of a high order rarely possessed by literary critics and particularly by biographers. This book, dealing with the life-works of two great thinkers, that lived in the last hundred years, is singularly free from superlatives and over-statements ; and yet, it can be said without hesitation that no a single fact or thought of essential importance has been left out or omitted. The author has drawn, with a few bold strokes of his pen, the pictures of the lives and teachings of Count Tolstoy and Mahatma Gandhi and placed them side by side in the interesting study.

The readers cannot but be struck with the extraordinary similarity that exists between them, a similarity bordering almost on family likeness. I am of course referring to the mental and spiritual structure of these two great men and not to their physiological features. In physical features they were perhaps as dissimilar to each other as two individuals in God's creation can be. But when we take our eyes from the external form and endeavour to penetrate into the internal substance, to have a look at their minds, the intellect and the spirit, we are struck not with similarity but almost with sameness. To say that one is like the other will be an imperfect description of it. It will be more

correct to say that one is the same as the other. It is not an example of equation but of identity. Both of them seem to be cast in the same mould and made of the same heroic stuff.

We find that both of them were immensely impressed by the views on political economy expressed by John Ruskin in his famous book "Unto this Last". In fact Mahatma Gandhi, in his autobiography, referring to Ruskin, says: "He was one of the three moderns who have left a deep impress on my life and captivated me." The two books "Unto this Last" and "Munera Pulveris" contain the most systematic of Ruskin's efforts to depict a new social utopia. They contain a vehement repudiation of the orthodox formulas of the economists (vide "Ruskin" in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, Vol. XIP, p. 576). These books which were condemned by Ruskin's contemporaries in the U. K., became the source of inspiration to Tolstoy and Gandhi. Pearls are the food of the swans and not of the swines, before whom Ruskin was casting them. Another point of likeness between Mahatma Gandhi and Tolstoy is that they both worshipped in the same shrine and the same heroes. Tolstoy, while condemning the political economy as pseudo-science and commending the readers the study of a true science which concerns the *welfare of all men*, specifically mentions Confucius, Buddha, Moses, Socrates and Mohammad as the teachers of that true science. The list of Tolstoy's heroes, given above, is of course illustrative and not exhaustive. We meet with quotations of Indian scriptures such as the Vedas, Upanishads and Bhagvad Gita in his writings; and particularly in his letter written to an Indian friend. Gandhi studied very carefully Mohammad's life, the sayings of Zarathustra, Upanishads translated by the Theosophical Society, Light of Asia and the Holy Bible. These were the common fountain-heads at which both Gandhi and Tolstoy drank deep to quench their thirst of knowledge and to get their enlightenment. Both of them were not mere philosophers or indulgers in speculative thought, but teachers of humanity, who literally lived up to what they preached. They were *Acharyas* in the true sense of the term. *Acharya* (world teacher) is defined as one who not only enunciates a doctrine or a theory but also practises in his personal life the principles underlying the theory.

I have a shrewd suspicion that one of the reasons for the strong appeal which Tolstoy's *Kingdom of God is Within You* and his essay on *Christianity and Patriotism* made to Gandhi, is the fact that the talented author was also making a sincere attempt to live up to the ideals which he had expounded.

Writing of a philosophy is merely the result of an intellectual conviction of a literary man who is desirous of communicating his thoughts to others in the form of a book. But to translate the principles into action is possible only in the case of those who, besides being intellectually convinced of their validity, cogency and correctness, have an abiding faith in their intrinsic goodness and efficacy for the welfare of man. Conviction is an intellectual phenomenon. Faith is a moral quality. It is first conceived in the intellect, later on fostered by the feeling or emotion and lastly it manifests itself by the force of will in the form of action.

Mahatma Gandhi describes himself with his characteristic candour as the disciple of Count Tolstoy. The reply of Tolstoy to a letter from Mahatma Gandhi sent within a few months of the establishment of the Tolstoy Farm, shows the great significance which Count Tolstoy attached to the experiment that Mahatma Gandhi was making in South Africa by launching the Satyagraha campaign.

"Your work in Transvaal which seems to be far away from the centre of our world is yet the most fundamental and important to us, supplying the most weighty and practical proof in which the world can now share, and with which must participate not only the Christian but all the peoples of the world."

Tolstoy did not live long to see the epic struggle carried on by Gandhi in India for 27 years against British Imperialism and the unique success with which it was crowned. The disciple carried the principles of non-violence to the point of victory. Non-violent fight was not a mere conception in the year 1947 but an accomplished fact, a tried weapon of warfare whose power and potency were proved beyond the shadow of doubt. It is difficult to find a parallel to this pair of *Guru-Shishya*, the teacher and the disciple, in the pages of history.

Another striking feature of the intimate relation in which Mahatma Gandhi stood to Count Tolstoy is that it grew up gradually into a feeling of devotion, without the two having ever come in personal contact. They were physically separated from each other by thousands of miles, and yet their minds were being attracted to each other more and more. They admired and adored and ultimately almost completely assimilated each other.

The author of this brochure has rightly said that Count Tolstoy was the prophet of the latter half of the 19th Century and Mahatma Gandhi of the first half of the 20th. Both raised their voice and finger of protest against rank, religious hypocrisy and perverse morality and evils born of the deadening influence of modern industrialism on human character. Anarchism, degenerated into terrorism and the cult of bomb, was being openly preached and justified by a section of the revolutionary anarchists in Europe. It was under these circumstances that Totalitarianism came into being in the west. "All forms of violence are equally wicked. Not only war but all forms of compulsion inherent in the State are criminal" says Tolstoy. "The true Christian must abstain from participating in them. He must refuse conscription. He must not accept any work under the State...He must not sit on the jury...Opposing the State with violence is also wicked and cannot lead to any better forms of life. Revolutionary activity, though it may be based on the good feeling of love for the oppressed, is evil because it breeds hatred and violence".

The reader will certainly see in the above extract a prototype of the programme of non-cooperation which Mahatma Gandhi first placed before the Indian people in 1920. From 1904 to 1925 Indian political atmosphere was strongly charged with the spirit of terrorism. Though the Congress movement was free from any kind of nihilistic tendency, a large section of youths had gone under the influence of the cult of bomb. And the youths who carried on the murderous campaign against the oppressors were being honoured as Martyrs. Gandhi, after he took the reins of the political movement in his hands in 1920, started his campaign against anarchism and within a few years he succeeded in dissuading the youths from joining the cult. The

cult of bomb, though not completely extinct, had at least lost its glamour and ceased to get recruits from the class of youths.

Though the evil of the cult of anarchist's bomb has practically disappeared, we find ourselves confronted with a still more hideous danger in the likely use of atomic energy as a weapon for destruction in the newly developed scientific warfare. The powerful States who have started the U.N.O. to eradicate the evil of war and ensure stable peace in the world, have been themselves spending lavishly for harnessing atomic energy for the purpose of destruction. Danger of a third world war cannot be summarily dismissed as an hallucination of panicky people. The real remedy against the coming on of a third world war lies in the removal of the root-causes of the evil tendencies that foster the attitude of militancy and aggressiveness. Tolstoy and Gandhi have shown the way. Will the civilised nations care to understand and follow it and save themselves and the whole world from the catastrophe which may otherwise befall them?

I am not given to hero worship. But I feel strongly inclined to ask the readers to select Tolstoy and Gandhi as their heroes if they feel the need of a hero to adore and a teacher to guide them. I will conclude with the words of Carlyle from his *Past and Present*.

"Hero worship if you will, yes friends, but first of all by being ourselves of heroic mind. A whole world of heroes, a world not of flunkies where no hero-king can reign. That is what we aim at.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
Ranchi.
The 24th Sept., 1950.

M. S. ANEY
Governor of Bihar.

INTRODUCTION

It is well-known that Gandhiji's life was greatly influenced by his contacts with Tolstoy, and how deep was that influence will appear from a perusal of this book Tolstoy and Gandhi for which we are indebted to Dr. Kalidas Nag. Religious teachers and philosophers had formerly spoken of the great power of non-violence ; but it was given to Tolstoy for the first time to develop this immortal thesis in a systematic manner. I think Tolstoy's greatest disciple was Gandhiji ; and as happens not rarely in the spiritual domain, true disciples who imbibe the teaching of the master, in the right spirit, are able to propagate the teaching far more effectively and widely than the master himself. Tolstoy wrote in the Russian language ; and I imagine that in those dark Czarist days his influence in Russia was not widespread, and outside Russia it was only a limited circle which recognised him as the exponent of a really dynamic creed. It was given to Gandhiji to make the excellent doctrine, of non-violence *cum* non-cooperation with evil, known far and wide throughout the world, and ultimately make it reach almost every inhabited home on this globe by the exalted manner of his martyrdom (30 January, 1948).

We in India, who had the signal blessing to see the Master and sit at his feet, have heard the exposition of this noble creed of non-violence from his own lips. He preached his gospel continuously for nearly half a century ; and yet, while in India, under his guidance, we were able, by means of this matchless weapon of non-violent non-cooperation to secure deliverance from foreign domination. Doubts as to its efficacy still persist, and its true scope has not yet been fully appreciated or estimated. The difficulty is that we treat non-cooperation merely as an instrument of national policy. That attitude of mind is responsible for all our waverings and vacillations. The very word 'policy' connotes something temporary, something based on the exigencies of the moment or of national interests. A national policy is, in the very nature of things, liable to change

and modification as national interests may, from time to time, require. The doctrine of non-violence, in my opinion, is incapable of successful operation as a mere *policy*. It is to be believed in as a *creed*, as something unchangeable, as something which forms the very foundation of a national structure and by which a nation is prepared to stand or fall, cost what it may.

In 1941 I ventured to put forward this view in a short thesis which I submitted to Gandhiji for his perusal. He published it in the '*Harijan*' dated 26th April, 1942, and said unequivocally that "I wholly agree with Dr. Katju that non-violence cannot make further headway without the Congress making it a creed". My observations were in no way limited to the Indian soil. I think, on further reflection, that they would cover all countries and all nationalities. The greatest misfortune of mankind these days is that people are frightened and have come to hold the opinion that the only way to defend their own country, and the honour and security of their hearths and homes, is by the use of violence. Everyone talks of peace and is most sincerely desirous of promoting peace in his own country and throughout the world ; but no one is prepared to disarm and defend his own national freedom through non-violence and non-cooperation, and the result is that humanity finds itself caught in that vicious circle about which Tolstoy wrote so eloquently in the letter which is printed in this book. Every country is arming itself these days to the teeth, on land on water and in the air—not for purposes of aggression but solely for purposes of defence. What that means and can lead to we saw in the second world war and more recently in Korea. Even in India, where one might have thought and expected that having won our freedom under Gandhiji's leadership through non-violence and non-cooperation, we would be prepared to defend that freedom through the same potent weapons, we have felt compelled to depart from the teaching of the master and place reliance on the strength of arms ; and these days arms include and must include bombs to be thrown from the heavens indiscriminately on innocent men and women and children leading to incalculable loss of life and destruction of property.

We overlook that non-violence as a creed, like all other creeds, requires firmness of faith and strong determination on the part of its votaries. Ideologies which for the purposes of the advancement of mankind pin their faith, *inter alia*, in violence, prepare their adherents strenuously for and in use of violence in every conceivable manner. Similarly those who pin their faith in non-violence and non-cooperation have to train not only individuals but entire populations for the defence of the country through non-violence. Such training in non-violence and non-cooperation cannot be brought about overnight. It is bound to be a more lengthy process than training in violence. When I read of or myself indulge in exhortations to the youth of the country for military training, I sadly reflect how rapidly we are turning diametrically away from the path indicated by Tolstoy and Gandhiji for the salvation of mankind.

In the context of modern developments and movements of public opinion in different countries we must carefully consider whether non-violence on the part of individuals can be of much avail unless and until it inspires actively the behaviour of the masses in a national emergency. Writing in 1938 to Gandhiji, I ventured to suggest that there were three basic assumptions underlying the whole doctrine of non-violence as a political weapon, both for seeking as well as defending national freedom, and I formulated them in the following manner :

1. Complete unity of the people in their desire and demand for freedom :
2. Complete appreciation and assimilation of the doctrine in all its implications by the people as a whole, with consequent control over one's natural instincts for resort to violence either in revenge or as a measure of self-defence ; and (this is the most important of all.
3. Implicit belief that the sight of suffering on the part of multitudes of people will melt the heart of the aggressor and induce him to desist from his course of violence.

Gandhiji dealt with the matter in an editorial in the '*Harijan*', dated 22nd October 1938, under the caption "What are Basic Assumptions". He thought that the first two assumptions

were not necessary, but the third one was, and agreed that there was no historical warrent for it, and "that's why he claimed uniqueness for the experiment", and then he used very significant, almost prophetic, language. He said :

"I hold that if we succeed with the English, with unadulterated non-violent effort, we must succeed with the others ; or, which is the same thing as saying that if we achieve freedom with non-violence, we shall defend it also with the same weapon. If we have not achieved that faith, our non-violence is a mere expedient, it is alloy, not pure gold. In the first place we shall never achieve freedom with doubtful non-violence, and in the second, even if we do, we shall find ourselves wholly unprepared to defend the country against an aggressor. If we have doubt about the final efficacy of non-violence, it would be far better for the Congress to revise its policy and invite the nation to a training in arms. A mass organisation like the Congress will be untrue to its charge if, not knowing its own mind, it misled the people into a false belief. It would be an act of cowardice. As I have said before, because we cease to pin our faith to non-violence, we do not necessarily become violent. We merely throw off the mask and be natural. It would be a perfectly dignified course to adopt. The lesson learnt during the past seventeen years will still not be thrown away."*

N. B. In formulating basic assumptions underlying the doctrine of Satyagraha, Gandhiji emphasised the subjective aspect more than the objective one. I wonder whether he would have cared to restate them in different language today. This is how he then (in 1938) put them :

- "1. There must be common honesty among Satyagrahis.
2. They must render heart discipline to their commander. There should be no mental reservation.
3. They must be prepared to lose all, not merely their personal liberty, not merely their possessions, land, case etc., but also the liberty and possessions of their families, and they must be ready cheerfully to face bullets, bayonets, or even slow death by torture.
4. They must not be violent in thought, word or deed towards the enemy or among themselves."

Talk of a third world war is the topic of the hour, not as a remote contingency, but as a very near possibility ; and as to how that third world war will be carried on we are not left in a state of doubt. Even in this seemingly petty affair of Korea, located in a distant isolated corner of the globe, one heard demands for the use of atom bombs ; and if, God forbid, a third world war does commence, pillars of fire will literally descend upon the earth and reduce large tracts of it to ashes. Against such an awful calamity it is not the atom bomb which will prove the shield of mankind, but it is the excellent doctrine of non-violence and non-cooperation and nothing else. Or it may be that, with the world being divided into so many isolated national groups, each claiming independent sovereignty of its own, thinking of non-violence is pure fantasy and a mere idle speculation. This noble doctrine will probably come into effective operation when, in fact and in truth, present nations of the world are able to establish *one world* government. For establishing that government mankind may have to pass through living fire and storms of devastation. But ultimately when that stage is reached then we will also witness the banishment of the demon of vast standing armies, and military training in abominable weapons of human destruction ; and Tolstoy's and Gandhiji's dream will then be realised.

KAILAS NATH KATJU
Governor of West Bengal.

September 26, 1950.

CHAPTER I

TOLSTOY AND GANDHI

In any treatise on literature written in a European language, Tolstoy would be classed among the great writers and thinkers of the second half of the nineteenth century. But Gandhi, inspite of his being a prolific writer in Gujarati, Hindi and English, will be judged mainly as a Master Builder and leader of men of the first half of the twentieth century. Tolstoy's Russia was as far removed from Gandhi's India as China from Peru. But by a strange coincidence of history the two great symbols of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries would not only meet (if not physically, at least spiritually) on the platform of non-violence but would offer many striking parallelisms in their Thought and Action. Our humble endeavour will be to follow, in broad sweep, the careers of these two Representatives of the East and the West, and to bring out the significance of their careers so as to help the future generations, confronting possibly the most dire consequences of Atomic warfare. Such an awful tragedy could not be averted, we know, by mere reading or criticising the thoughts of such personalities. But the gropings of a Gandhi and the spiritual conflicts of a Tolstoy may have some potent meaning for the coming generations.

When Bonapartism was crushed with the collapse of Napoleon in 1815, Leo Tolstoy's father Nicholas had retired after serving in the famous campaign which drove Napoleon out of Russia. Nicholas married a distant cousin of the celebrated poet Pushkin, while he was connected also with the dramatist Alexi Tolstoy. Thus Leo Tolstoy may be said to have inherited literary talents both from his maternal and paternal sides. The mother died less than two years after Leo's birth, and he was brought up under the care of his aunts but deprived of maternal love and affection from his infancy. Tolstoy was born on August 28 (new style Sept. 9.) in 1828 ; and in 1837 the motherless child of nine lost his father also. The family moved

now and then between Moscow and their country home of Yasnaya Polyana. But in 1841 his father's sister, the only guardian left, removed the children to Kazan.

Tolstoy showed very little promise in his school-days—like our two great Indians, Tagore and Gandhi. But he spent hours and hours over reading the *Arabian Nights* through which he felt a special fascination for the Orient. Later on, revolutionary Rousseau became his idol; and after reading his books he felt “as if he had written them himself”.

At the age of sixteen he felt drawn towards the diplomatic career and decided to enter the Kazan University (1844) in the Faculty of Oriental languages. One should delve into the archives of that University to discover what languages of the Orient did Tolstoy learn in his youthful days. We know that Tolstoy mastered several European languages, although he did not care to prepare well for final examinations; and he left the University after taking only a general Certificate of Law. He left Kazan in March, 1847 when the dormant revolutionary spirit of Europe was about to break out in the Revolution of 1848. But before that he had to spend some time in the public hospital of Kazan, where (as reported to me by his disciple and biographer Paul Birukov) Tolstoy exchanged ideas on Buddhism with a Buriyut Lama from Russian Mongolia! This first personal touch with Buddhism, based on *Ahimsa* (Non-violence), might have something to do with the later revolution in Tolstoy's thought, and the great attraction which Tolstoy and Gandhi felt towards each other.

But meanwhile Europe was plunging into the path of violence and regional wars. The future Russian writer was an actual fighter in the Crimean war; and in his youthful way he confessed that his ambition to wear St. George's Military Cross was quite as strong as that to acquire literary fame; But while his military career was mediocre, Tolstoy had already shot into fame by writing his superb impressions: *Childhood*, *The Raid*, *Sevastopole* and other stories which brought him into the leading literary circles of Moscow and St. Petersburg. Specially the writer-group of the famous journal *Contemporary*, led by Turgenev (1818-83), Dostoievski (1821-81) and Nakrasov (1821-77) etc.

greeted Tolstoy as the rising star. Tolstoy resigned his military commission after three years' military service in the Caucasus and lived principally in Moscow for three winters (1857-59). India was then going through the blood-bath of the Mutiny—the first war of Indian Independence against British imperialism; and though the independence movement was smothered by ruthless force, India's case was already being closely examined by Karl Marx and other writers. Marxism, however, was far from being hardened then into a system; and it was as little known in Tolstoy's Russia as in the land of Gandhi (born: Oct. 2, 1869).

By the spring of 1860 Tolstoy was working as a rural landlord running his village school in Yasnaya Polyana and he discovered that *manual labour* could be one of the greatest satisfactions of existence. He got up one fine morning at 5 o'clock in order to direct the farm work himself; towards evening he had found himself growing angry; but instead of giving way to his feelings he started to work at the manuring, side by side with the peasants, mostly serfs, until he was in heavy sweat; and he had not only thrown off his anger but had reached a stage in which "everything seemed good and he felt fond of everybody."

A new chapter in the history of Russia would be inaugurated in 1861 (when Rabindranath Tagore was born) by the Czar Liberator, Nicholas II who emancipated the serfs by a special edict. Tolstoy married on Sept. 23, 1862, published his fresh book *Cossacks* in 1863 when his eldest son Sergy was born and in the atmosphere of his family happiness he began writing his epic novel *War and Peace*, covering the period of 1810-1820 of European history. The book kept Tolstoy occupied for the next five years (1863-'68); and in 1869 (the year of birth of Gandhi) *War and Peace* appeared as the six-volume novel. It was considered to be the greatest novel of the epoch and Tolstoy the writer reached the zenith of his glory.

The writing of a grand novel like *War and Peace* must necessarily have exhausted Tolstoy; and to regain his health he spent the summer of 1871 in Samara, where he literally entered into the life of the Central Asian peasants, the Bashkirs, with the same ease with which he had entered into the life of Cossacks in the Caucasus. He visited again the Samara estate in 1873

when the failure of the harvest (as in India) was about to plunge the whole country into dire famine. Tolstoy promptly organised Famine Relief Funds and personally visited the most stricken families. He participated in the Oriental life of the Bashkirs, with their veiled women, their flute-playing, folk-songs and dances. He came then to be deeply interested in education, specially that of the little children, and he worked for three years to bring out a Primer for teaching Russian in the quickest way. "Schools for children and school for the School Masters occupy him (Tolstoy) from morning till night" wrote Countess Tolstoy angrily in 1874. About this time Tolstoy began thinking in terms of Bread Labour, which attracted Gandhi so much towards the Russian sage. For we find Gandhi himself commenting on this aspect of Tolstoy's life in the following words; "The divine law, that man must earn his bread by labouring with his own hands was first stressed by a Russian writer named T. M. Bondaref.* Tolstoy advertised it and gave it wider publicity."

Meanwhile Tolstoy the writer was seeking a fresh theme for a new novel. He first took up Peter the Great and gave it up; and inspired by his favourite author Pushkin, he completed his second big novel *Anna Karenina* which appeared in the *Russian Messenger* (1875-1877); and the journal gave the author 20,000 rubles which provoked Dostoievski (1821-1881) to write to his wife: "They hesitated about paying me 250 rubles while they readily agreed to pay Tolstoy 500 per sheet. Yes, they undervalue me because I have to live by my work."

But, amidst this prosperity, life brought its hard testings and trials. His youngest son, Peter suddenly died in 1873 and his dear aunt Tatiana died in 1874 and thus death became a

* A Russian peasant who wrote a book on the Law of Labour. Tolstoy personally knew Bondaref, and commented on his book which was referred to also by Gandhi while discussing Bread Labour. Bondaref enquired from Siberia about the single tax and Tolstoy replied to him in 1897 (Recollections and Essays pp. 189-94): "Thou shalt eat thy bread with the sweat of thy brow. That is an immutable law. Just as woman obey the law of child-birth through labour-pain, so man should obey the hard law of labour. Woman cannot liberate herself from her destiny. If she adopts a child not of her own, that child will be a stranger, inspite of all, and woman will be deprived of the joys of Motherhood. The same law is applicable to man's labour, If a man eats bread which he has not earned he is deprived of the joy of labour."

Quoted by Tolstoy in his "La Pensée de L'Humanité."

frequent visitor forcing on Tolstoy the introspection on life and its ultimate meaning. There was a sudden and significant turn towards the East; and this *reorientation* in his whole moral and spiritual outlook was attested by his Russian biographer: "The only sincere approach to the fundamental problems of life was to be found in the philosophy of such sages as Socrates, Buddha, Solomon, and Schopenhauer." He began to visit monasteries, talk with the pilgrims and monks but could not shake off his inner conflict between Reason and Faith.

He suddenly felt a revulsion to Art which he would condemn as "a beautiful lie." He threw aside his unfinished stories and novels and began, at the critical age of fifty (when Hindu sages also advise us to quit home and retire to forest), the searching study of Christian religion and theology which kept him absorbed almost for a decade (1878-1888). In 1879 he completed his famous book *My Confession* followed by *Criticism of dogmatic Theology*, *What I Believe* and such works, which are burning documents of his spiritual conflicts and experiences. He came to consider the "organised" Church as the greatest enemy of true Christianity, and found a profound human meaning in Christ's "Sermon on the Mount" where, among the five preachings, he laid special emphasis on "Do not resist evil by violence." Even in his youthful days Tolstoy detested violence, while writing his short stories during the Crimean war; and he condemned capital punishment, even under martial law (*vide: I Cannot be Silent*). But in the very midst of his meditations on Non-violence, Czar Alexander II was murdered by the Nihilists, on the 1st of March, 1881. Among the conspirators was a woman, Sophie Perovskiy and Tolstoy decided to write to the next Czar Alexander III, imploring him to pardon the culprits, "I thought", Tolstoy wrote to Birukov later on, "that it was not they who were to be executed but myself and that it was neither Alexander III nor the executors nor the judges who were making plans for their death, but that it was I myself who was killing them."

Naturally enough both the Russian State and the Church began to impose rigid censorship on Tolstoy's writings. But the more his writings were suppressed the more widely read

they became, through translations, in different languages of the world.

Gradually Tolstoy began to discover how, while a few like us were enjoying the luxuries of life, thousands of human beings were condemned by the present system of our economy, political and social, to live without any hope of escape from filth and destitution. Tolstoy cried out in agony: "It is a crime committed not once but constantly.....I with my luxury not only tolerate but share in it." These burning thoughts were expressed through his work *What then must we do?* which he completed in 1886.

Tolstoy, who keenly appreciated Dickens's humanitarian novels now showed that he was influenced also by John Ruskin who published in 1860 his famous book *Unto this Last* (which Gandhi would translate later on). Tolstoy, like Ruskin, condemned the pseudo-science of Political Economy and proclaimed that there existed only one true science which concerned the welfare and destiny of all men (which Gandhi, in translating Ruskin, would name *Sarvodaya*). "This science was taught by such men as Confucius, Buddha, Moses, Socrates and Mohammad." From this catalogue of great men we can easily guess that Tolstoy while approaching his sixtieth year, was studying directly and with special interest the thoughts of Oriental seers and sages.

Already in 1887 an article on Tolstoy, by George Kennon, appeared in the British Journal *Century*; after reading it Ruskin observed that 'the story of Count Tolstoy is the noblest thing I ever read'; and Ruskin lamented that he had not *renounced his possessions* (cf. Gandhi's adaptation of the Jaina doctrine of *aparigraha* or non-possession). Ruskin retired from Oxford (1884) after an attack of some brain disease, but continued his interest in a 'new social utopia'. He published his autobiographical fragment *Præterita* (1885), spent his whole paternal legacy of £200,000 on social welfare and lived on his books fetching £4,000 a year.

In fact Tolstoy the great writer got transformed into the *Practical Philosopher*; and naturally his wife and family got terribly worried. The tragic conflict between Tolstoy and his family continued till his death. Philosopher Tolstoy wrote at this time the most significant essay *On life* (1887) generally

ignored by his European admirers ; but it was keenly appreciated by his country-woman, the famous Madame Blavatsky, the founder of the Theosophical movement in India. She wrote in its Organ *Lucifer* that *On Life* may be called the "the treatise on the alchemy of the soul.....it is the gradual transmutation of the baser metals—into gold and silver or the philosopher's stone".

While Tolstoy in his sixtieth year was thus taking his final plunge into Immensity, M. K. Gandhi, a young man of twenty, was about to sail (Sept. 4, 1888) for England—the land of John Ruskin (1819-1900) and his contemporaries. At the age of 20, Ruskin won the Newdigate Prize (1839) for a poem on *Salsette and Elephanta* and continued writing for about 50 years on Art, Economics and Morals. In July 1857 he dilated on *The Moral and Social Uses of Art* in his Manchester lectures and wrote his *Joy for Ever*. He completed his *Modern Painters* (1860) and devoted 40 years of his life (from 40 to 80) to the elucidation of the educational, artistic, industrial, social and moral problems thus starting a real Working men's college with F. D. Maurice and T. Hughes. In 1869 (at 50) Ruskin started work as the Slade Professor of Art and finally resigned in 1884.

In the years of 1855-1860 when Tolstoy was just becoming famous as a brilliant story-writer, Ruskin was passing through a moral crisis. John Stuart Mill had published his *Political Economy* and Ruskin began writing a series of articles published in the *Cornhill Magazine*, then edited by the Calcutta-born British novelist—W. M. Thackeray. There Ruskin denounced the dogmas of *Political Economy* so strongly that the Magazine refused to print them any further : so the four essays were published in 1862 under the title *Unto this Last* which Gandhi read in 1904 and adapted it into Gujarati about fifty years after. This work, together with his *Time and Tide* (25 letters to a workman) and *Munera Pulveris* showed the development of Ruskin's socialistic ideas about the same time when Tolstoy was writing his novel *War and Peace*, which appeared in 1869.

As a result of the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century, the European Nations not only exploited the dormant resources and latent powers of Nature but, in their eagerness to secure dominant position in competitive market, were exploit-

ing the backward human races to serve their industrial plants and business machinery. The iniquity and sordidness of those aspects of *Political Economy* shocked Ruskin profoundly and, in *Unto this Last*, he exposed the evil, to warn the future generation, through the four essays : (1) *The roots of honour*, (2) *The veins of wealth*, (3) *Qui Judicatis Terram* and (4) *Ad Valorem*.

Why the public of Great Britain were so suspicious of Ruskin's thoughts, as to force the editor of a Journal to stop their publication, can partially be understood ; for, along with Karl Marx (1818-1883), the author of *Das Kapital*, Ruskin (1819-1900) also upheld the cause of Labour and was one of the early critics of the vices of Colonialism and Capitalism. In 1887 Ruskin reading the article on Tolstoy lamented that he had not renounced his possessions. Tolstoy's progress along that path was also very painful ; and Gandhi, as we know, made that supreme sacrifice of totally abjuring personal property before plunging into his forty years' non-violent war for the emancipation of the shackled and exploited humanity.

In 1881, Tolstoy, while visiting the Optin Monastery was interested to observe that the monks moved, ploughed and were engaged with all manner of "obediences". He began feeling aversion to the selfish misuse of money ; and instead of using the train Tolstoy would sometime tramp (and here also Tolstoy resembled Gandhi) 130 miles from Moscow to Yasnaya Polyana, sleeping in any hovel on the way. His village home became a place of pilgrimage. He began reading the works of Pacifists like W. L. Garrison (U.S.A.) and M. Ballou (France). He gave up drinking wine, eating meat and using tobacco. Two of his daughters tried to live after their father's principles. But Countess Tolstoy became hostile to this new way of life. This was the time when Tolstoy met some of his devoted disciples and colleagues : (1) Golden Weiser, a young pianist who had accompanied Chaliapin, when he sang, at a Concert, at the Moscow house of Tolstoy, (2) V. G. Chertkov who soon became Tolstoy's closest friend and who introduced to him Paul I. Birukov, who became later on Tolstoy's authorised Russian biographer ; (3) Aylmer Maude who met Tolstoy in 1888 and with his Russian wife, Louise Maude, devoted the rest of his life to

the translation of Tolstoy's works into English and helping the Russian Pacifists, the Dukhobors, to emigrate to Canada.

Tolstoyan Colony was established in England at Purleigh and in other places; just as the *Tolstoy Farm* would be established by Gandhi in South Africa in 1910. One of his best short stories *The Death of Ivan Ilych* (1886) profoundly moved Gandhi who read the bulk of Tolstoy's works in 1893 as attested by Rev. Josseph J. Doke of South Africa. A profound spirit of Buddhistic aversion to the cheap joys of life, was reflected in Tolstoy's writings of this period; *The Power of Darkness* (played first in Paris, 1888), the *Kreutzer Sonata*, and *The Devil* (1889). Tolstoy partially repudiated the copyright of his works which led to quarrels in his family over the division of property. To add to his troubles Tolstoy was denounced as anti-Christ by the orthodox Greek Church. In 1894, while writing on Russian famine, he wrote to his cousin Alexandra: "Longer I live, nearer I approach death, the more convinced I am that we are utterly wrong to live in wealth." Tolstoy had already denounced the use of narcotic and meat-eating; and finished his memorable book *The Kingdom of God is within you* (1893) which was published when Gandhi, after his return from England, was sailing away to South Africa; and when Sri Aurobindo was returning from England to India, and Swami Vivekananda was sailing away to U.S.A. to preach Cosmic Unity or *Vedanta* at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago.

Whether Gandhi heard of any of these writings when he was in England, we are not sure; but the thoughts of Ruskin and Tolstoy found the most fertile field in Gandhi's brain.

There would be a crisis in Tolstoy's life when he decided to leave home to avoid friction. Nicholas II ascended the throne in 1895 when fresh problems cropped up with the new order of Russian Pacifists, the Dukhobors, who, like the Quakers, declared that when the demands of the Government authorities conflicted with their conscience, they would not consider those orders as binding upon them. Police persecution was ruthless and even Tolstoy's friends like Chertkov and Birukov were banished. In 1895 Tolstoy began his last great novel *Resurrection* which was completed in 1899 in his 71st year, and was published in 1900.

In *Resurrection* we find the last of Tolstoy's magnificent self-portraits. In 1901 appeared his last Oriental story *Hadji Murad*.

He received, as a present from a Hindu admirer, "an exquisite book of Hindu wisdom—*Raja Yoga* or Conquering internal nature" (Published New York 1896), by Swami Vivekananda, who as we know, passed away in 1902. This book, according to Tolstoy's Russian biographer, exerted a considerable influence upon his thought. Tolstoy was actually practising like a *yogi* to discover new *methods* of self-conquest with a view to attaining the higher state of consciousness.

As early as October 14, 1897, Tolstoy, approaching 70, recorded: "I felt God clearly for the first time . . . I knew that He existed and that I existed in Him, that outside that there is nothing. I was in Him a limited being in the Illimitable, He in me the Illimitable within the limited." Thus Tolstoy had almost turned a Vedantist! No wonder then that, in 1901, the Most Holy Synod of the Russo-Greek orthodox Church excommunicated Tolstoy who replied to the Synod in the most dignified way. Tolstoy fell seriously ill in 1902 and the Holy Church tried to reclaim his soul; but he remained firm in his conviction. His strong article, *I cannot be Silent*, led to the arrest of the editor and several newspapers were fined (July, 1908). This was the time when Lenin went in exile and Gandhi was planning to build up the *Tolstoy Farm* near Johannesburg, probably knowing that Tolstoy was reaching his eightieth year (August/Sep. 1908). Respectful homages and felicitations reached Tolstoy from Romain Rolland, Bernard Shaw, Masaryk and M. K. Gandhi. Tolstoy delivered an important message on World Peace to the Swedish Peace Congress of 1909.

Painful tussle with his wife and other members of family, as a result of his signing a new Will, led to the final threat of the Countess to commit suicide. Tolstoy, finding the situation intolerable, left home, fell ill on the way and died in his 82nd year (Nov. 1910), apparently like a Buddhist 'homeless one' or *Anāgārika*.

The 40th Anniversary of Tolstoy's death was celebrated (Nov. 1950) in Russia and Prof. Popov, Director of the Yasnaya Polyana Museum, famous as the best depository of *Tolstoyana*,

contacted in Russia our friend Iqbal Singh who gave a reliable account (March 14, 1950) in *The Hindusthan Standard* :—

The drive to Tolstoy's house was through an avenue of 'fir' trees, the famous *Prospect* which is described in *War and Peace*. On the right is the pond where the Countess, in one of her fits of depression, tried to drown herself. Prof. Popov showed him a portrait of Tolstoy by the painter Ripin showing the Russian Sage bare-footed, which portrait was rarely exhibited in public ; then he showed him through the two Museums. The one in the main Tolstoy House, preserved exactly as it was during his life-time and the second one is in a smaller building which contains his valuable literary remains : Manuscripts, First editions, Translations, Illustrations etc. Luckily, most of the books had been evacuated before the Nazis occupied, burnt the furniture as firewood and set fire to two of the rooms ; after their retreat the local people saved the house from being totally gutted.

This was the house from which Tolstoy departed for the last time one night, sorely sick in mind and body, without letting anybody know about his departure. So agitated was Tolstoy, lest he should be overtaken by his family party that he could not sleep and roused his daughter Alexandra at 4 a. m. in order to catch the first train to Rostov-on-Don. On the 1st of November (1910) in the train his doctor found Tolstoy's temperature 104° ; so he brought him down at the tiny village station, Astapovo. Meanwhile the Countess with four children arrived. His old friend Chertkov sat at his bed-side and read out to Tolstoy "extracts from *A Circle of Reading* from the religious Scriptures of the World". On November 5 (1910), Tolstoy could hardly speak and spoke practically his last words to his son Sergy : "the Truth I love much. How are they ?"

Tolstoy was buried at Yasnaya Polyana two days after his death but the Most Holy Synod which had excommunicated him forbade all Memorial Services. Throughout Russia however, it was a day of public mourning. The St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) University suspended lectures ; all Theatres were closed, the Czar, the Duma and the Council of State sent official messages of condolence. There was no religious service but two choirs of students sang a chorale. Tolstoy's last resting place was a

secluded glade that he had chosen long before. It was the place where, over three quarters of a century ago, Nicholas Leo Tolstoy had buried the green twig, upon which was written "The Secret that would bring happiness to all Mankind."

Mr. Iqbal Singh had the privilege of being accompanied by Mr. Bulgakov, Tolstoy's Secretary during the last few years of his life. He was deeply interested in India and spoke of his meeting with Tagore when he visited U. S. S. R. in 1930 (*vide : Russiar Chithi*).

In the Encyclopaedic dictionary in the room one finds Tolstoy's manuscript notes on articles dealing with Confucius, Laotze, the *Quoran* and Karl Marx.

The Soviet Academy of Sciences has preserved admirably everything connected with the life and work of Tolstoy.

The present division of the world is lamentable with an 'iron curtain' in between ; yet we hope that, with the re-establishment of Peace so passionately sought by Tolstoy and Gandhi, more revealing documents, relating to the spiritual collaboration of East and West, may yet be discovered in the U. S. S. R.

THE SWEDISH PEACE CONGRESS (1909)

... What form the life of men will take if they repudiate murder, we do not and cannot know ; but one thing is certain : that it is more natural for men to be guided by the reason and conscience with which they are endowed, than to submit slavishly to people who arrange wholesale murders ; and that therefore the form of social order assumed by the lives of those who are guided in their actions not by violence based on threats of murder but by reason and conscience, will in any case be no worse than that under which they now live.

This is all I want to say. I shall be very sorry if it offends or grieves any one or evokes any ill feeling. But for me, a man eighty years old, expecting to die at any moment, it would be shameful and criminal not to speak out the whole truth as I understand it—the Truth which, as I firmly believe, is alone capable of relieving mankind from the incalculable ills produced by war.

LEO TOLSTOY

CHAPTER II

GANDHI AND TOLSTOY

Born in 1869, Gandhi's early education was perfunctory as it was habitual in every Indian school, from which our students matriculate. He literally educated himself ever since his contact with serious students and teachers in England. That he tried to learn dancing, French, elocution and the art of dressing has been mentioned in many of his *Lives*; but one should remember that a serious youth like Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi could not have missed any opportunity of learning in those highly receptive days. In the nineties of the last century (1889-1891) when Gandhi was studying Law and general subjects, he cultivated relations with a serious group of Britishers who were cranky to the extent of being 'vegetarian' Englishmen discarding the beef-steak! He purchased, for a shilling, Salt's *Plea for Vegetarianism*, and Howard Williams' *The Ethics of Diet* which was translated into Russian with Tolstoy's Preface. He was also in close touch with the Theosophists who drew his attention to the beautiful English translation of the *Gita* by Sir Edwin Arnold (whose *Light of Asia* also reached him) which till then he did not read in Sanskrit.

Gandhi the future journalist was already training himself; "I always glanced over *The Daily News*, *The Daily Telegraph* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*." He had the privilege of being introduced not only to Madame Blavatsky (whose *Key to Theosophy* he read) but also to Bernard Shaw's friend Mrs. Annie Besant, who, as Gandhi recorded in his *Auto-biography*, "had just then joined the Theosophical Society". "*The Key to Theosophy*", Gandhi continues, "stimulated in me the desire to read books on *Hinduism* and dis-abused me of the notion fostered by the missionaries that Hinduism was rife with superstition". He also read Mrs. Besant's *How I became Theosophist*. We should note Gandhi's own words: "My young mind tried to unify the teaching of the *Gita*, the *Light of Asia* and the Sermon on the Mount...I

read the chapter on the Hero as a Prophet (Mohammad) and learnt of the Prophet's greatness and bravery and austere living".

Thus Gandhi shows remarkable affinity with Tolstoy in the urge to study sympathetically and intensively different religions of the World which was also the master passion and pre-occupation of Tolstoy from 1890 to 1910. Gandhi may have studied some writings of Tolstoy in England.

Another similarity became manifest accidentally when Gandhi named Tolstoy for the first time in his *Auto-biography* that the great Russian artist was the chief among those, who disparaged the Eiffel Tower of Paris, which Gandhi (and Tagore also) visited in 1890 during the great Trocadero Exhibition held there.

This Tower, Tolstoy said, was a monument of men's folly, not of wisdom. Tobacco, he argued, was the worst of all intoxicants inasmuch as a man addicted to it was tempted to commit crimes which a drunkard never dared to do; liquor made a man mad, but tobacco clouded his intellect and made him build castles in the air. The Eiffel Tower was one of the creations of a man under such influence. There is no art about the Eiffel Tower. In no way can it be said to have contributed to the real beauty of the Exhibition. Men flocked to see it and ascended it as it was a novelty and of unique dimensions. It was the toy of the Exhibition. So long we are children we are attracted by toys, and the Tower was a good demonstration of the fact that we are all children attracted by trinkets. That may be claimed to be the purpose served by the Eiffel Tower.

Thus as early as 1890 Gandhi, a young student, not only heard of Tolstoy but actually began to keep in touch with his thoughts and actions and his crusade against tall intoxicants. Tolstoy wrote a Preface to a book on *Drunkennes* by Dr. P. S. Alexeyev (brother-in law of Aylmer Maude); we notice Tolstoy (like Gandhi later on) championing the humbler arts of the common people and condemning the cruder art of the *machine age* taking shape in the Eiffel Tower.

Tolstoy's challenging book *What is Art* was published in 1898 when Gandhi was well-established in South Africa after organising the Natal Indian Congress (1894).

Tolstoy was partially indebted to John Ruskin (1819-1900) for many of his ideas on socio-economic reconstruction. Ruskin, who also influenced Gandhi profoundly, opened his career as the famous author of *The Modern Painters* (1843 onwards). Ruskin married in 1848 but his wife left him in 1854. In 1857 he delivered his Manchester lectures and boldly discussed "the moral and social uses of art". These lectures in a way seemed to be an anticipation of Tolstoy's radical essays on Art, which he began publishing with *On Truth in Art* in 1887. During the last 40 years of his life (1860-1900) Ruskin wrote more than fifty works on social, industrial, educational and moral problems denouncing the dogmas of the newly founded science (so-called) of political economy. Before Marxism, Ruskin planned the development of modern industry on socialistic lines; and his writings produced a profound impression on Tolstoy. When a British writer published an article on Tolstoy in England, Ruskin expressed his profound admiration for his Russian contemporary in the field of social justice in that capitalistic Machine age.

When Gandhi was a student in England, Ruskin and Tolstoy had become venerable legends and he must have delved into their writings or read about their radical doctrines before sailing away from England (12th June, 1891).

No doubt Gandhi was specialising in Law and studying Latin and French, but he must have read a lot of the progressive thinkers of those days. In the very opening Chapter of his *Autobiography*—Part II, Gandhi concludes with the very characteristic sentence: "Three Moderns have left a deep impress on my life, and captivated me: Raychandbhai by his living contact; Tolstoy by his book, *The Kingdom of God is within you*; and Ruskin by his *Unto this Last*."

Gandhi placed Ruskin third in his list because, as we know from his writing, it was as late as 1904 that his friend Mr. Henry L. Polak placed *Unto this Last* in his hand and after reading it he was so profoundly moved that he adapted it into Gujarati. A French commentator on Gandhi's letters to Tolstoy recently expressed his opinion that Gandhi made his first contact with Tolstoy's writing as early as 1893-94, i. e. in his first year in South Africa, where he as we know, continued his passionate

studies of the acute social problems of the day. He studied (as Rev. Doke reported) about 80 books including Tolstoy's works, and Max Muller's *Six Systems of Hindu Philosophy*.

Gandhi was called primarily to work amongst the *indentured* Indian workers who were divided in three classes—Hindus, Muslims and Christian. Naturally therefore, he would find tolerance of the Tolstoyan type and sympathetic study of other religions very necessary and congenial to him.

On his very first day in Pretoria in 1893, Gandhi made a characteristic statement while interviewing Mr. A. W. Baker, one of the Directors of the South Africa General Mission: "I am a Hindu by birth. And yet I do not know much of Hinduism, and I know less of other religions. In fact, I do not know where I am, and what is and what should be my belief. I intend to make a careful study of my own religion and, as far as I can, of other religions as well."

Among other Christian contacts, we find Mr Coates a Quaker believing in total abolition of war. In 1893, Gandhi was reading Butler's *Analogy*, Parker's *Commentary* and such other Christian books. Although his friend Mr. Coates was pained to discover that Barrister Gandhi still wore a *Vaishnava* necklace of *Tulasi*-beads which he thought to be a superstition and wanted to break it; Gandhi however refused to do so as it was a sacred gift from his loving mother.

In his first public address in Pretoria Gandhi appealed to all the Indians to be brothers and to forget "all distinctions such as Hindu, Musalmans, Parsis, Christians, Gujaratis, Madrasis, Punjabis, Sindhis, Kachchhis, Surtis and so on."

After attending the Protestant Christian Convention at Wellington, as described in the section on 'religious ferment', Gandhi began systematic study of comparative religion: Sale's translation of the *Quoran* and other books on Islam, *The New Interpretation of the Bible* and such other books on progressive Christianity, as also Haribhadra Suri's *Sadha-darshana Samuchchaya* as well as *Yogavasistha* and other Hindu philosophical texts sent by his spiritual guide Raychandbhai.

Casually Gandhi records in this connexion: "Tolstoy's *Kingdom of God is within you* overwhelmed me. It left an

abiding impression on me. Before the independent thinking, profound morality, and the truthfulness of this book, all the books given me by Mr. Coates seemed to pale into insignificance." This was the spiritual attitude and equipment of Gandhi, a young man of 25 (1893-94). Thence he will go a long way into the path of reconciliation and harmony of faiths. Tolstoy was then a venerable old man of 66; he published his essay *The Kingdom of God is within you* in 1893 and his second essay *Christianity and Patriotism* in 1894, which almost simultaneously reached Gandhi and created a profound impression on him. Whether Gandhi plunged deeper into the study of Tolstoy the man and the artist, we are not sure; but it is noteworthy that long before his *War and Peace*, Tolstoy pronounced his disapproval of war, expressed in his stories: *The Raid* and *Sevastopole*. Between 1878 and 1884 when Tolstoy devoted himself to the critical study of religions, he was deeply impressed by the motto of Christ "Resist not him that is Evil." Tolstoy exhorted: "take away the Church, the traditions, the Bible and even Christ himself; the ultimate fact of man's knowledge of goodness that is of God, directly through reason and conscience, will be as clear and certain as ever and it will be seen that we are dealing with *truths* that can never perish—truths humanity can never afford to part with". Thus, 'Resist not evil', 'Truth' and 'Non-violence' entered permanently into the vocabulary of Gandhi-literature. In his *Christianity and Patriotism* Tolstoy the Pacifist criticised with moral indignation the secret preparation for war that was going on and which, twenty years after, broke out in the first World War (1914) which he did not live to see. His contemporaries neglected his warnings; but his vision of what was coming was clearer and truer than that of the so-called practical men of the world, who despised Tolstoy as a visionary. We cannot but entertain the highest regards, as Gandhi expressed, for the venerable Russian sage who, in the sunset of his life, stood alone and erect like the lofty Himalayan peak; against him were the Church, the State, the censors, the militarists, the patriots and even several members of his own family including his wife, as his biographer Mr. A. Maude very appropriately observed.

On the 22nd of May, 1894 Gandhi, as secretary, laid the foundation of the Natal Indian Congress; he was in charge of

the Propaganda Department also and published two of his early pamphlets: *An Appeal to every Briton in South Africa* and *The Indian Franchise*—an appeal wherein he tackled two of the most explosive problems of the epoch—Colour Bar and Political Discrimination, still convulsing the whole of Africa.

Gandhi's favourite subject, the comparative study of religion, he pursued with utmost zeal amidst his political and professional preoccupations. He read poet Narmada Shankar's *Dharma Vichar*, the *Upanishads* translated by the Theosophical Society, Max Muller's *India, what can it teach us?* Irving's *Life of Mahomet* and also *The Sayings of Zarathustra*.

"I made too an intensive study of Tolstoy's books; *The Gospel in brief*, *What to do?* and such other books made a deep impression on me. I began to realize more and more the infinite possibilities of universal love," said Gandhi.

He was re-reading also Arnold's *Light of Asia* and observed, while comparing the life of Jesus with that of Buddha—'Look at Gautama's compassion! It was not confined to mankind, it was extended to *all living beings*'. Here we find a clear affirmation of the principles of *Jainism* and *Vaishnavism* inherited by Gandhi from his ancestors.

In 1896 Gandhi sailed for home in the s.s. *Pongola* where he spent full 24 days; and those restful days he utilized in acquiring Tamil through a *Self-Teacher* and Urdu with the help of a *Munshi* from the deck passengers. The idea was to come into closer contact with the Muslims, the Dravidians and such communities remote from him by race, language and religion. After that pleasant voyage Gandhi landed at Calcutta admiring the beauty of the Bhagirathi, our Ganga or the river Hooghly; but he soon left for Bombay where he made effective propaganda for the Indians in South Africa just as he made in Calcutta which he revisited as a delegate to the Indian National Congress (1901).

Returning to Durban (January, 1897) Gandhi and his family had to face the awful trial of savage race-hatred concentrated upon him by the fanatical Whites to whom the favourite tune was:

'Hang old Gandhi
On the sour apple tree'

Gandhi was yet very far from being old because he was not then even thirty. Strangely enough, at this rather early age, he appeared to be preoccupied with the problem of *Brahmacharya* or physical abstinence not only for the unmarried but even for the married persons. "What then", he asked himself, "should be my relation with my wife? Did my faithfulness consist in making my wife the instrument of my lust? So long as I was the slave of lust, my faithfulness was worth nothing. To be fair to my wife, I must say that she was never the temptress. It was therefore the easiest thing for me to take the vow of *Brahmacharya*, if only I willed it. It was my weak will or lustful attachment that was the obstacle."

Gandhi records that even during his days in England he had read something about Dr. Allinson's birth-control propaganda which he referred to in his chapter on vegetarianism. After almost a decade of physical and spiritual tussle with himself, Gandhi took his final resolution of total abstinence when he had to lead the Indian Ambulance Corps, attached to Natal Forces, mobilised to suppress the Zulu Rebellion (1906). "During the difficult marches", Gandhi records, "that had then to be performed, the idea flashed upon me that, if I wanted to devote myself to the service of the community in this manner, I must relinquish the desire for children and wealth and live the life of a *vanaprastha*—of one retired from household cares."

Tolstoy, the passionate sage, also passed through similar crisis, as we know from his intimate Diary, which possibly might have indirectly influenced Gandhi in his attitude towards women and sexual life.

The inner struggles of Gandhi, during the days of Boer war and after has been narrated by him in his *Satyagraha in South Africa*. In spite of his personal sympathies for the Boers, Gandhi was driven to co-operate with the British in that war. To what extent Gandhi could then be called a pacifist, from the Quaker point of view, is open to discussion, as we noted later in his correspondence with Romain Rolland.

In the terrible famine, in India, of 1897-1899, the Indians in South Africa, under Gandhi's leadership, contributed generously to the Indian Relief Fund.

In this connection it should be noted that Swami Vivekananda also opened then the Famine and Plague relief work after establishing the Ramkrishna Mission in Belur (1897) and his Anglo-Irish disciple Margaret Noble or Sister Nivedita helped him in the Plague relief work. Gandhi adored Vivekananda and tried to meet him during the Calcutta Congress (1901). But the Swami was seriously ill and died prematurely in 1902. God is the starving Poor,—(Daridra-Narayan) significantly pronounced Swami Vivekananda who attracted Tolstoy and profoundly roused Gandhi and many other Indian leaders also.

Completing his thirtieth year in 1899, Gandhi returned to India via Mauritius. The Indian National Congress met in Calcutta (1901) under the Presidentship of Dinshaw Wacha. From Bombay Gandhi travelled in the same train with Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta. His first experience of the Congress and his contact with the senior leaders have been narrated by him ; but the most important event was his close contact with G. K. Gokhale in whose company he spent full one month. It was Gokhale who not only took up the case of the Indians in South Africa but even, in his failing health, he paid a visit to South Africa in 1912 as Gandhi's guest. At the end of the Boer war, when Mr. Chamberlain came to South Africa to win the hearts of the Englishmen and the vanquished Boers, Gandhi was requested to lead a deputation of the Indians and to submit a memorial to Mr. Chamberlain (1902).

Gandhi's own words are worth quoting : "The facts that Mr. Chamberlain refused to see me and that the officials insulted me are nothing before the humiliation of the whole community. It will become impossible to put up with the veritable dog's life that we shall be expected to live."

Gandhi decided to open his office at Johannesburg and got himself enrolled in the Transvaal Supreme Court. He was in fact getting ready for the supreme sacrifice and was preparing himself by study, introspection and sacrifice. This was the year, 1903 when Gandhi completed full ten years of his active relations with South Africa. Swami Vivekananda quitted this world in 1902 and Gandhi began reading his *Raja Yoga* which Tolstoy also keenly appreciated.

Gandhi formed a Seekers' Club and began studying closely the *Bhagavad Gita*. He was living a life as simple as possible, making experiments in dietetics and publishing a series of Gujarati articles, in his *Indian Opinion*, which were published later on as *A Guide to Health*.

While Gandhi was practising in Durban he used to entertain, as his guest, not only Indians high and low, including the *Panchamas* (Untouchables), but he had also some English friends living with him. In 1903 S. J. Madanjit started the *Indian Opinion* with Mansukhlal Nazar as the first Editor, but Gandhi had to bear the brunt of the work.

Articles in this polyglot Weekly were published in four languages : Gujarati, Hindi, Tamil and English. Gandhi had to pay £75 per month and sometimes more for this paper. For full ten years (1904-1914), excepting the intervals of his enforced imprisonment, there was hardly any issue of *Indian Opinion* without an article of Gandhi, and he worked with the sole aim of making journalism the instrument of service. But the paper meant a serious financial drain involving as much as £1600. Meanwhile Plague broke out and Gandhi came into friendly relations with other groups, through the common object of social service—with Mr. and Mrs. Henry S. L. Polak and Rev. Joseph J. Doke who wrote one of his early biographies.

Gandhi met Mr. Polak in a vegetarian restaurant and Polak then was the Sub-editor of *The Critic*. At the time of a real crisis of the *Indian Opinion* Gandhi took Mr. Polak into full confidence ; and when he was leaving for Natal (1904) Polak put into his hand Ruskin's *Unto this Last*, a book which acted as a 'Magic Spell' to him. About this book Gandhi remarks : "This was the first book of Ruskin I have ever read . . . it brought about an instantaneous and practical transformation in my life . . . I translated it later into Gujarati entitling it *Sarvodaya* (the welfare of all). The teachings of *Unto this Last* I understood to be :

1. That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all.
2. That a lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's, inasmuch as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work.

3. That a life of labour, i.e. the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman, is the life worth living.

The first of these I knew. The second I had dimly realized. The third had never occurred to me. *Unto this Last* made it as clear as daylight for me that the second and the third were contained in the first, I arose with the dawn, ready to reduce these principles to practice."

Fourteen miles away from Durban and about two miles from the Railway Station, Gandhi built up his Phoenix Settlement, which was started in 1904 and from where *Indian Opinion* was published. His own relatives Chhaganlal Gandhi and Maganlal Gandhi with Mr. West and Mr. Rustomji built up a colony which was joined later on by Mr. and Mrs. Polak. Gandhi invited Mr. Polak to come and stay with him and they began to live together like "blood brothers".

In the Zulu Rebellion (in 1906 when the Calcutta Congress under the Presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji passed a Resolution on *Swaraj* or self-government), Gandhi was organising a Volunteer Defence Force and he was appointed by the Chief Medical Officer to the temporary rank of Sergeant Major. Some of the White Commanding Officers, who bitterly opposed him in 1896, now specially called and thanked him.

The year of 1906 was also famous because Gandhi, who had been observing *Brahmacharya* from 1900 now sealed it with a vow in the middle of 1906. This was the discipline of self-purification as preliminary to his epoch-making spiritual adventure of *Satyagraha*. Before even the name was invented the principle was already being applied by Gandhi and his associates; and even in their Gujarati articles the writers used the English phrase *Passive Resistance* as a synonym of *Satyagraha*. His European critics and opponents harassed him by saying that *Passive Resistance* is only another form of hatred, that it is a weapon of the weak, and that it may finally explode into violence. So Gandhi announced a Prize, through *Indian Opinion*, for a suitable Indian word. Maganlal Gandhi coined the word *Sadagraha* or Truth-firmness. "But", Gandhi says, "in order to make it clearer I change the word to *Satyagraha*.....The history of this struggle

is, for all practical purposes, a history of the remainder of my life....." It was literally true from 1908 to 1948.

The first formal application of the principle of *Satyagraha* was discussed in a public meeting on the 11th of September, 1906. A full account of the birth of *Satyagraha* was given by Gandhi himself in the 12th Chapter of his book *Satyagraha in South Africa*. He has discussed therein the question of the origin of the idea of *Passive Resistance* through the activities of the Quakers, the Nonconformists, the Unitarians, the Suffragettes etc. In many such cases Gandhi detected deviations from strict non-violence. Only in the case of Christ he accepted his resistance to be the purest form of *Satyagraha* "whose example is few and far between in history". In that connexion Gandhi paid a tribute to Tolstoy's Russia where the career of the Dukhobors was pointed out by Tolstoy as a rare example of *Passive Resistance*. Thus already by 1906 Gandhi must have been keeping in close touch with the sage Tolstoy and his original writings.

Among other methods of self-purification and self-restraint Gandhi mentions fasting (Hindu *Ekadashi* and Muslim *Ramjan*). The experiments were undertaken at the Tolstoy Farm where "Mr. Kallenbach and I were staying with a few *Satyagrahi* families, including young people and children." The Farm was 21 miles away from Johannesburg and so the founders of the colony had to serve themselves as teachers for the children. The youngsters learnt cooking along with the teachers; for at the Tolstoy Farm "we made a rule that the youngsters should not be asked to do what the teachers did not do."

Mr. Hermann Kallenbach learnt carpentry, even shoe-making, which he taught to the youngsters. Of course all were vegetarians in the Tolstoy Farm and along with vocational and physical training, three periods were allotted to Hindi, Gujarati, Urdu and Tamil languages with a little Sanskrit and elementary Arithmetic, Geography and History.

Gandhi visited, on deputation, England again in 1906 where he met Dadabhai Naoroji the President-elect of the Calcutta Congress. In 1907 the Transvaal was given Self-Government and the new Boer state began persecuting 13000 Indians who were insignificant against the organised might of the white authorities.

Yet when the Indians burnt the heaps of Certificates which the Government forced them to take, the conservative *Daily Mail* of England compared that incident with the flinging into the sea of British Tea by the Americans declaring independence against England. General Smuts was then playing a double game while General Hertzog was inclined to sever all connections with England. In that critical situation the Indian community thought it advisable to send Gandhi on deputation to England.

During his short sojourn in England (Oct.-Dec. 1906), Gandhi himself records that he personally exchanged views with many Indian Revolutionaries. While he was returning in the *Kilooman Castle* he wrote his *Hind Swaraj* in Gujarati in the form of a dialogue between the extremists and moderates and published it later on in the *Indian Opinion*. Like the Indian Revolutionaries many of his South African colleagues also believed in force, bringing about political liberation through violence. To contest that view and to justify the greater efficacy of nonviolence, in all spheres of life including political, Gandhi published his *Hind Swaraj* and its English version : *Indian Home Rule*. It was appreciated even by a hard-boiled British bureaucrat like Lord Ampthil. The book was the real measure of Gandhi's profound and infallible faith in *Ahimsa* and *Satyagraha*. The *Indian Home Rule* (published 1909) was not only read by Tolstoy but it induced him to follow closely the activities of Gandhi and his colleagues during the last two years of Tolstoy's life (1909-1910). Tolstoy meanwhile was also receiving letters from different types of Indian thinkers, workers and revolutionaries of various religious denominations, the Arya Samaj of the Punjab, the Ahmadiyas of Kadiyan as well as from Mr. Abdulla Suhrawardy, Taraknath Das and others. Those letters have been carefully collected and published by Mr. Paul Birukov in his *Tolstoi and the Orient*, (1925).

Meanwhile we should remember that Gandhi's profound regards for Tolstoy, the sole champion of Non-violence in the West, induced him to develop the Tolstoy Farm which he described, in three successive chapters of his memorable book *Satyagraha in South Africa*.

Tolstoy completed his 80th year in September, 1908 when he was busy replying specially to the Indian Revolutionary Taraknath Das, through his famous *A letter to a Hindu* (*Appendix A*); and that letter was considered so important to Gandhi that he made the first formal proposal to Tolstoy of publishing that letter and broadcasting it.

Gandhi completed his 40th year in October, 1909, and in his last letter to Tolstoy from London (16 Nov. 1909) he was announcing that his son was then in prison and that he was also going to be imprisoned probably on his return to South Africa.

In fact he returned to South Africa in December, 1909 and the Satyagraha struggle reached its highest and most critical stage during the last five years of his stay in South Africa (1909-1914).

The background of that heroic struggle may be given here in recapitulation. In April, 1893, Gandhi sailed for South Africa engaged by a Muslim Firm for legal work; and he was the first Indian to be enrolled as an Attorney-Advocate of the Supreme Court of Natal then of Johannesburg. He founded the Natal Indian Congress in 1894 and started public agitation in Indian papers, on behalf of the South African Indians, during his visit to India (1896). Consequently Gandhi and his family were mobbed on landing at Durban (January, 1897).

But he closely co-operated with the British in the Boer War, forming the Indian Ambulance Corps for which he was mentioned in Dispatches and awarded a war medal.

Returning to India he addressed, for the first time in his political career, the Indian National Congress in Calcutta (1901) moving a Resolution in support of the just cause of the persecuted South African Indians. Called to South Africa again in 1902, he took the front place as the champion of the cause of the Indians against the Anti-Asiatic Legislation in the Transvaal, got himself enrolled as an Attorney of the local Supreme Court and founded the Transvaal Indian Association.

During the Zulu Rebellion in 1906 he again appeared as the leader of the Indian Stretcher Bearer Corps and, in that connexion had personal experiences of the firing line. So, like Tolstoy, he

viewed war as a reality and not as a hazy historical phenomenon. On the 11th of September, 1906,* when he had already taken the vow of *Brahmacharya* in life, Gandhi declared his first formal ultimatum of Non-violence against governmental violence. He delivered his memorable Address at the mass meeting of the Indians at Johannesburg. They took the oath of Passive Resistance against the newly promulgated Transvaal Asiatic Land Amendment Ordinance which should be reviewed in the light of the recent South African policy and legislation.

An attempt at compromise by sending a deputation, led by Gandhi, to the Colonial Secretary, London (October-December, 1906) failed as a matter of course. But Gandhi had the advantage of meeting some outstanding Indian leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Gokhale and others then in England.

The partition of Bengal and the repression of the Curzon regime, by natural reaction, brought to being the Terrorist movement in India, and Gandhi had occasions to argue personally with many Indian Revolutionaries whose actual conversations

* Up to the year 1906, I simply relied on appeal to reason. I was a very industrious reformer. I was a good draftsman, as I always had a close grip of facts which in its turn was the necessary result of my meticulous regard for Truth. But I found that reason failed to produce an impression when the critical moment arrived in South Africa. My people were excited; even a woman will and does sometimes turn—and there was talk of wreaking vengeance. I had then to choose between allying myself to violence or finding out some other method of meeting the crisis and stopping the rot; and it came to me that we should refuse to obey legislation that was degrading and let them put us in jail if they liked. Thus came into being the moral equivalent of war. I was then a loyalist, because I implicitly believed that the sum total of the activities of the British Empire was good for India and for humanity. Arriving in England (1915) soon after the outbreak of the war I plunged into it; and later when I was forced to go to India as a result of the pleurisy that I had developed, I led a recruiting campaign at the risk of my life, and to the horror of some of my friends. The disillusionment came in 1919 after the passage of the Black Rowlatt Act and the refusal of the Government to give the simple elementary redress of proved wrongs that we had asked for. And so, in 1920, I became a rebel. Since then the conviction has been growing upon me, that things of fundamental importance to the people are not secured by reason alone but have to be purchased with their suffering. Suffering is the law of human beings; war is the law of the jungle. But suffering is infinitely more powerful than the law of the jungle for converting the opponent and opening his ears, which are otherwise shut, to the voice of reason. Nobody has probably drawn up more petitions or espoused more forlorn causes than I; and I have come to this fundamental conclusion that, if you want something really important to be done, you must not merely satisfy the reason, you must move the heart also. The appeal of reason is more to the head but the penetration of the heart comes from suffering. It opens up the inner understanding in man. Suffering is the badge of the human race, not the sword—*Young India*, 5-11-31.

with Gandhi's replies, have been dramatised in his discourses in *Hind Swaraj*, which he wrote out, in Gujarati, during his return voyage from London and began publishing in the *Indian Opinion*. In 1907 Gandhi gave up his legal practice and led the Passive Resistance movement in an organised form. In January, 1908 Gandhi served the sentence of his first imprisonment in the Transvaal. General Smuts summoned Gandhi, and released him on reaching a compromise. But in February (1908), exactly 40 years before his assassination, Gandhi was nearly killed by a Pathan, who regarded the compromise as a "betrayal of Indian interest". Gandhi's life was miraculously saved, but he refused to prosecute the Pathan! The compromise failed and on the 16th of August, 1908 Gandhi resumed the Passive Resistance when he was arrested and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment (October, 1908).

The second deputation to England was led by Gandhi in June, 1909 and he stayed there for full five months, making ready the English translation of the *Hind Swaraj* (already banned by the Govt. of India) as *Indian Home Rule* which was sent to Tolstoy for his opinion.

Just landing at Capetown Gandhi got the happy news that Ratanji Tata had donated Rs. 25,000/- to the Satyagraha Fund; and almost simultaneously his friend Rev. Kallenbach made over 1100 acres of land near Johannesburg (30th May, 1910) where Gandhi laid the foundation of the Tolstoy Farm.

Every little experiment—from the diet to the discipline of the inmates, to the economic, educational, moral and spiritual problems of his followers, which Gandhi conducted in a sociological laboratory as it were, is full of meaning to all the students of Gandhian technique and philosophy. What he attempted in the Tolstoy Farm, why and how he failed or succeeded, will throw a flood light on all the major experiments with Truth, conducted by him during the second half of his life exactly covering 40 years (1908-1948). Very significantly Gandhi observed: "My faith and courage were at their highest in Tolstoy Farm".

That is why we found it necessary to bring the Tolstoy Farm into prominence by reproducing in Gandhi's own language his exact and illuminating laboratory report (Tolstoy Farm—*Appendix B*).

The Sabarmati Ashram (founded on the 25th May, 1915) and the Sevagram Ashram (founded on the 3rd April, 1936) both of which I had the privilege of visiting, appeared to me worthy daughters of Tolstoy Ashram, the mother of the *Satyagraha* movement in Africa.

Within three months of the foundation of the Tolstoy Farm, Gandhi wrote his memorable letter, his last one, to *Rishi* Tolstoy, on the 15th of August, 1910 (which will be the date of Indian independence). To that letter the Russian sage gave a reply which was almost a benediction to his spiritual son and heir M. K. Gandhi: "*Your work in Transvaal, which seems to be far away from the centre of our world, is yet the most fundamental and important to us, supplying the most weighty practical proof in which the world can now share; and with which must participate not only the Christians but all the peoples of the world.*"

In 1911 the partition of Bengal had to be annulled. The Capital of the British Govt. was shifted from Calcutta to Delhi and for its inauguration King George V himself visited India. But Bengal's immortal bard Rabindranath had already pronounced the inalienable rights of the Indians to Freedom through his poems and song of the *Swadeshi* days. He even prepared the first blueprint of the Parallel government, through his memorable essay *Swadeshi Samaj* (1904) which gave detailed plans as to how the Indians, even under British domination, could assert their economic and cultural autonomy. What is more strange is that without any direct contact with the Gandhi movement in South Africa, Rabindranath (whom Gandhi would find as his first Indian host in 1915 and whom he would salute as his *Gurudeva*), composed in 1909 a play named *Prayaschitta* (Atonement) in which the penniless beggar Dhananjay Bairagi would lead the passive resistance movement against the tyrannical authority of King Pratapaditya, anticipating the famous No Tax campaign and other *Satyagraha* movements of Gandhi in India. Rabindranath after returning from his European tour (1912-'13) attracted to Santiniketan, two Englishmen W. W. Pearson and Rev. C. F. Andrews to whom whole of India should be ever grateful. Both of them were sent by Rabindranath to help Gandhi in the final phase of his struggle in South Africa. I had the rare privilege of

being present at Santiniketan when Dr. Tagore was giving detailed instructions to Rev. Andrews before their departure for South Africa ; and I presented to my revered friend Romain Rolland (when he was writing his book on Mahatma Gandhi) the rare photo showing Gandhi aged 44 sitting in the middle with Rev. Andrews and Prof. Pearson standing on either side.

Meanwhile, we find Gandhi giving up European dress (1912), restricting his diet to fresh and dried fruits only and writing his *Ethical Religion*. His political guru G. K. Gokhale was in England on deputation ; and he was responsible for moving a resolution in the Indian Legislative Council for the stopping of indentured labour. After correspondence with the Secretary of the States for India it was arranged that Gokhale should be sent to South Africa to study the condition of the Indians. Gokhale wrote to Gandhi that he would spend six weeks there as his guest. And what an ideal host Gandhi could be may be gathered from his brief but moving account published in the *Satyagraha in South Africa*.

General Smuts was responsible again for violating the contract and Gandhi recommended *Satyagraha* (Nov. 6-13). This was due to the repudiation of the Union Government's promise to repeal the £3 Poll-tax.

Under Gandhi's lead the Satyagrahis started their historic march (1913) : 2037 men, 127 women and 57 children into the Transvaal, defying the Ordinance. Between November 11-14, Gandhi was twice sentenced to three months' simple and nine months' rigorous imprisonment but on Nov. 18, Gandhi was released unconditionally. Now he began taking only one meal a day and putting on the dress of an indentured labourer. General Smuts invited him and Smuts-Gandhi agreement was signed (treated again as a scrap of paper by the reactionary Malan Govt.) So Gandhi suspended the Movement on January 21, 1914 and sailed for England in July 1914. He landed in India (1915) after full 21 years of Non-violent struggle for the freedom of the Indians as well as of all Asiatics and coloured people, who should remember their debt of gratitude to that immortal martyr to the cause of human liberation.

Gandhi reached Bombay in January, 1915 ; and from that day to his last hours at the prayer ground of New Delhi Mahatma

Gandhi would champion the cause of all the neglected and persecuted children of God. He would give gladly to the *untouchables* of India their legitimate place in the Indian Constitution drafted by the 26th of January, 1948, only four days before his martyrdom (30th January, 1948).

Tolstoy and Tagore whom Gandhi saluted as 'masters' in his life-time, did not live to see the consummation of the Gandhi movement ; but their spirit blessed him from above when Gandhi made the supreme sacrifice for the cause of Truth and Non-violence. We are sure that Tolstoy, Tagore and Gandhi will be remembered by the common men and women, ignoring the iron curtain of the East and the West, before the harrowing possibility of the atomic war. Their memory will furnish spiritual sustenance and practical inspiration to millions of men and women, in our present world crisis, murmuring the prayer : *Ahimsa Paramo Dharma*. Non-violence is the supreme religion !

CHAPTER III

GANDHI TOLSTOY CORRESPONDENCE

In September, 1908 Tolstoy completed his 80th year. Amongst the celebrities who sent Messages of felicitations to the Russian sage, the Russian biographer of Tolstoy noticed the name of Gandhi. So there is a special significance in the date of the first letter written by Gandhi from London, the 1st October, 1909, which was luckily discovered by our friend Mr. G. D. Tendulkar (published in the *National Herald*, Lucknow, on October 1, 1949). This letter, declared "missing" by most writers on Tolstoy, was the first of the series of correspondence between Tolstoy and Gandhi and it will be cherished by all interested in the spiritual collaboration between the East and the West. Tolstoy, as we know, had been studying Oriental religions for years; and from his Diary, dated 14 September, 1896, we find that a copy of Swami Vivekananda's *Raja Yoga** was sent by an Indian, Mr. Toda, to him from America. In 1901 a Bengali Sannyasi, Baba Premananda Bharati, of the Bengal Vaishnava denomination, then resident in California, wrote a letter from Los Angeles to Tolstoy who kept on corresponding with him. Tolstoy took so much interest on a booklet *Krishna* (1904) of Baba Bharati that he arranged for the translation of the same into Russian. In this connexion we find that Tolstoy, in replying to Gandhi on the 7th October, 1909 definitely recorded that he was pleased to have got translated from Russian into English his *A Letter to a Hindu*. Nay more, Tolstoy gave permission to Gandhi to publish that letter and to translate and propagate Tolstoy's writings, waiving all rights to monetary payment as author's royalty. In that letter also the theory of 're-birth', was discussed.

Gandhi addressed his second letter dated 10 Nov. 1909 from London and his third letter to Tolstoy on the 4th April, 1910 announcing that the Gujarati version of his *Hind Swaraj* had been confiscated by the Government of India and that he was sending him the South African edition of *A Letter to a Hindu*. On the 8th of May, 1910 Tolstoy acknowledged receipt of Gandhi's *Indian Home Rule*, and his biography by Doke. But he regrets the shortness of his letter owing to a sudden setback in his health (which will soon bring his career to an end). Gandhi wrote again on the 15th of August, 1910 to which Tolstoy's secretary Mr. Chertkov replied for Tolstoy.

On the 7th of September, 1910 Tolstoy, just two months before his death, wrote his final letter to Gandhi who was privileged to receive possibly the last public letter of the Russian sage on a great public issue.

* *Yoga Philosophy: Lectures on Raja Yoga or conquering internal nature* by Swami Vivekananda, New York 1896

THE FIRST LETTER FROM GANDHI TO TOLSTOY

Westminster Place Hotel,
4, Victoria Street,
London, S. W.
1st. October, 1909.

(i)

Sir,

I take the liberty of inviting your attention to what has been going on in the Transvaal (South Africa) for nearly three years.

There is in that colony a British Indian population of nearly 13,000. These Indians have, for several years, laboured under the various legal disabilities. The prejudice against colour and in some respect against Asiatics is intense in that colony. It is largely due, so far as Asiatics are concerned, to jealousy. The climax was reached three years ago, with a law which I and many others considered to be degrading and calculated to unman those to whom it was applicable. I felt that submission to law of this nature was inconsistent with the spirit of true religion. I and some of my friends were and still are firm believers in the doctrine of non-resistance to evil. I had the privilege of studying your writings also, which left a deep impression on my mind. British Indians, before whom the position was fully explained, accepted the advice that we should not submit to the legislation, but that we should suffer imprisonment, or whatever other penalties the law may impose for its breach. The result has been that nearly one-half of the Indian population, that was unable to stand the heat of the struggle, to suffer the hardships of imprisonment, have withdrawn from the Transvaal rather than submit to law which they have considered degrading. Of the other half, nearly 2,500 have for conscience's sake allowed themselves to be imprisoned, some as many as five times. The imprisonments have varied from four days to six months; in the majority of cases with hard labour. Many have been financially ruined. At present there are over hundred passive resisters in the Transvaal gaols. Some of these have been very poor men, earning their livelihood from day to day. The result has been that their wives and children have had to be supported out of public contribution, also largely raised from passive resisters. This has put a severe strain upon British Indians, but in my opinion they have risen to the occasion. The struggle still continues and one does not know when the end will come. This, however, some of us at least have seen most clearly, that passive resistance will and can succeed where brute force must fail. We also notice that in so far as the struggle has been prolonged, it has been due largely to our weakness, and hence to a belief, having been engendered in the mind of the Government, we would not be able to stand continued suffering.

Together with a friend, I have come here to see the imperial authorities and to place before them the position, with a view to seeking redress. Passive resisters have recognised that they should have nothing to do with pleading with the Government ; but the deputation has come at the instance of the weaker members of the community, and it therefore represents their weakness rather than their strength. But in the course of my observation here, I have felt that if a general competition for an essay on the Ethics and Efficacy of Passive Resistance were invited, it would popularise the movement and make people think. A friend has raised the question of morality in connexion with the proposed competition. He thinks that such an invitation would be inconsistent with the true spirit of passive resistance, and that it would amount to buying opinion. May I ask you to favour me with your opinion on the subject of morality ? And if you consider that there is nothing wrong in inviting contributions, I would ask you also to give me the names of those whom I should specially approach to write upon the subject.

There is one thing more, with reference to which I would trespass upon your time. A copy of your Letter addressed to a Hindu, on the present unrest in India, has been placed in my hands by a friend. On the face of it, it appears to represent your views. It is the intention of my friend, at his own expense, to have 20,000 copies printed and distributed and to have it translated also. We have, however, not been able to secure the original, and we do not feel justified in printing it unless we are sure of the accuracy of the copy and of the fact that it is your letter. I venture to enclose herewith a copy of the copy, and should esteem it a favour if you kindly let me know whether it is your letter, whether it is an accurate copy and whether you approve of its publication in the above manner. If you will add anything further to the letter please do so. I would also venture to make a suggestion. In the concluding paragraph you seem to dissuade the reader from a belief in *reincarnation*. I do not know whether (if it is not impertinent on my part to mention this) you have specially studied the question. *Reincarnation* or *transmigration* is a cherished belief with millions in India, indeed in China also. With many, one might almost say, it is a matter of experience, no longer a matter of academic acceptance. It explains reasonably the many mysteries of life. With some of the passive resisters who have gone through the gaols of the Transvaal, it has been their solace. My object in writing this is not to convince you of the truth of the doctrine, but to ask you, if you will please remove the word "*reincarnation*" from the other things you have dissuaded your reader from. In the letter in question you have quoted largely from *Krishna* and given reference to passages. I should thank you to give me the title of the book from which the quotations have been made."

I have wearied you with this letter. I am aware that those who honour you and endeavour to follow you have no right to trespass upon your time, but it is rather their duty to refrain from giving you trouble, so far as possible. I have, however, who am an utter stranger to you, taken the liberty of addressing this

communications in the interests of Truth, and in order to have your advice on problems, the solution of which you have made your life-work.

With respects, I remain,
Your obedient servant,
M. K. Gandhi.

GANDHI-TOLSTOY CORRESPONDENCE

(ii)

M. K. Gandhi,
Transvaal.

Yasnaya Polyana
Oct. 7, 1909

Just now I have received your very interesting letter, which gives me great pleasure. May God help all our dear brothers and co-workers in the Transvaal. This fight between gentleness and brutality, between humility and love on one side, and conceit and violence on the other, makes itself ever more strongly felt here to us also—especially in the sharp conflicts between religious obligations and the laws of the State—expressed by the conscientious objections to render military service. Such objections are taking place very frequently.

I have written *A letter to a Hindu* and am very pleased to have it translated (into English). The title of the book on *Krishna* will be communicated to you from Moscow. As regards 're-birth' I, for my part, shall leave out nothing ; for, as it appears to me, the belief in a re-birth will never be able to strike such deep roots in and restrain mankind, as the belief in the immortality of the soul and the faith in divine truth and love ; of course I would accommodate you, if you so desire, to delete those passages in question. It will give me great pleasure to help your edition. Publication and circulation of my writings, translated into Indian dialects, can only be a matter of pleasure to me.

The question regarding monetary payment of Royalty should not at all be allowed to appear in religious undertaking.

I give my fraternal greetings and am glad to have come into personal contact with you.

Leo Tolstoi

(iii)

Westminster Palace Hotel
4, Victoria Street,
London W. C.
10-11-1909.

Dear Sir,

I beg to tender my thanks for your registered letter in connection with the Letter addressed to a Hindu, and with the matters that I dealt with in my letter to you.

Having heard about your failing health I refrained, in order to save you the trouble, from sending an acknowledgment, knowing that a written expression of my thanks was a superfluous formality ; but Mr. Aylmer Maude whom I have now been able to meet reassured me that you are keeping good health indeed and that unfailingly and regularly you attend to your correspondence every morning. It was a very glad news to me and it encourages me to write to you further about matters which are, I know, of the greatest importance according to your teaching.

I beg to send you herewith a copy of a book written by a friend (Mr. Doke)—an Englishman—who is at present in South Africa, in connection with my life, in so far it has a bearing on the struggle with which I am so connected and to which my life is dedicated. As I am very anxious to engage your active interest and sympathy I thought that it would not be considered by you as out of the way for me to send you the book.

In my opinion, this struggle of the Indians in the Transvaal is the greatest of modern times, inasmuch as it has been idealised both as to the goal as also to the methods adopted to reach the goal. I am not aware of a struggle in which the participators are not to derive any personal advantage, at the end of it, and in which 50 per cent of the persons affected have undergone great suffering and trial for the sake of a principle. It has not been possible for me to advertise the struggle as much as I should like. You command, possibly, the widest public today. If you are satisfied as to the facts you will find set forth in Mr. Doke's book, and if you consider that the conclusions I have arrived at are justified by the facts, may I ask you to use your influence in any manner you think fit to popularise the movement ? If it succeeds, it will be not only a triumph of religion, love and truth over irreligion, hatred, and falsehood ; but it is highly likely to serve as an example to the millions in India and to the people in other parts of the world, who may be down-trodden, and will certainly go a great way towards breaking up the party of violence, at least in India. If we hold out to the end, as I think we would, I entertain not the slightest doubt as to our ultimate success ; and your encouragement, in the way suggested by you, can only strengthen us in our resolve.

The negotiations that are going on, for a settlement of the question, have practically fallen through, and together with my colleagues I return to South Africa this week and invite imprisonment. I may add that my son has happily joined me in the struggle and is now undergoing imprisonment with hard labour for six months. This is his fourth imprisonment in the course of the struggle.

If you would be so good as to reply to this letter, may I ask you to address your reply to me at Johannesburg, S. A. Box 6522.

Hoping that this will find you in good health.

I remain,
Your obedient servant,
M. K. Gandhi.

(iv)

Johannesburg,
4th April, 1910.

Dear Sir,

You may remember that I have written to you from London where I stopped temporarily. As your devoted follower I send you herewith a brief booklet which I have written. I have translated my own writings from Gujarati (my own language). What is remarkable is that my original book was confiscated by the Government of India. Therefore I was in a hurry to publish this translation. I am afraid I am burdening you ; but if your health permits and you have time to go through my booklet, then I need not express how greatly I shall value your criticism of it. I am sending also a few copies of your *A Letter to a Hindu* which you allowed me to publish. This letter will also be translated into an Indian dialect.

Yours respectfully,
M. K. Gandhi.

(v)

8th May, 1910.

Dear Friend,

Just now I have received your letter and your book, *Indian Home Rule*.

I have read your book with great interest, because I think the question you have therein dealt with is important not only for Indians, but for the whole of Mankind.

I cannot find your first letter, but by discovering your biography by Doke, I happen to know you through that Biography which gripped me and it gave me a chance to know and understand you better.

I am not very well at present. So I am unable to write to you on all the question which are interconnected with your book and also with your activities in general, which I value very much. But I shall write to you as soon as I recover.

Your friend and brother,
Leo Tolstoi.

(vi)

M. K. Gandhi,
Attorney.

21-24, Court Chambers,
Johannesburg.
15th August, 1910.

To Count Leo Tolstoy,
Dear Sir,

I am much obliged to you for your encouraging and cordial letter of the 8th May last. I very much value your general approval of my booklet, *Indian*

Home Rule. And if you have the time, I shall look forward to your detailed criticism of the work which you have been so good as to promise in your letter.

Mr. Kallenbach has written to you about Tolstoy Farm. Mr. Kallenbach and I have been friends for many years. I may state that he has gone through most of the experiences that you have so graphically described in your work, *My Confession*. No writing has so deeply touched Mr. Kallenbach as yours; and, as a spur to further effort, in living up to the ideals held before the world by you, he has taken the liberty, after consultation with me, of naming his farm after you.

Of his generous action in giving the use of the (Tolstoy) farm for passive resisters, the numbers of *Indian Opinion* I am sending herewith will give you full information.

I should not have burdened you with these details but for the fact of your taking a personal interest in the passive resistance struggle that is going on in the Transvaal.

I remain,
Your faithful servant,
M. K. Gandhi.

In connexion with Gandhi-Tolstoy correspondence, Tolstoy wrote to V. Chertkov the following letter which is self-explanatory :—

(vii)

22nd April, 1910.

"Today and last evening I read the book which was sent to me along with the letter. The book is by an Indian thinker and fighter against British auto-cracy, Gandhi, who is fighting by means of passive resistance. He is very close to us. He has read my writings. His book, *Indian Home Rule* written in Indian language was banned by the British Government. He requests my opinion on his book. I want to write him in detail. Will you translate such a letter for me ?"

Leo Tolstoi.

In reply to Gandhi's letter dated the 15th of August, 1910, to Tolstoy, V. Chertkov wrote to Gandhi the following letter :—

(viii)

"My friend, Leo Tolstoy has requested me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to him of August 15 and to translate into English his letter to you of September 7th (new style 20th September) written originally in Russian.

All that you communicate about Mr. Kallenbach has greatly interested Tolstoy, who has also asked me to answer for him to Mr. Kallenbach's letter.

Tolstoy sends you and your co-workers his heartiest greetings and warmest wishes for the success of your work, his appreciation of which you will gather from the enclosed translation of his letter to you. I must apologise for my mistakes in English in the translation ; but, living in the country in Russia, I am unable to profit by the assistance of any Englishman for correcting my mistakes.

With Tolstoy's permission, his letter to you will be published in a small periodical printed by some friends of ours in London. A copy of the Magazine with the letter shall be forwarded to you, as also some English publications of Tolstoy's writings issued by *The Free Age Press*.

As it seems to me most desirable that more should be known in England about your movement, I am writing to a great friend of mine and of Tolstoy—Mrs. Fyvie Mayo of Glasgow—proposing that she should enter into communication with you. She possesses considerable literary talent and is well known in England as an author. It should be worth your while furnishing her with all your publications which might serve her as material for an article upon your movement which, if published in England, would attract attention to your work and position. Mrs. Mayo will probably write to you herself.

With sincerest good wishes from myself. Kindly transmit to Mr. Kallenbach the inclosed letter."

V. CHERTKOV.

(ix)

To
M. K. Gandhi,
Johannesburg,
Transvaal, South Africa.

"KOTCHETY."

(Castle of the eldest daughter of Tolstoy).

7th September, 1910.

I have received your journal, *Indian Opinion* and I am happy to know all that is written on non-resistance. I wish to communicate to you the thoughts which are aroused in me by the reading of those articles.

The more I live—and specially now that I am approaching death, the more I feel inclined to express to others the feelings which so strongly move my being, and which, according to my opinion, are of great importance. That is, what one calls non-resistance, is in reality nothing else but the discipline of love undeformed by false interpretation. Love is the aspiration for communion and solidarity with other souls, and that aspiration always liberates the source of noble activities. That love is the supreme and unique law of human life, which everyone feels in the depth of one's soul. We find it manifested most clearly in the soul of the infants. Man feels it so long as he is not blinded by the false doctrines of the world.

That law of love has been promulgated by all the philosophies—Indian, Chinese, Hebrew, Greek and Roman. I think that it had been most clearly expressed by Christ, who said that in that law is contained both the Law and the Prophets. But he has done more; anticipating the deformation to which that law is exposed, he indicated directly the danger of such deformation which is natural to people who live only for worldly interests. The danger consists precisely in permitting one's self to defend those interests by violence; that is to say, as he has expressed, returning blow by blows, and taking back by force things that have been taken from us, and so forth. Christ knew also, just as all reasonable human beings must know, that the employment of violence is incompatible with love, which is the fundamental law of life. He knew that, once violence is admitted, doesn't matter in even a single case, the law of love is thereby rendered futile. That is to say that the law of love ceases to exist. The whole Christian civilisation, so brilliant in the exterior, has grown up on this misunderstanding and this flagrant and strange contradiction, sometimes conscious but mostly unconscious.

In reality as soon as resistance is admitted by the side of love, love no longer exists and cannot exist as the law of existence; and if the law of love cannot exist, there remains no other law except that of violence, that is the right of the mighty. It was thus that the Christian Society has lived during these nineteen centuries. It is a fact that all the time people were following only violence in the organisation of Society. But the difference between the ideals of Christian people and that of other nations lies only in this: that in Christianity the law of love had been expressed so clearly and definitely as has never been expressed in any other religious doctrine; that the Christian world had solemnly accepted that law, although at the same time it had permitted the employment of violence and on that violence it had constructed their whole life. Consequently, the life of the Christian peoples is an absolute contradiction between their profession and the basis of their life; contradiction between love recognised as the law of life, and violence recognised as inevitable in different departments of life-like Governments, Tribunals, Army etc., which are recognised and praised. That contradiction developed with the inner development of the Christian world and has attained its paroxysm in recent days.

At present the question poses itself evidently in the following manner: either it must be admitted that we do not recognise any discipline, religious or moral, and that we are guided in the organisation of life only by the law of force, or that all the taxes that we exact by force, the judicial and police organisations and above all the army must be abolished.

This spring in the religious examination of a secondary school of girls in Moscow, the Professor of Catechism as well as the Bishop had questioned the young girls on the Ten Commandments and above all on the sixth "Thou shalt not kill". When the examiner received good reply, the Bishop generally paused

for another question : Is killing proscribed by the sacred Law always and in all cases ? And the poor young girls, perverted by their teachers must reply : No, not always ; killing is permitted during war, and for the execution of criminals. However one of those unfortunate girls, (what I relate is not a fiction but a fact that has been transmitted to me by an eye-witness) having been asked the same question, "Is killing always a crime ?" was moved deeply, blushed and replied with decision "Yes, always." To all the sophisticated questions habitual to the Bishop she replied with firm conviction : killing is always forbidden in the Old Testament as well as by Christ who not only forbids killing but all wickedness against our neighbours. In spite of all his oratorical talent and all his imposing grandeur, the Bishop was obliged to beat a retreat and the young girl came out victorious.

Yes, we can discuss in our journals the progress in aviation and such other discoveries, the complicated diplomatic relations, the different clubs and alliances, the so-called artistic creations etc. and pass in silence what was affirmed by the young girl. But silence is futile in such cases, because every one of this Christian world is feeling the same, more or less vaguely, like that girl. Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, Salvation army, the growing criminalities, unemployment and absurd luxuries of the rich, augmented without limit, and the awful misery of the poor, the terribly increasing number of suicides—all these are the signs of that inner contradiction which must be there and which cannot be resolved ; and without doubt, can only be resolved by acceptance of the law of Love and by the rejection of all sorts of violence. Consequently your work in Transvaal, which seems to be far away from the centre of our world, is yet the most fundamental and the most important to us supplying the most weighty practical proof in which the world can now share and with which must participate not only the Christians but all the peoples of the world.

I think that it would give you pleasure to know that with us in Russia, a similar movement is also developing rapidly under the form of the refusal of military services augmenting year after year. However small may be the number of your participators in non-resistance and the number of those in Russia who refuse military service, both the one and the other may assert with audacity that "God is with us" and that "God is more powerful than men".

Between the confession of Christianity, even under the perverted form in which it appears amongst us Christian peoples, and the simultaneous recognition of the necessity of armies and of the preparation for killing on an ever-increasing-scale, there exists a contradiction so flagrant and crying that, sooner or later, probably very soon, it must invariably manifest in itself in utter nakedness ; and it will lead us either to renounce the Christian religion, and to maintain the governmental power or to renounce the existence of the arms and all the forms of violence which the state supports and which are more or less necessary to sustain its power. That contradiction is felt by all the governments, by your

British Government as well as by our Russian Government ; and therefore, by the spirit of conservatism natural to these governments, the opposition is persecuted, as we find in Russia as well as in the articles of your journal, more than any other anti-governmental activity. The governments know from which direction comes the principal danger and try to defend themselves with a great zeal in that trial not merely to preserve their interests but actually to fight for their very existence.*

With my perfect esteem,
Leo Tolstoi.

* I give here the English version prepared under Tolstoy's supervision.

APPENDIX A

A LETTER TO A HINDU

In December, 1908, when Gandhiji was leading the Passive Resistance movement in South Africa, Tolstoy had completed a veritable monograph on Hindu religion and philosophy based upon non-violence, which he composed with great patience and labour while completing his 80th year (Sept. 1908). This monograph was written in reply to some challenging questions from the group of Indian Revolutionaries in Europe led by the then little known Indian youth Taraknath Das (Letter of Das was dated 24 May, 1908).

This letter of Tolstoy, written in Russian, in reply to one from the editors of the underground journal *Free Hindustan*, created so much stir in that epoch that Gandhiji sought the permission of Tolstoy to publish promptly an authorised English (and the Gujarati) translation of the same ; which he did, as we notice from his 'Preface' to the pamphlet which I possess and is dated November, 1909, when Jawaharlal Nehru was barely 20 ! Gandhiji formally sought Tolstoy's permission to publish the historic letter for the first time in South Africa ; and almost simultaneously Gandhiji sent Tolstoy a copy of the English version of his own book *Hind Swaraj* (composed on his return voyage from England in 1906 when the Calcutta Congress, with Dadabhai Naoroji, as President, accepted *Swaraj* as our goal) in which he also replied, in his own way, to the arguments in favour of violence to attain freedom, as advanced by the Indian revolutionaries. I got a copy of the first print of the *A Letter to a Hindu*, from my late lamented friend S. R. Rana of Paris, who kindly furnished me with many valuable materials which I utilised for my notes to Mon. Romain Rolland, while we were in collaboration on his famous French study : *Mahatma Gandhi* (1922-23).—K. N.

A LETTER TO A HINDU

THE SUBJECTION OF INDIA—ITS CAUSE AND CURE

With an Introduction by M. K. GANDHI

Introduction

The letter printed below is a translation of Tolstoy's letter written in Russian in reply to one from (Taraknath Das) the Editor of *Free Hindustan*. After having passed from hand to hand, this letter at last came into my possession through a friend who asked me, as one much interested in Tolstoy's writings, whether I thought it worth publishing. I at once replied in the affirmative, and told him I should translate it myself into Gujarati and induce others to translate and publish it in various Indian vernaculars.

The letter as received by me was a type-written copy. It was therefore referred to the author, who confirmed it as his and kindly granted me permission to print it.

To me, as a humble follower of that Great Teacher whom I have long looked upon as one of my guides, it is a matter of honour to be connected with the publication of his letter, such especially as the one which is now being given to the world.

It is a mere statement of fact to say that every Indian, whether he owns up to it or not, has national aspirations. But there are as many opinions as there are Indian nationalists as to the exact meaning of that aspiration, and more especially as to the methods to be used to attain the end.

One of the accepted and 'time-honoured' methods to attain the ends is that of violence. The assassination of Sir Curzon Wylie was an illustration of that method in its worst and most detestable form. Tolstoy's life has been devoted to replacing the method of violence, for removing tyranny or securing reform, by the method of non-resistance to evil. He would meet hatred expressed in violence by love expressed in self-suffering. He admits of no exception to whittle down this great and divine law of love. He applies it to all the problems that trouble mankind.

When a man like Tolstoy, one of the clearest thinkers in the Western world, one of the greatest writers, one who, as a soldier has known what violence is and what it can do, condemns Japan for having blindly followed the law of modern science, falsely so-called, and fears for that country 'the greatest calamities', it is for us to pause and consider whether, in our impatience of English rule, we do not want to replace one evil by another and a worse. India, which is the nursery of the great Faiths of the world, will cease to be nationalist India, whatever else she may become, when she goes through the process of civilization in the shape of reproduction, on that Sacred soil, of gun factories and the hateful industrialism which has reduced the people of Europe to a state of slavery, and all but stifled among them the best instincts which are the heritage of the human family.

If we do not want the English in India we must pay the price. Tolstoy indicates it. 'Do not resist evil, but also do not yourselves participate in evil—in the violent deeds, of the administration of the law courts, the collection of taxes and, what is more important, of the soldiers ; and no one in the world will enslave you', passionately declares the sage of Yasnaya Polyana. Who can question the truth of what he says in the following : 'A commercial company enslaved a nation comprising two hundred millions. Tell this to a man free from superstition and he will fail to grasp what these words mean. What does it mean that thirty thousand people, not athletes, but rather weak and ordinary people, have enslaved two hundred millions of vigorous, clever, capable, freedom-loving people ? Do not the figures make it clear that not the English, but the Indians, have enslaved themselves ?'

One need not accept all that Tolstoy says—some of his facts are not accurately stated—to realize the central truth of his indictment of the present system, which is to understand and act upon the irresistible power of the soul over the body, of love, which is an attribute of the soul, over the brute or body force generated by the stirring up in us of evil passions.

There is no doubt that there is nothing new in what Tolstoy preaches. But his presentation of the old truth is refreshingly forceful. His logic is unassailable. And above all he endeavours to practise what he preaches. He preaches to convince. He is sincere and is earnest. He commands attention.

JOHANNESBURG,
19th November, 1909.

M. K. Gandhi

A LETTER TO A HINDU

By LEO TOLSTOY

All that exists is One. People only call this One by different names. THE VEDAS.
God is love, and he that abideth in love abideth in God, and God abideth in him.

I JOHN IV. 16.

God is one whole ; we are the parts.

Exposition of the teaching of the Vedas by Vivekananda.

I

Do not seek quiet and rest in those earthly realms where delusions and desires are engendered ; for if thou dost, thou wilt be dragged through the rough wilderness of life, which is far from Me. Whenever thou feelest that thy feet are becoming entangled in the interlaced roots of life, know that thou hast strayed from the path to which I beckon thee ; for I have placed thee in broad, smooth paths, which are strewn with flowers. I have put a light before thee, which thou canst follow and thus run without stumbling.

KRISHNA.

I have received your letter and two numbers of your periodical, both of which interest me extremely. The oppression of a majority by a minority, and the demoralization inevitably resulting from it, is a phenomenon that has always

occupied me and has done so most particularly of late. I will try to explain to you what I think about that subject in general, and particularly about the cause from which the dreadful evils of which you write in your letter and in the Hindu periodical you have sent me, have arisen and continue to arise.

The reason for the astonishing fact, that a majority of working people submit to a handful of idlers who control their labour and their very lives, is always and everywhere the same—whether the oppressors and oppressed are of one race or whether, as in India and elsewhere, the oppressors are of a different nation.

This phenomenon seems particularly strange in India ; for there more than two hundred million people, highly gifted both physically and mentally, find themselves in the power of a small group of people quite alien to them in thought, and immeasurably inferior to them in religious morality.

From your letter and the articles in *Free Hindustan*, as well as from the very interesting writings of the Hindu Swami Vivekananda and others, it appears that, as is the case in our time with the ills of all nations, the reason lies in the lack of a reasonable religious teaching which, by explaining the meaning of life, would supply a supreme law for the guidance of conduct and would replace the more than dubious precepts of pseudo-religion and pseudo-science with the immoral conclusions deduced from them and commonly called 'civilization'.

Your letter, as well as the articles in *Free Hindustan* and Indian political literature generally, shows that most of the leaders of public opinion among your people no longer attach any significance to the religious teachings that were and are professed by the peoples of India ; and recognize no possibility of freeing the people from the oppression they endure except by adopting the irreligious and profoundly immoral social arrangements under which the English and other pseudo-Christian nations live to-day.

And yet the chief if not the sole cause of the enslavement of the Indian peoples by the English lies in this very absence of a religious consciousness and of the guidance for conduct which should flow from it—a lack common in our day to all nations East and West, from Japan to England and America alike.

II

O ye, who see perplexities over your heads, beneath your feet, and to the right and left of you : you will be an eternal enigma unto yourselves until ye become humble and joyful as children. Then will ye find Me, and having found Me in yourselves, you will rule over worlds, and looking out from the great world within to the little world without, you will bless everything that is, and find all is well with time and with you.

KRISHNA.

To make my thoughts clear to you I must go farther back. We do not, cannot, and I venture to say need not, know how men lived millions of years ago or even ten thousand years ago ; but we do know positively that, as far back as we have any knowledge of mankind, it has always lived in special groups of

families, tribes, and nations in which the majority, in the conviction that it must be so, submissively and willingly bowed to the rule of one or more persons—that is to a very small minority. Despite all varieties of circumstances and personalities these relations manifested themselves among the various peoples of whose origin we have any knowledge ; and the farther back we go the more absolutely necessary did this arrangement appear, both to the rulers and the ruled, to make it possible for people to live peacefully together.

So it was everywhere. But though this external form of life existed for centuries and still exists, very early—thousands of years before our time—amid this life based on coercion, one and the same thought constantly emerged among different nations, namely, that in every individual a spiritual element is manifested that gives life to all that exists, and that this spiritual element strives to unite with everything of a like nature to itself, and attains this aim through love. This thought appeared in most various forms at different times and places, with varying completeness and clarity. It found expression in Brahmanism, Judaism, Mazdaism (the teachings of Zoroaster), in Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, and in the writings of the Greek and Roman sages, as well as in Christianity and Mohammedanism. The mere fact that this thought has sprung up among different nations and at different times indicates that it is inherent in human nature and contains the truth. But this truth was made known to people who considered that a community could only be kept together if some of them restrained others, and so it appeared quite irreconcilable with the existing order of society. Moreover it was at first expressed only fragmentarily, and so obscurely that though people admitted its theoretic truth they could not entirely accept it as guidance for their conduct. Then too, the dissemination of the truth in a society based on coercion was always hindered in one and the same manner, namely, those in power, feeling that the recognition of this truth would undermine their position, consciously or sometimes unconsciously perverted it by explanations and additions quite foreign to it, and also opposed it by open violence. Thus the Truth—that his life should be directed by the spiritual element which is its basis, which manifests itself as Love, and which is so natural to man—this truth, in order to force a way to man's consciousness, had to struggle not merely against the obscurity with which it was expressed and the intentional and unintentional distortions surrounding it, but also against deliberate violence, which by means of persecutions and punishments sought to compel men to accept religious laws authorized by the rulers and conflicting with the truth. Such a hindrance and mis-representation of the truth—which had not yet achieved complete clarity—occurred everywhere : in Confucianism and Taoism, in Buddhism and in Christianity, in Mohammedanism and in your Brahmanism.

III

My hand has sowed Love everywhere, giving unto all that will receive. Blessings are offered unto all my children, but many times in their blindness they fail to see them. How few there are who gather the gifts which lie in profusion at their feet : how many there are, who, in wilful waywardness turn their eyes away from them and complain with a wail that they have not that which I have given them ; many of them defiantly repudiate not only My gifts, but Me also, Me the Source of all blessings and the Author of their being.

KRISHNA.

I tarry awhile from the turmoil and strife of the world. I will beautify and quicken thy life with love and with joy, for the light of the soul is Love. Where Love is, there is contentment and peace, and where there is contentment and Peace, there am I, also, in their midst.

KRISHNA.

The aim of the sinless One consists in acting without causing sorrow to others, although he could attain to great power by ignoring their feelings.

The aim of the sinless One lies in not doing evil unto those who have done evil unto him.

If a man causes suffering even to those who hate him without any reason, he will ultimately have grief not to be overcome.

The punishment of evil-doers consists in, making them feel ashamed of themselves by doing them a great kindness.

Of what use is superior knowledge in the one, if he does not endeavour to relieve his neighbour's want as much as his own ?

If, in the morning, a man wishes to do evil unto another, in the evening the evil will return to him.

THE HINDU KURAL.

Thus it went on everywhere. The recognition that love represents the highest morality was nowhere denied or contradicted ; but this truth was so interwoven every-where with all kinds of falsehoods which distorted it, that finally nothing of it remained but words. It was taught that this highest morality was only applicable to private life—for home use, as it were—but that in public life all forms of violence—such as imprisonment, executions, and wars—might be used for the protection of the majority against a minority of evil-doers, though such means were diametrically opposed to any vestige of love. And though common sense indicated that if some men claim to decide who is to be subjected to violence of all kinds for the benefit of others, these men to whom violence is applied may, in turn, arrive at a similar conclusion with regard to those who have employed violence to them ; and though the great religious teachers of Brahmanism, Buddhism, and above all of Christianity, foreseeing such a perversion of the law of love, have constantly drawn attention to the one invariable condition of love (namely, the enduring of injuries, insults, and violence of all kinds without resisting evil by evil) people continued—regardless of all that leads man forward—to try to unite the incompatibles ; the virtue of love, and what is opposed to love, namely, the restraining of evil by violence. And such a teaching, despite its inner contradiction, was so firmly established that the very people who recognize love as a virtue, accept as lawful, at the same time, an order of life based on violence and allowing men not merely to torture but even to kill one another.

For a long time people lived in this obvious contradiction without noticing it. But a time arrived when this contradiction became more and more evident to thinkers of various nations. But the old and simple truth that it is natural for men to help and to love one another, but not to torture and to kill one another, became ever clearer ; so that fewer and fewer people were able to believe the sophistries by which the distortion of the truth had been made so plausible.

In former times the chief method of justifying the use of violence and thereby infringing the law of love was by claiming a *divine right for the rulers* : the Tsars, Sultans, Rajahs, Shahs, and other heads of states. But the longer humanity lived the weaker grew the belief in this peculiar, God-given right of the ruler. That belief withered in the same way and almost simultaneously in the Christian and the Brahman world, as well as in the Buddhist and Confucian spheres ; and in recent times it has so faded away as to prevail no longer against man's reasonable understanding and the true religious feeling. People saw more and more clearly, and now the majority see quite clearly, the senselessness and immorality of subordinating their wills to those of other people just like themselves, when they are bidden to do what is contrary not only to their interests but also to their moral sense. And so one might suppose that having lost confidence in any religious authority for a belief in the divinity of potentates of various kinds, people would try to free themselves from subjection to it. But unfortunately not only were the rulers, who were considered supernatural beings, benefited by having the peoples in subjection, but as a result of the belief in, and during the rule of, these pseudo-divine beings, ever larger and larger circles of people grouped and established themselves around them ; and under an appearance of governing took advantage of the people. And when the old deception of a supernatural and God-appointed authority had dwindled away, these men were only concerned to devise a new one which, like its predecessor, should make it possible to hold the people in bondage to a limited number of rulers.

IV

Children, do you want to know by what your hearts should be guided ? Throw aside your longings and strivings after that which is null and void ; get rid of your erroneous thoughts about happiness and wisdom, and your empty and insincere desires. Dispense with these and you will know Love.

KRISHNA.

Be not the destroyers of yourselves. Arise to your true Being, and then you will have nothing to fear.

KRISHNA.

New justifications have now appeared in place of the antiquated, obsolete, religious ones. These new justifications are just as inadequate as the old ones, but as they are new their futility cannot immediately be recognized by the majority of men. Besides this, those who enjoy power propagate these new sophistries and support them so skilfully that they seem irrefutable even to many

of those who suffer from the oppression these theories seek to justify. These new justifications are termed 'scientific'. But by the term 'scientific' is understood just what was formerly understood by the term 'religious'; just as formerly everything called 'religious' was held to be unquestionable simply because it was called religious, so now all that is called 'scientific' is held to be unquestionable. In the present case the obsolete religious justification of violence which consisted in the recognition of the supernatural personality of the God-ordained rulers ('there is no power but of God') has been superseded by the 'scientific' justification which puts forward, first, the assertion that because the coercion of man by man has existed in all ages, it follows that such coercion must continue to exist. This assertion, that people should continue to live as they have done throughout past ages rather than as their reason and conscience indicate, is what 'science' calls 'the historic law'. A further 'scientific' justification lies in the statement that, as among plants and wild beasts, there is a constant struggle for existence which always results in the survival of the fittest. A similar struggle should be carried on among human beings—beings, that is, who are gifted with intelligence and love—faculties lacking in the creatures subject to the struggle for existence and *survival of the fittest*. Such is the second 'scientific' justification.

The third, most important, and unfortunately most widespread justification is, at bottom, the age-old religious one just a little altered: that in public life the suppression of some for the protection of the majority cannot be avoided—so that coercion is unavoidable, however desirable reliance on love alone might be in human intercourse. The only difference in this justification by pseudo-science consists in the fact that, to the question why such and such people and not others have the right to decide against whom violence may and must be used, pseudo-science now gives a different reply to that given by religion—which declared that the right to decide was valid because it was pronounced by persons possessed of divine power. 'Science' says that these decisions represent the will of the people, which, under a constitutional form of government, is supposed to find expression in all the decisions and actions of those who are at the helm at the moment.

Such are the scientific justifications of the principle of coercion. They are not merely weak but absolutely invalid; yet they are so much needed by those who occupy privileged positions that they believe in them as blindly as they formerly believed in the immaculate conception, and propagate them just as confidently. And the unfortunate majority of men bound to toil is so dazzled by the pomp with which these 'scientific truths' are presented, that under this new influence it accepts these scientific stupidities for Holy truth, just as it formerly accepted the pseudo-religious justifications; and it continues to submit to the present holders of power who are just as hard-hearted but rather more numerous than before.

V

Who am I? I am that which thou hast searched for, since thy baby eyes gazed wonderingly upon the world, whose horizon hides this real life from thee. I am that which in thy heart thou hast prayed for, demanded as thy birthright, although thou hast not known what it was. I am that which has lain in thy soul for hundreds and thousands of years. Sometimes I lay in thee grieving because thou didst not recognize me; sometimes I raised my head, opened my eyes, and extended my arms calling thee either tenderly and quietly, or strenuously, demanding that thou shouldst rebel against the iron chains which bound thee to the earth.

KRISHNA.

So matters went on, and still go on, in the Christian world. But we might have hope that in the immense Brahman, Buddhist, and Confucian worlds this new scientific superstition would not establish itself; and that the Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus, once their eyes were opened to the religious fraud justifying violence, would advance directly to a recognition of the *law of love* inherent in humanity, and which had been so forcibly enunciated by the great Eastern teachers. But what has happened is that the scientific superstition, replacing the religious one, has been accepted and secured a stronger and stronger hold in the East.

In your periodical you set out as the basic principle, which should guide the actions of your people, the maxim that: 'Resistance to aggression is not simply justifiable but imperative, non-resistance hurts both Altruism and Egotism.'

Love is the only way to rescue humanity from all ills; and in it you too have the only method of saving your people from enslavement. In very ancient times love was proclaimed with special strength and clearness among your people to be the religious basis of human life. Love, and forcible resistance to evil-doers, involve such a mutual contradiction as to destroy utterly the whole sense and meaning of the conception of love. And what follows? With a light heart, and in the twentieth century, you, an adherent of a religious people, deny their law, feeling convinced of your scientific enlightenment and your right to do so; and you repeat (do not take this amiss) the amazing stupidity indoctrinated in you by the advocates of the use of violence—the enemies of truth, the servants first of theology and then of science—your European teachers.

You say that the English have enslaved your people and hold them in subjection because the latter have not resisted resolutely enough and have not met force by force.

But the case is just the opposite. If the English have enslaved the people of India it is just because the latter recognized, and still recognize, force as the fundamental principle of the social order. In accord with that principle they submitted to their little *rajahs*, and on their behalf struggled against one another, fought the Europeans, the English, and are now trying to fight with them again.

A commercial company enslaved a nation comprising two hundred millions. Tell this to a man free from superstition and he will fail to grasp what these

words mean. What does it mean that thirty thousand men, not athletes but rather weak and ordinary people, have subdued two hundred million vigorous, clever, capable, and freedom-loving people? Do not the figures make it clear that it is not the English who have enslaved the Indians, but the Indians who have enslaved themselves?

When the Indians complain that the English have enslaved them, it is as if drunkards complained that the spirit-dealers, who have settled among them, have enslaved them. You tell them that they might give up drinking, but they reply that they are so accustomed to it that they cannot abstain, and that they must have alcohol to keep up their energy. Is it not the same thing with the millions of people who submit to thousands, or even to hundreds, of others—of their own or other nations?

If the people of India are enslaved by violence it is only because they themselves live and have lived by violence, and do not recognize the eternal law of love inherent in humanity.

Pitiful and foolish is the man who seeks what he already has, and does not know that he has it. Yes, pitiful and foolish is he who does not know the bliss of love which surrounds him and which I have given him.

KRISHNA.

As soon as men live entirely in accord with the law of love natural to their hearts and now revealed to them, which excludes all resistance by violence, and therefore hold aloof from all participation in violence,—as soon as this happens, not only will hundreds be unable to enslave millions, but not even millions will not be able to enslave a single individual. Do not resist the evil-doer and take no part in doing so, either in the violent deeds of the administration, in the law courts, the collection of taxes or above all in soldiering,—and no one in the world will be able to enslave you.

VI

O ye who sit in bondage and continually seek and pant for freedom, seek only for love. Love is peace in itself and peace which gives complete satisfaction. I am the key that opens the portal to the rarely discovered land where contentment alone is found.

KRISHNA.

What is now happening to the people of the East as of the West is like what happens to every individual when he passes from childhood to adolescence and from youth to manhood. He loses what had hitherto guided his life and lives without direction, not having found a new standard suitable to his age, and so he invents all sorts of occupations, cares, distractions, and stupefactions to divert his attention from the misery and senselessness of his life. Such a condition may last a long time.

When an individual passes from one period of life to another, a time comes when he cannot go in senseless activity and excitement as before, but has to

understand that, although he has outgrown what before used to direct him, this does not mean that he must live without any reasonable guidance, but rather that he must formulate for himself an understanding of life corresponding to his age, and having elucidated it must be guided by it. And in the same way a similar time must come in the growth and development of humanity. I believe and such a time has now arrived—not in the sense that it has come in the year 1908, but that the inherent contradiction of human life has now reached an extreme degree of tension : on the one side there is the consciousness of the beneficence of the law of love, and on the other the existing order of life which has for centuries occasioned an empty, anxious, restless, and troubled mode of life, conflicting as it does with the law of love and built on the use of violence. This contradiction must be faced, and the solution will evidently not be favourable to the outlived law of violence, but to the truth which has dwelt in the hearts of men from remote antiquity : the truth that the law of love is in accord with the nature of men.

But men can only recognize this truth to its full extent when they have completely freed themselves from all religious and scientific superstitions and from all the consequent misrepresentations and sophistical distortions by which its recognition has been hindered for centuries.

To save a sinking ship it is necessary to throw overboard the ballast which, though it may once have been needed, would now cause the ship to sink. And so it is with the scientific superstition which hides the truth, of their welfare, from mankind. In order that men should embrace the truth—not in the vague way they did in childhood, nor in the one-sided and perverted way presented to them by their religious and scientific teachers, but embrace it as their highest law—the complete liberation of this truth, from all and every superstition (both pseudo-religious and pseudo-scientific) by which it is still obscured, is essential : not a partial, timid attempt, reckoning with traditions sanctified by age and with the habits of the people—not such as was effected in the religious sphere by Guru Nanak, the founder of the sect of the Sikhs, and in the Christian world by Luther, and by similar reformers in other religions—but a *fundamental cleansing* of religious consciousness from all ancient religious and modern scientific superstitions.

If only people freed themselves from their beliefs in all kinds of Ormuzds, Brahmas, Sabbaoths, and their incarnation as Krishnas and Christs, from beliefs in Paradises and Hells, in reincarnations and resurrections, from belief in the interference of the Gods in the external affairs of the universe ; and above all, if they freed themselves from belief in the *infallibility* of all the various Vedas, Bibles, Gospels, Tripitakas, Korans, and the like ; and also freed themselves from blind belief in a variety of scientific teachings about infinitely small atoms and molecules and in all the infinitely great and infinitely remote worlds, their movements and origin, as well as from faith in the *infallibility* of the scientific laws to which humanity is at present subjected : the historic laws, the economic

laws, the law of struggle and survival, and so on—if people only freed themselves from this terrible accumulation of futile exercises of our lower capacities of mind and memory called the 'Sciences'; and from the innumerable divisions of all sorts of histories, anthropologies, homiletics, bacteriologies, jurisprudences, cosmographies, strategies—their name is legion—and freed themselves from all this harmful, stupefying ballast—the simple law of love, natural to man, accessible to all and solving all questions and perplexities, would of itself become clear and obligatory.

VII

Children, look at the flowers at your feet; do not trample upon them. Look at the love in your midst and do not repudiate it.
KRISHNA.

There is a higher reason which transcends all human minds. It is far and near. It permeates all the worlds and at the same time is infinitely higher than they.

A man who sees that all things are contained in the higher spirit cannot treat any being with contempt.

For him to whom all spiritual beings are equal to the highest there can be no room for deception or grief.

Those who are ignorant and are devoted to the religious rites only, are in a deep gloom, but those who are given up to fruitless meditations are in a still greater darkness.

UPANISHADS, FROM THE VEDAS.

Yes, in our time all these things must be cleared away in order that mankind may escape from self-inflicted calamities that have reached an extreme intensity. Whether an Indian seeks liberation from subjection to the English, or anyone else he struggles with an oppressor either of his own nationality or of another—whether it be a Negro defending himself against the North Americans or Prussian, Russian, or Turkish governments; or any man seeking the greatest welfare for himself and for every-body else—they do not need explanations and justifications of old religious superstitions such as have been formulated by your Vivekanandas, Baba Bharatis, and others, or in the Christian world by a number of similar interpreters and exponents of thing that nobody needs; nor the innumerable scientific theories about matters, not only unnecessary but for the most part harmful. (In the spiritual realm nothing is indifferent: what is not useful is harmful.)

What are wanted for the Indian as for the Englishman, the Frenchman, the German, and the Russian, are not Constitutions and Revolutions, nor all sorts of Conferences and Congresses, nor the many ingenious devices for Submarine navigation and Aerial navigation, nor powerful explosives, nor all sorts of conveniences to add to the enjoyment of the rich, ruling classes; nor new schools and universities with innumerable faculties of Science, nor an augmentation of papers and books, nor gramophones and cinematographs, nor those childish and

for the most part corrupt stupidities termed Art—but one thing only is needful the knowledge of the simple and clear truth which finds place in very soul that is not stupefied by religious and scientific superstitions—the Truth that for our life one law is valid—the law of love, which brings the highest happiness to very individual as well as to all mankind. Free your minds from those overgrown, mountainous imbecilities which hinder your recognition of it, and at once the truth will emerge from amid the pseudo-religious nonsense that has been smothering it : the indubitable, Eternal truth inherent in man, which is one and the same in all the great religions of the world. It will in due time emerge and make its way to general recognition, and the nonsense that has obscured it will disappear of itself, and with it will go the evil from which humanity now suffers.

"Children, look upwards with your beclouded eyes, and a world full of Joy and Love will disclose itself to you, a rational world made by My wisdom, the only real world. Then you will know what love has done with you, what love has bestowed upon you, what love demands from you."

Yasnaya Polyana.
December 14th, 1908.

Krishna.

APPENDIX B

TOLSTOY FARM—THE IDEA AND THE INSTITUTION

Gandhi's contact with Tolstoy was for years very remote from the personal point of view, but it was intensely spiritual. Possibly he came in contact with some admirers of Tolstoy's works during his student days in England. But there is no doubt that, from 1893 onwards, Gandhi was making intensive study of the works of Tolstoy as attested by Rev. Joseph J. Doke, his first biographer. References to the bigger novels of Tolstoy are no doubt rare in Gandhi's works ; but Tolstoy's miscellaneous writings, especially on the religious, ethical and allied problems, specially those on non-resistance, were traced, read and digested by Gandhi. Rev. Doke, who closely co-operated with Gandhi, specially refers to "Gandhi the practical dreamer" who took progressive steps in realising his dream of developing an 'army' of non-violent fighters (*Satyagrahis*) who will live together as a family, in a rural surrounding, in a sort of co-operative common-wealth . . . , trained to live a new and simple life, in harmony with one another. This dream of Gandhi took final shape in the Tolstoy Farm, in Johannesburg. In 1903-04 when the *Indian Opinion* was founded, Gandhi was galvanised into a new line of activities, after reading for the first time Ruskin's *Unto This Last* placed in his hands by Mr. H. S.

Polak. In that period Gandhi minutely surveyed an orchard of one of his relatives. And he found that the fruits gathered in the season might substantially help in supplementing the food of the community. This struck Gandhi with the idea of probably acquiring a big estate, permitting him to make an experiment in farm economy.

The food and economic problem became acute as we know, with the opening of the *Satyagraha* campaign in 1906 which developed into an eight years (non-violent) war (1906-1914) with the White Bureaucrats. During a lull in the fight Gandhi went on a deputation to England; and as soon as he landed in Cape Town, back in November, 1909, he got the cheering cable to the effect that Sir Ratanji Tata had donated Rs. 25,000/- in aid of the *Satyagraha* movement in Africa.

On the 30th of May, 1910 Gandhi got the most generous offer from Rev. Hermann Kallenbach to utilise his big estate of 1100 acres for the foundation of the Tolstoy Farm and communicated] the fact to Tolstoy who replied to Kallenbach through Mr. Chertkov. K. N.

TOLSTOY FARM (a)

By M. K. GANDHI

Upon the Farm oranges, apricots and plums grew in such abundance that during the season the *Satyagrahis* could have their fill of the fruit and yet have a surplus besides.

The spring was about 500 yards away from our quarters, and the water had to be fetched on carrying poles.

Here we insisted that we should not have any servants; not only for the household work but, as far as may be, even for the farming and building operations. Everything, therefore, from cooking to scavenging was done with our own hands. As regards accommodating families, we resolved from the first that the men and women should be housed separately. The houses therefore were to be built in two separate blocks, each at some distance from the other. For the time it was considered sufficient to provide accommodation for ten women and sixty men. Then again we had to erect a house for Mr. Kallenbach and by its side a school house, as well as a workshop for carpentry, shoemaking etc.

The settlers hailed from Gujarat, Tamilnad, Andhradesh and North India, and there were Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis and Christians among them. About forty of them were young men, two or three old men, five women and twenty to thirty children of whom four or five were girls.

The Christian and other women were meat-eaters. Mr. Kallenbach and I thought it desirable to exclude meat from the farm. But how could we ask people who had no scruples in the matter, who had been habituated to taking

meat since childhood and who were coming over here in their days of adversity, to give up meat even temporarily? And if they were, given meat, would not that swell our cost of living? Again should those who used to take beef be given that too? How many separate kitchens must be run in that case? What was my duty on this point? Having been instrumental in giving monetary help to these families, I had already accorded support to meat-eating as well as beef-eating. If I made a rule that meat-eaters should not be helped, I would have to prosecute the Satyagraha struggle through vegetarians only, which was absurd, as the movement had been organised on behalf of all classes of Indians. I did not take long clearly to visualise my duty in these circumstances. If the Christians and Musalmans asked for even beef, that too must be provided for them. To refuse them admission to the farm was absolutely out of the question.

But where love is, there God is also. The Musalman friends had already granted me permission to have a purely vegetarian kitchen. I had now to approach Christian sisters whose husbands or sons were in jail. I had often come in such intimate contact with the Christian friends who were now in jail and who had on like occasions consented to having a vegetarian dietary. But this was the first time that I had to deal at close quarters with their families in their absence. I represented to the sisters the difficulty of housing accommodation as well as of finance and my own deep-rooted sentiment in the matter. At the same time I assured them that even beef would be provided for them if they wanted. The sisters kindly consented not to have meat, and the cooking department was placed in their charge. I, with or without another man, was detailed to assist them. My presence acted as a check upon petty bickerings. The food was to be the simplest possible. The time as well as the number of meals was fixed up. There was to be one single kitchen, and all were to dine in a single row. Every one was to see to the cleaning of his own dish and other things. The common pots were to be cleaned by different parties in turn. I must state that Satyagrahis lived on Tolstoy Farm for a long time, but neither the women nor the men ever asked for meat. Drink, smoking etc. were of course totally prohibited.

As I have already stated, we wanted to be self-reliant as far as possible even in erecting buildings. Our architect was Mr. Kallenbach of course, and he got hold of a European mason. A Gujarati carpenter, Narayandas Damania, volunteered his services free of charge and brought other carpenters to work at reduced rates. As regards unskilled labour, the settlers of us who had supple limbs literally worked wonders. A fine Satyagrahi of the name of Vihari did half of the carpenter's work. The lion-like Thambi Naidoo was in charge of sanitation and marketing for which he had to go to Johannesburg.

One of the settlers was Pragj Khandubhai Desai who had never been accustomed to discomfort all his life, but who had here to put up with bitter

cold, a hot sun and sharp rains. In the beginning we lived in tents for about two months while the buildings were under construction. The structures were all of corrugated iron and therefore did not take long to raise. The timber too could be had ready made in all sizes required. All we had to do was to cut it to measure. There were not many doors or windows to be prepared. Hence it was that quite a number of buildings could be erected within such a short space of time. But all this labour was a heavy tax on Pragji's physical constitution. The work on the farm was certainly harder than in jail. One day Pragji actually fainted, due to fatigue and heat. But he was not the man to give in. He fully trained up his body here, and in the end he stood abreast as a good worker with the best of us. Then there was Jossep Royeppen, a barrister free from a barrister's pride. He could not undertake very hard work. It was difficult for him to take down loads from the railway train and to haul them on the cart, but he did it as best as he could.

The weak became strong on Tolstoy Farm and labour proved to be a tonic for all.

Every one had to go to Johannesburg on some errand or other. Children would like to go there just for the fun of it. I also had to go there on business. We therefore made a rule that one could go there by rail only on the public business of our little commonwealth, and then to travel third class. Any one who wanted to go on a pleasure trip must go on foot, and carry homemade provisions with him. None must spend anything on his food in the city. Had it not been for these drastic rules, the money saved by living in a rural locality would have been wasted in railway fares and city picnics. The provisions carried were of the simplest : home-baked bread made from coarse wheat flour ground at home, from which the bran was not removed, groundnut butter also prepared at home, and home-made marmalade. We had purchased an iron hand-mill for grinding wheat. Groundnut butter was made by roasting and then grinding groundnuts, and was four times cheaper than ordinary butter. As for the oranges, we had plenty of them on the farm. We scarcely used cow's milk on the farm and generally managed with condensed milk.

But to return to the trips. Any one who wished to go to Johannesburg went there on foot once or twice a week and returned the same day. As I have already stated, it was a journey of 21 miles and back. We saved hundreds of rupees by this one rule of going on foot, and those who thus went walking were much benefited. Some newly acquired the habit of walking. The general practice was that the sojourner should rise at two o'clock and start at half past two. He would reach Johannesburg in six to seven hours. The record for the minimum time taken on the journey was 4 hours 18 minutes.

The reader must not imagine that this discipline operated upon the settlers at all as a hardship. On the other hand it was accepted cheerfully. It would have been impossible to have a single settler if force had been

employed. The youngsters thoroughly enjoyed the work on the Farm and the errands to the city. It was difficult to prevent them from playing their pranks while engaged in work. No more work was given to them than they willingly and cheerfully rendered, and I never found that the work thus done was unsatisfactory either in quantity.

A paragraph may be devoted to our *sanitary* arrangements. In spite of the large number of settlers, one could not find refuse or dirt anywhere on the farm. All rubbish was buried in trenches sunk for the purpose. No water was permitted to be thrown on the roads. All waste water was collected in buckets and used to water the trees. Leavings of food and vegetable refuse were utilised as manure. A square pit one foot and a half deep was sunk near the house to receive the nightsoil, which was fully covered with the excavated earth and which therefore did not give out any smell. There were no flies, and no one would imagine that nightsoil has been buried there. We were thus not only spared a nuisance, but the source of possible nuisance was converted into invaluable manure for the farm. If nightsoil was properly utilised, we would get manure worth lakhs of rupees and also secure immunity from a number of diseases. By our bad habits we spoil our sacred river banks and furnish excellent breeding grounds for flies with the result that the very flies which, through our criminal negligence, settle upon uncovered nightsoil defile our bodies after we have bathed. A small spade is the means of salvation from a great nuisance. Leaving nightsoil, cleaning the nose or spitting on the road is a sin against God as well as against humanity, and betrays a sad want of consideration for others. The man who does not cover his waste deserves a heavy penalty even if he lives in a forest.

The work before us was to make the farm a busy hive of industry, thus to save money and in the end to make the families self-supporting. If we achieved this goal, we could battle with the Transvaal Government for an indefinite period. We had to spend some money on shoes. The use of shoes in a hot climate is harmful, as all the perspiration is absorbed by the feet which thus grow tender. No socks were needed in the Transvaal as in India, but we thought that the feet must be protected against thorns, stones and the like. We therefore determined to learn to make sandals. There is at Mariannhill near Pinetown a monastery of German Catholic monks called the Trappists, where industries of this nature are carried on. Mr. Kallenbach went there and acquired the art of making sandals. After he returned, he taught it to me and I in my turn to other workers. Thus several young men learnt how to manufacture sandals, and we commenced selling them to friends. I need scarcely say that many of my pupils easily surpassed me in the art. Another handicraft introduced was that of carpentry. Having founded a sort of village we needed all manner of things large and small from benches to boxes, and we made them all ourselves. The selfless carpenters already referred to helped us for several months. Mr. Kallenbach was the head of the carpentry

department, and as such every moment gave us the evidence of his mastery and exactitude.

A school was indispensable for the youngsters and the children. This was the most difficult of our tasks and we never achieved complete success in this matter till the very last. The burden of teaching work was largely borne by Mr. Kallenbach and myself. The school could be held only in afternoon, when both of us were thoroughly exhausted by our morning labour, and so were our pupils. The teachers therefore would often be dozing as well as the taught. We would sprinkle water on the eyes, and by playing with the children try to pull them up and pull up ourselves, but sometimes in vain. The body peremptorily demanded rest and would not take a denial. But this was only one and the least of our many difficulties. For the classes were conducted in spite of these dozings. What were we to teach pupils who spoke three languages, Gujarati, Tamil or Telugu and how? I was anxious to make the vernaculars the medium of instruction. I knew a little Tamil but no Telugu. What could one teacher do in these circumstances? I tried to use some of the young men as teachers, but the experiment was not quite a success. Pragji's services were requisitioned of course. Some of the youngsters were very lazy and mischievous and were always on bad terms with their books. A teacher could not expect to make much headway with such pupils. Again we could not be regular in our teaching. Business sometimes took Mr. Kallenbach as well as me to Johannesburg.

Religious teaching presented another tough problem. I would like Musalmans to read the Koran, and Parsis the Avesta. There was one Khoja child, whose father had laid upon me the responsibility of teaching him a small *pothi* of that sect. I collected books bearing on Islam and Zoroastrianism. I wrote out the *fundamental doctrines of Hinduism* according to my lights; I forget now whether it was for my own children or for the Tolstoy Farmers. If this document was now in my possession I should have inserted it here as a landmark in my spiritual progress. But I have thrown away or burnt many such things in my life. I destroyed such papers as I felt it was not necessary to preserve them or as the scope of my activities was extended. I am not sorry for this, as to have preserved all of them would have been burdensome and expensive to me. I should have been compelled to keep cabinets and boxes, which would have been an eyesore to one who has taken the vow of poverty.

But this teaching experiment was not fruitless. The child were saved from the infection of intolerance, and learnt to view one another's religions and customs with a large-hearted charity. They learnt how to live together like blood-brothers. They imbibed the lessons of mutual service, courtesy and industry. And from what little I know about the later activities of some of the children on Tolstoy Farm, I am certain that the education which they received there has not been in vain. Even if imperfect, it was a thoughtful and religious

experiment, and among the sweetest reminiscences of Tolstoy Farm, the reminiscences of this teaching experiment are no less sweet than the rest.

But another chapter must be devoted to these reminiscences.

TOLSTOY FARM (b)

By M. K. GANDHI

In this chapter I propose to string together a number of Tolstoy Farm reminiscences which are rather disjointed and for which therefore I must crave the reader's indulgence.

A teacher hardly ever had to teach the kind of heterogeneous class that fell to my lot, containing as it did pupils of all ages and both sexes, from boys and girls of about 7 years of age to young men of twenty and young girls of 12 or 13 years old. Some of the boys were wild and mischievous.

What was I to teach this ill-assorted group? How was I to be all things to all pupils? Again in what language should I talk to all of them? The Tamil and Telugu children knew their own mother-tongue or English and a little Dutch. I could speak to them only in English. I divided the class into two sections—the Gujarati section talked to in Gujarati and the rest in English. As the principal part of the teaching, I arranged to tell or read to them some interesting stories. I also proposed to bring them into close mutual contact and to lead them to cultivate a spirit of friendship and service. Then there was to be imparted some general knowledge of history and geography and in some cases of arithmetic. Writing was also taught, and so were some which formed part of our prayers, and to which therefore I tried to attract the Tamil children as well.

The boys and girls met freely. My experiment of co-education on Tolstoy Farm was the most fearless of its type. I dare not today allow, or train children to enjoy, the liberty which I had granted the Tolstoy Farm class. I have often felt that my mind then used to be more innocent than it is now, and that was due perhaps to my ignorance. Since then I have had bitter experiences, and have sometimes burnt my fingers badly. Persons whom I took to be thoroughly innocent have turned out corrupt. I have observed the roots of evil deep down in my own nature and timidly has claimed me for its own.

I do not repent having made the experiment. My conscience bears witness that it did not do any harm. But as a child who has burnt himself with hot milk blows even into whey; my present attitude is one of extra caution.

A man cannot borrow faith or courage from others. The doubter is marked out for destruction, as the Gita puts it. My faith and courage were at their highest in Tolstoy Farm. I have been praying to God to permit me to

re-attain that height ; but the prayer has not yet been heard, for the number of such suppliants before the Great White Throne is legion. The only consolation is that God has as many years as there are suppliants. I therefore repose full faith in Him and know that my prayer will be accepted when I have fitted myself for such grace.

This was my experiment. I sent the boys reputed to be mischievous and the innocent young girls to bathe in the same spot at the same time. I had fully explained the duty of self-restraint to the children, who were all familiar with my Satyagraha doctrine ; I knew, and so did the children, that I loved them with a mother's love. The reader will remember the spring at some distance from the kitchen. Was it a folly to let children meet there for bath and yet to expect them to be innocent ? My eye always followed the girls as a mother's eye would follow a daughter. The time was fixed when all the boys and the girls went together for a bath. There was an element of safety in the fact that they went in a body. Solitude was always avoided. Generally I also would be at the spring at the same time.

All of us slept in an open verandah. The boys and the girls would spread themselves around me. There was hardly a distance of three feet between any two beds. Some care was exercised in arranging the order of the beds, but any amount of such care would have been futile in the case of a wicked mind. I now see that God alone safeguarded the honour of these boys and girls. I made the experiment from a belief that boys and girls could thus live together without harm, and the parents with their boundless faith in me allowed me to make it.

One day one of the young men made fun of two girls, and the girls themselves or some child brought me the information. The news made me tremble. I made inquiries and found that the report was true. I remonstrated with the young men, but that was not enough. I wished the two girls to have some sign on their person as a warning to every young man that no evil eye might be cast upon them, and as a lesson to every girl that no one dare assail their purity. The passionate Ravana could not so much as touch Sita with evil intent while Rama was thousands of miles away. What mark should the girls bear so as to give them a sense of security and at the same time to sterilise the sinner's eye ? This question kept me awake for the night. In the morning I gently suggested to the girls that they might let me cut off their fine long hair. On the farm we shaved and cut the hair of one another and we therefore kept scissors and clipping machines. At first the girls would not listen to me, I had already explained the situation to the elderly women who could not bear to think of my suggestion but yet quite understood my motive, and they had finally accorded their support to me. They were both of them noble girls. One of them is alas ! now no more. She was very bright and intelligent. The other is living and the mistress of a household of her own. They came round after all, and at once the very hand that is narrating this incident set to cut off

their hair. And afterwards I analysed and explained my procedure before my class, with excellent results. I never heard of a joke again. The girls in question did not lose in any case; goodness knows how much they gained. I hope the young men still remember this incident and keep their eye from sin.

Experiments such as I have placed on record are not meant for imitation. Any teacher who imitated them would be incurring grave risk. I have here taken note of them only to show how far a man can go in certain circumstances and to stress the purity of the Satyagraha struggle. This very purity was a guarantee of its victory. Before launching on such experiment a teacher has to be both father and mother to his pupils and to be prepared for all eventualities whatever, and only the hardest penance can fit him to conduct them.

This act of mine was not without its effect on the entire life of the settlers on the farm. As we had intended to cut down expenses to the barest minimum, we changed our dress also. In the cities the Indian men including Satyagrahis put on European dress. Such elaborate clothing was not needed on the farm. We had all become labourers and therefore put on labourers' dress but in the European style, viz. workmen's trousers and shirts, which were imitated from prisoner's uniform. We all used cheap trousers and shirts which could be had ready-made out of coarse blue cloth. Most of the ladies were good hands at sewing and took charge of the tailoring department.

As for food we generally had rice, dal, vegetable and rotli with porridge occasionally superadded. All this was served in a single dish which was not really a dish, but a kind of bowl such as is supplied to prisoners in jail. We had made wooden spoons on the farm ourselves. There were three meals in the day. We had bread and home-made wheaten coffee at six o'clock in the morning; rice, dal and vegetable at eleven, and wheat pap and milk, or bread and coffee at half past five in the evening. After the evening meal we had prayers at seven or half past seven. At prayers we sang *bhajans* and sometimes had readings from the *Ramayana* or books on Islam. The *bhajans* were in English, Hindi and Gujarati. Sometimes we had one *bhajan* from each of the three languages, and sometimes only one. Everyone retired at 9 o'clock.

Many observed the *Ekadashi* fast on the Farm. We were joined there by Sr. P. K. Kotwal who had much experience of fasting, and some of us followed him to keep the *Chaturmas*. Ramzan also arrived in the meanwhile. There were Musalman youngsters among us, and we felt we must encourage them to keep the fasts. We arranged for them to have meals in the evening as well as in the early morning. Porridge etc. were prepared for them in the evening. There was no meat of course, nor did any one ask for it. To keep the Musalman friends' company the rest of us had only one meal a day in the evening. As a rule we finished our evening meal before sunset; so the only difference was that the others finished their supper about when the Musalman boys commenced theirs. These boys were so courteous that they did not put any one to extra trouble although they were observing fasts; and the fact that

the non-Muslim children supported them in the matter of fasting left a good impression on all. I do not remember that there ever was a quarrel, much less a split, between the Hindu and the Musalman boys on the score of religion. On the other hand I know that, although staunch in their own beliefs, they all treated one another with respect and assisted one another in their respective religious observances.

Although we were living far from the amenities of city life, we did not keep even the commonest appliances against the possible attacks of illness. I had in those days as much faith in the *nature cure* of disease as I had in the innocence of children. I felt that there should not be disease as we lived a simple life, but if there was, I was confident of dealing with it. My booklet on health is a note book of my experiments and of my living faith in those days. I was proud enough to believe that illness for me was out of the question. I held that all kinds of diseases could be cured by earth and water treatment, fasting or changes in diet. There was not a single case of illness on the farm, in which we used drugs or called in a doctor. There was an old man from North India, 70 years of age, who suffered from asthma cough, but whom I cured simply by changes in diet and water treatment. But I have now lost the courage, and in view of my two serious illnesses, I feel that I have forfeited even the right to make such experiments.

Tolstoy Farm proved to be a centre of spiritual purification and penance for the final campaign. I have serious doubts as to whether the struggle could have been prosecuted for eight years, whether we could have secured larger funds, and whether the thousands of men who participated in the last phase of the struggle would have borne their share in it, if there had been no Tolstoy Farm. Tolstoy Farm was never placed in the limelight; yet an Institution, which deserved it, attracted public sympathy to itself. The Indians saw that the Tolstoy Farmers were doing what they themselves were not prepared to do and what they looked upon in the light of hardship. This public confidence was a great asset to the movement when it was organised afresh on a large scale in 1913. One can never tell whether such assets give an account of themselves, and if yes, when. But I do not entertain and would ask the reader not to entertain a shadow of a doubt that such latent assets do, in God's good time, become patent.

APPENDIX C

GANDHI PEACE FOUNDATION

New Delhi, January 5, 1959

The Gandhi Peace Foundation, which is being formed with a fund of rupees one crore provided by the Gandhi Smarak-Nidhi, will spread the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and "promote the acceptance, by all peoples, of the principles of Truth and Non-violence in the conduct of social, national and international affairs".

(1) To establish an international centre of study and research in the principles of non-violence, as evident from the study of the history and philosophy of India and of the World ;

(2) To study and report—in co-operation with other agencies where necessary—techniques for the application of non-violence in national and international affairs ;

(3) To provide information, counsel and assistance, in this field, to teaching institutions in the form of research fellowships, travel grants and library equipments and act as a co-ordinating authority ;

(4) To assist in developing an informed public opinion on the principles and techniques of non-violence among all peoples ;

(5) Generally to take all necessary action to attain the objectives of the Foundation.

Mr. G. Ramachandran, Secretary of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, told newsmen that the next step in the establishment of the Foundation would be the drafting of a simple and elastic constitution of the Pilot Committee set up by the Nidhi.

The Pilot Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. R. R. Diwakar, would finalise the constitution before the end of March.

It was envisaged that the Foundation would have three types of Members—Founder Members, Fellows who would be scholars, both in India and abroad, doing research and study, and "as wide a circle necessary of Associate Members". The Associate Members would include those who were carrying on struggles for peace and social justice in line with the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, in various parts of the world.

The Peace Foundation as such would not identify itself with any movement or programme anywhere in the world. Its members in their individual capacity, however, would participate in programmes or movements "on the basis of the understanding and study they get inside the Peace Foundation".

The headquarters of the Foundation will be in Delhi.

The pilot committee on the Gandhi Peace Foundation consists of : Mr. R. R. Diwakar (chairman), Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Mr. Nehru, Mr. Morarji Desai, Acharya Kripalani, Mr. U. N. Dhebar, Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani and Mr. Ramachandran, Secretary. Dr. Zakir Hussain and Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan have been co-opted to the Committee.

APPENDIX D

HOW GANDHI LEARNED THE MORE OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE FROM KASTURBA*

By H. S. L. POLAK

Mr. Polak met Mr. Gandhi first in 1904 when he was living the quiet life of a middle class professional man. He was a vegetarian, a student of nature cure and a lecturer as well as a legal practitioner and his compatriots' political adviser.

"I soon learned that his non-violence was derived from the ancient Hindu teachings and from the practice of Tolstoy whose writings on the subject had greatly attracted him. He had merely emphasised an inherent trend in his character."

Mr. Polak recalls that after reading, in 1904, Ruskin's book, *Unto this Last*, Mahatma Gandhi decided to take immediate steps to live as a peasant and handicraftsman. He did in fact buy a small estate near Durban to which he transferred the printing plant and where he organised a simple life settlement, of British and Indian friends, confident that, despite racial differences, they could collaborate.

Later he sent his family there but he himself could only pay occasional visits owing to growing political difficulties in the Transvaal.

Mahatma Gandhi's great struggle began in 1906-1907, Mr. Polak continues : "I do not think that either then or later when the Union Government continued to enforce Anti-Asiatic Laws, Mahatma Gandhi fully understood that the essence of responsible Government was the constitutional freedom to act wrongly as well as rightly. It was not until much later that he realised that the grant of 'the key of the door' had its dangers as well as its useful possibilities."

"Gandhi's campaign of passive resistance, apart from his natural attraction to non-violence, was much encouraged by two events":

"One was the arrival, at a very critical moment, of a pamphlet entitled *On the duty of Civil Disobedience* by the American Pacifist Thoreau.

"His argument was that a man must obey his own conscience even against the will of his fellow citizens and be ready to undergo imprisonment in consequence ; for, after all, it was only his body and not his spirit which is in custody ; it appealed strongly to Mahatma Gandhi. He pressed me to publish it as a supplement to *Indian Opinion*.

"The other event was his observation, during a brief visit to England in 1909, of the methods used by the British *Suffragettes* involving imprisonment in the furtherance of their cause. His keen sense of humour was often

* Mr. H. S. L. Polak who was editor of Gandhi's paper, *Indian Opinion*, in South Africa, recently wrote in *Contemporary Review*.

displayed but never more appropriately than when he told my wife that *he had learned more of passive resistance from Mrs. Gandhi when she disagreed with him than from other source.*

Gandhi, says Mr. Henry S. L. Polak, was never quiescent or negative but always dynamic and energetic. His Non-violence he translated as utter belief in the power of the Spirit and in *truth-force* or *Satyagraha*, as he called it.

Nor was his simplicity of life due so much to an aesthetic preference as to a mystical strain combined with an urge to relate himself intimately to the sorrows, the needs and the ways of life of the *humblest peasant.*

"A loyal friend and a loving brother, never once did I hear from Gandhi a personal attack even upon his most aggressive opponents to whom he would always attribute their better motives rather than the worse."

OBITUARY OF LEO TOLSTOY

Of the late Count Leo Tolstoy, we can only write with reverence. He was to us more than one of the greatest men of his age. We have endeavoured, so far as possible, and so far as we understood it, to follow his teaching. The end of his bodily life has but put the final touch to the work of humanity that he, in his own inimitable manner, inaugurated. Tolstoy is not dead; he lives through the lives of his innumerable followers throughout the world. We firmly believe that, as time rolls on, his teaching will more and more permeate mankind. Though a devout Christian, he truly interpreted not only Christianity, but he likewise gave a realistic presentation of the substance underlying the great world religions; and he has shown, as no other teacher, at any rate in Europe, has shown, how present-day civilisation, based as it is on brute force, is a negation of the divinity in man; and how, before man can realise his manhood, he must substitute brute force by love in all his actions.

His letter to Mr. Gandhi, which we reproduce on the first page, was one of the last, if not the last, writings from his pen. In it he (Tolstoy) almost foreshadowed his dissolution; and it must be a matter of great encouragement and melancholy satisfaction to Indian passive resisters that the sage of Yasnaya Polyana considered the Transvaal struggle to be one of world-wide importance.

Indian Opinion, November 26, 1910.

EPILOGUE

The 19th century West walked along the bloody path of war from the age of Napoleon to that of Kaiser William ; and Tolstoy, the author of *War and Peace*, proclaimed the truth of Non-resistance to stem the tide of the dangerously mounting Violence. Mahatma Gandhi, in the most critical age of suspicion and frustration in Asia of the 20th century, preached Non-violence till the last hour of his martyrdom. The spontaneous recognition and spiritual collaboration of those two representative men of Occident the and the Orient have some enduring lessons for our generation, groping pathetically for some way out of the suffocating gloom of poison gas and mass-slaughter. Whether we shall succeed or not in stopping the fatal march towards another global war and Atomic annihilation, we cannot help hoping for survival in a new World Order. We naturally derive the greatest support and consolation from the thoughts and actions of a Tolstoy and a Gandhi who preached sanity in a quasi-insane world and vicarious sacrifice for the benefit of mankind—irrespective of colour or creed. The impending crisis of the second half of the 20th century will be the testing ground of our faith in non-violence. Our hopes may prove to be premature for the present ; but we have no doubt that violence must finally yield place to non-violence, just as in civil codes trial by duelling has been superseded by the reign of Law. The scriptures and prophets of humanity have declared, in unequivocal voice, the paramountcy of Peace in our public relations and of Love in our individual life. These eternal truths find their supreme manifestation in Tolstoy and Gandhi whom we remember with hope and gratitude.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

More than a century ago, at the Hospital of Kazan, Tolstoy the young soldier met, for the first time (1847) one Asian Buddhist monk from Mongolia. Since then he had been seeking light from the Orient by reading many important books on Oriental religions and philosophy. This aspect of his life was first noticed and brought out by my late lamented friend Paul Birukov, author of *Tolstoy and the Orient*. I was introduced in 1922, to him by Mon. Romain Rolland who showed me some autograph letters of Tolstoy when I started collaborating with M. Rolland on his study on Mahatama Gandhi. He urged me to deliver an address on Gandhi at Lugano and Mon. Birukov presided over my lecture before a distinguished gathering of the International Women's Congress for Peace and Freedom. Paul Birukov, like a true disciple of Tolstoy, affirmed in his presidential address that Gandhi's body might be imprisoned by the British Government, but his soul and the principle of Non-violence radiating therefrom, remained ever free to work, slowly but surely, for the liberation of mankind.

Free Asia, specially the Far East, will be drawn, in the very heart of the present crisis, to study the basic Gandhian philosophy of Non-violence and its relations with that of Leo Tolstoy—dreaming of a new world order in which a non-violent society will replace the present conflicting militaristic states.

Tolstoy breathed his last on November 20 (N. S.) 1910, and in 1911 his great admirer Romain Rolland published his *Vie de Tolstoi* (Life of Tolstoy). Rolland, as we know, contacted Tolstoy in the eighties of the last century, and a Paris Publisher began printing the French translation of his works under the direction of Mon. Birukov. Another Russian scholar E. Halperine Kaminsky published in 1912 two volumes with significant titles : (1) *Tolstoy by Tolstoy* containing his autobiographical letters between 1848 and 1879. (2) The second volume is entitled *The Thoughts of Humanity*. It is the book of his favourite quotations from outstanding thinkers and texts, of the Orient and the Occident, which Tolstoy handled. In 1903, when he fell seriously ill, Tolstoy used to fill up the Calendar, hanging on his sick-bed, page by page with the living thoughts of the master minds of the world, written day by day.

Three days before his death his disciple M. Gorbornov brought before him the first two *fascicules* of that book, now running to 30 *fascicules*, which he did not live to see published. In this posthumous work we find the vast range and profundity of his spiritual searchings. Starting from the early Brahmanical and Buddhistic texts, Tolstoy turned to the Chinese, the Semitic and the Græco-Roman philosophies. Then he culled from the writings of the Mahomedan Mystics and finally came to the writings of John Huss, Erasmus, Luther, Rousseau, Kant, Schopenhauer Ruskin and Carlyle, among others.

But the most interesting to us Indians are the chance quotations or adaptations of the Indian thoughts in the writings of Tolstoy. In the Tolstoy

Museum and archives of U.S.S.R. probably some day, some scholar will assemble fully the relevant documents; meanwhile we are grateful to some authors like P. Birukov for giving us very revealing indications regarding Tolstoy's approach to the thoughts of India and the Orient. Tolstoy made extensive studies on Buddhism and the basic doctrine of *Ahimsa*, as he gathered from many works of the French and the German Orientalists. His earliest letters, exchanged with an Oriental, were with a Japanese who wrote to him in 1896-97, or immediately after the first Sino-Japanese war. Tolstoy's sympathies naturally were with the disorganised and persecuted Chinese who suffered from double aggression, from the Western Powers and from her Eastern neighbour Japan. A most significant letter to that effect, from Tolstoy to his Chinese friend, was addressed, immediately after the defeat of Russia by Japan (1905). Paul Birukov in the Preface to his *Tolstoi and the Orient* observes. "... Yes it was particularly India, with whom Tolstoy had the greatest affinity; and to this great People in its oppression and to its great Leader (Gandhi) we *dedicate* our book".

Confucius, Lao-tze, Mencius, Mo-ti and other Chinese philosophers, as well as Shintoism and other cults of Japan were studied by Tolstoy. Above all, India, the mother of religion and philosophy, attracted his special attention. Starting from *Mahavira*, and *Buddha*, he continued his studies down to *Krishna* and modern *Vaishnavism*, *Arya Samaj* etc., not forgetting *Sri Rama Krishna* and *Swami Vivekananda*.

Tolstoy also prepared an *anthology* of religious thoughts which was published in French, and it deserves our closest study: *La Pensee de l' Humanite*.

Especially valuable will be a comparative study of Tolstoy and Gandhi as practical philosophers and pacifists, representing the West and the East. If our dream of establishing the International University of Non-violence is permitted to materialize, we may hope to lay securely the foundation of world peace through the development of the philosophy and practice of *Ahimsa*.

Meanwhile I am profoundly grateful to the two eminent commentators on Gandhism, Sri M. S. Aney and Dr. K. N. Katju, who generously came forward to strengthen my documentation, with their incisive and inspiring observations and forewords.

I thank my friend Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose, former Secretary of Mahatma Gandhi—for kindly giving me from his valuable collections, a photostat copy of Mahatma's own handwriting, expressing his views on the topic of "Bread-labour" I offer my thanks also to my friend Mr. Tendulkar for Mahatma Gandhi's letter of the 1st November, 1909 to Leo Tolstoy, which he first published in the *National Herald*.

I am indebted also to the Librarian of the Servants of India Society's Library, Poona, for the copy of the Obituary on Tolstoy, and to my devoted pupil Tamonas Banerji for constant help.

I am also thankful to Acharya Ramlochan Saran (Pustak Bhandar, Patna) for including the first edition of my book in his "Gandhi's Footsteps Series."

II

CHINA AND GANDHIAN INDIA

BY

Dr. CARSUN CHANG

DEDICATED

TO

Dr. SARVEPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN

THE FIRST GREAT MODERN INDIAN PHILOSOPHER, WHO VISITED CHINA.

BY CHANG CHANG-CHANG, M.A., PH.D., LL.D.

1974

Carsun Chang

DEDICATED

TO

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Learning without thinking is a labour lost,
and thinking without learning is dangerous.*

CHICAGO, ILL.

Confucius.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

In May, 1944, when a dinner-party was given in honour of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan at the Ministry of Education in Chungking, I sat next to Mr. K. P. S. Menon, the then Indian Agent-General; and I told him that Dr. Radhakrishnan should be requested to give more lectures on 'Indian Philosophy' than on modern subjects like Science and Democracy. At that time I had no idea that one day it would be my privilege to lecture in India, as Dr. Radhakrishnan's counterpart.

It was in the summer of 1949 that the Indian Ministry of Education invited me to lecture in different Indian Universities. I have been attracted to India ever since its Independence Movement began. Culturally she has been pictured as a Paradise (*Sukhavati*) in the minds of the Chinese Buddhists from the time of the Han dynasty. Therefore I was very glad to accept the invitation from Free India.

On my arrival in New Delhi, in November, 1949, I was handed a full and exhaustive tour-programme by the Ministry of Education. Every detail was cared for. Though a stranger visiting India for the first time, I travelled the wide schedule alone without any hitch. The Indian Universities kindly arranged for me to meet the members of the staff from place to place; and through their cooperation and help I learnt much of the work and conditions of the Indian University life. During the three months from November, 1949 to January, 1950, I covered Delhi, Allahabad, Banaras, Nagpur, Hyderabad, Madras, Bangalore, Mysore and Trivandrum—visiting and lecturing. In late December I returned to Delhi for the Christmas recess and then proceeded via Calcutta to Santiniketan. My purpose, like that of Dr. Radhakrishnan, was to contribute—so far as I may—to the renewal of cultural understanding between India and China, traceable back to over two millenia. Indeed the second cycle of Chinese culture, from the end of the Eastern Han dynasty (25-220 A. D.) to the Sung, the Ming and the Ching dynasties, was strongly influenced by the introduction of Buddhism to China

from India. During those epochs Chinese thought, in terms of Neo-Confucianism, was revived through fresh studies of Indian thought. It is my conviction that the strengthening of cultural relations between India and China will bring forth mutual benefit for the two countries in particular, and also for the world at large.

When I was due to deliver my lecture in the Delhi University, I paid my visit to the then Governor-General, Sri C. R. Rajagopalachari. He proposed that he would preside over my lecture ; but on discovering by telephone that the Chairman of the Faculty was to preside, he decided it would be better not to disturb the programme already arranged. I want to acknowledge the honour of his proposing to preside over my lecture. In Nagpur, the Governor of the Central Provinces, Sri Mangaldas Pakwasa, a friend of China, took the chair. I am deeply indebted indeed to all the Vice-Chancellors and Registrars of the various Universities who made my tour and visits with them pleasant and comfortable. To the Hon'ble Maulana Azad the learned Minister of Education, who sent me the invitation to come to India, I express my special thanks.

Concluding my lecture-tour I enjoyed the hospitality of Mr. J. T. Lloyd, Headmaster for thirty-six years of Dr. Graham's Home, Kalimpong. In the beauty and restfulness of the Darjeeling hills I have been able to work quietly on my lectures. It was at the request of my friend Dr. Kalidas Nag that I decided to publish my lectures ; and he has been kind enough to edit, print and publish my new book after going through the manuscript with special care. I knew him in 1924, when he came to Peking, with the Poet Dr. Tagore, to make historical and archæological researches in China and he greeted me again in New Delhi where he was a member of Parliament *Rajya Sabha*.

The chapters on Gandhiji have been specially written, after my lecture tour, at the request of my Indian friends led by Sri Tamas Banerjee who has also worked hard at the Press. This gives me a welcome opportunity to express my deep appreciation of Mahatma Gandhi, and to show the possibility of development of Gandhism in China and elsewhere. This Modern Saint will continue to be revered in memory not only in India, but throughout Asia and the world.

CARSUN CHANG

INTRODUCTION

SINO-INDIAN COLLABORATION

The Twentieth Century opened with a new upheaval in the ancient Far East when young Japan vanquished Tsarist Russia (1905) releasing new forces in young Asia. In the next decade we witnessed two major Revolutions: the expulsion of the Manchu Emperor with the foundation of the Chinese Republic (1911) and the collapse of Tsarism (1917) leading to the establishment of the great Soviet Union in Russia. Lenin in U. S. S. R. and Sun Yat-sen in China worked marvellously till 1925 when the two leaders were removed from the stage which came to be crowded by portentous personalities like Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin, whose careers have been ruthlessly revised before our eyes.

Our national Poet-seer Rabindranath Tagore was saluted by Mahatma Gandhi as the Great Sentinel of the East. Rabindra Nath first visited Japan and the Far East in 1916 during the First World War; and post-war China invited him in 1924 when I had the rare privilege of spending some of the happiest days of my life with the Poet in China. His 63rd. birthday was celebrated in the biggest auditorium in Peking with truly Chinese and Oriental glamour. The great leader of Republican China, Liang Chi Chao acted as the Master of Ceremonies and eminent artists, litterateurs and philosophers like Liang-ssu Ming, Hu Shih and others were with us. As the guest of the generous Chinese people, I travelled extensively from the cradle of the hoary "Peking Man" to the native soils of Confucius and Lao-tze, founders of Confucianism and Taoism. The grandest Art collection of the National Museum of Peking, the archæological relics of Kaifeng and Honan, Shensi and Shansi among others, revealed to me the wealth of Chinese history and literature, art and culture—as I have briefly narrated in my book "Tagore in China". Then *via* the Yang-tse Kiang we flowed down Hangkow to Nanking and finally came to Shanghai.

One of the biggest municipalities of Asia and its great city is Shanghai where we met all nations and some of the *élites* of

modern China. The most out-standing was my esteemed friend Dr. Carsun Chang. He gave a "royal reception" (in Republican style) to Dr. Tagore and his party in a superb garden which Chinese gardener alone knows to display. This garden and a mansion, with a rare library of Chinese classics, belonged to Dr. Chang who escaped alas ! 25 years after, from Hongkong to India. One day he noticed in some papers of Delhi that I was addressing a meeting and he phoned me to meet him at the Constitution House. How glad we were to exchange ideas after an age ! He told me that after the Revolution of 1949 he was cut off from his dear relatives and all assets stable and unstable. So he thought of coming to Free India bereft of Mahatma Gandhi no doubt but still guided by his worthy followers like Nehru and Radhakrishnan.

So, I got Dr. Carsun Chang for some months near me and we reviewed the last quarter of a century of world wars, ravages and rebarbarisation of Man. He thought of his teacher Rudolf Eucken and I of Henri Bergson—both lamenting the fratricidal wars between Germany and France.

I induced Dr. Chang to write a small book on the Eternal Verities of China to inspire the rising generation of Gandhian India. This explains the genesis and the title of this monograph of the noble Chinese philosopher Dr. Carsun Chang. He knows English and German quite well ; and he shows mastery in giving lucid expositions for lay readers, of the subtle and difficult thoughts of ancient Masters, especially in Chinese idiom.

Dr. Chang has placed us Indians under deep obligation by giving us, within 300 pages, an excellent *resume* of the History of Thoughts in China. We hope that this will serve as a Handbook of Chinese Philosophy, viewed from the standpoint of any scholar who knows something of Buddhism and modern Gandhism. The spirit of neo-Buddhism is not only to be found in the Gandhi cult but also in the National emblems of Free India. Non-violence and self-sacrifice of Mahatma Gandhi are followed up by the co-existence and world fellowship ideas of Pandit Nehru. Through their thoughts and activities 400 millions of India will co-operate with 600 millions of China. Thus the dimension and potentiality of Sino-Indian collaboration should inspire us to study

more and more and publish from year to year—the best samples of the “Classics” of China and of India. If America alone could publish a Library of the Great Books of the West, let China and India join hands to issue gradually a parallel series: “The Great Books of the East”; for it is in the East that most of the world Religions and world Philosophies had their origin and development. If those have been temporarily eclipsed by the glamour of Western Science, yet the Orient will radiate, age after age, new Lights for the guidance of entire Humanity. We should boldly plan out now the publication of the *Encyclopædia Asiana* as I pleaded before the first Asian Relations Conference (1947) invited by Pandit Nehru to New Delhi. Within a decade from that event we find China coming closer and closer to India; and India likewise should revive the glorious traditions of Kumarajiva and Fa-hien, Vasubandhu and Hiuen Tsang, building the bridge of Understanding and Fraternal cooperation.

In conclusion I thank Dr. Carsun Chang for offering his learned book to our Afro-Asian Series; and I also thank the Printers of the Brahmo Mission Press and especially my devoted pupil Sri Tamonas Banerjee helping me strenuously to get the volume published on our Independence Day.

To reduce the bulk and the price of the book, I was obliged to withhold printing of some chapters, which the author (now in U. S. A.) may publish later on, after unavoidable revision. With these apologies I release the book for the public after expressing our profound thanks to Dr. Carsun Chang, the learned Philosopher-Statesman of China.

15th August, 1956
Calcutta.

KALIDAS NAG
Founder Secretary,
Institute of Asian-African
Relations.

SINO-INDIAN SPIRITUAL AFFINITY.

Reflection upon the cultural relation between China and India, as two neighbours, who have lived peacefully and have exchanged their spiritual thoughts without any unpleasant incident, in a long course of two thousand years, gives one cause to think that this kind of relation between nations is an ideal one.

The important factor responsible for this friendly tie between the two countries was the introduction of Buddhism from India. But there is something deeper than this. If one seeks to find the reason for the Chinese appreciation of Buddhism, the answer will be that there is a kind of spiritual affinity between India and China.

Though the main passion of India is religion, and that of China is ethics or morality, yet there are similarities in their mental outlook. The starting point of their religion or ethics is the sense of goodness or love for all mankind. Both believe in the control of the desires or lusts. They emphasise the purification of the heart as the means to appropriate the *moral law*. Gandhi's words: "If not a moralist I am nothing", sound very much like those of a Confucianist. Both India and China believe that there is an Unseen Power which pervades the whole world; they are more inclined to believe in the immanence of God or Pantheism. Lao Tze and Confucius call it *Tao*. In India it is called *Brahma*. I can only give these bare outlines of the Indian and Chinese *Weltanschauung* (world-view) here, because the question is too complex a one to deal with now.

On the foundation of this spiritual affinity, the two countries were brought together. Let me survey this historical friendship from its source in Chinese history. Fortunately, in China we have the twentyfive histories recording the events of past dynasties. These histories are dynastic because each deals with one dynasty, except *Shi-ki* by Ssu-Ma-Chien, beginning from time immemorial and ending at the middle of the Western dynasty. From the record of these histories a survey can be made of how India was known to China in the different dynasties. It can be divided into the following periods:

THE BUDDHIST PERIOD OF SINO-INDIAN RELATIONSHIP

In the Western Han dynasty, (206 B. C.—9 A. D.,) our knowledge of Central Asia began to be reliable because the Chinese explorations and military campaigns gave us accurate information. In the chapter, "The West Lands of *Shi-ki*", we have the following record:

"In the year, 126 B. C. the Earl of Wide Vision Chang-Kien came back from Ta-Hsia, (Bactriana). He said that he had seen *Chün* (cane) and *Sze-chuan* (cloth) in the market at Ta-Hsia. The people at Ta-Hsia told him that the goods had been bought in India and were brought there to be sold. India is in

the South-East of Ta-Hsia, a distance of about a few thousand *lis* (miles). The peoples in India form a settled community. The country is low, humid and hot in summer. They fight a battle by sitting on elephants. They have big rivers."

According to General Chang-Kien, "Ta-Hsia is to the south-west of Han, a distance of about 12,000 *lis*, and India is again to the south-east of Ta-Hsia, (China), a few thousand *lis* away, and (Indian) goods of Sze-chuan are found there. At present the route to Ta-Hsia is through the West Lands or Tibet. The latter (Tibetans) do not like this kind of communication and will stop it. If one takes the northern (Gobi desert) route, the Chinese will be stopped by the Huns (Hsiung-nus). The best way is to start from Sze-chuan, and it is a short cut."

After hearing Chang-Kien's report, Emperor Wu-ti was anxious to expand his influence in the West. Chang-Kien was appointed to go to Sze-chuan to find a group of men for exploration. The group of explorers went one or two thousand *lis* in various directions. In the northern direction they were stopped by the Tibetans. In the south they were stopped by the tribes of Kunning. But they gathered the report that in the west there was a country fighting wars on elephants. The merchants who smuggled out Sze-chuan goods arrived there sometimes. After the failure of their many attempts, the work of exploration was given up."

We may say that Chang-Kien was the first Chinese who tried hard to reach India. At this stage, India and China were as if 'playing hide-and-seek.'

In the Eastern Han dynasty (25 A. D.—200 A. D.), after Wang-mang's usurpation of the Western Han, communication with the Western Lands stopped for sixty-five years, when the Western Lands submitted themselves again to the Huns or Hsiung-nus. During the reign of Ming-ti Buddhism was introduced from India. His successors succeeded in regaining the supremacy in Central Asia. General Pan Chao (A. D. 74-94) brought all the petty states in Turkestan into submission, opening the way for the silk-trade with the Roman Orient. His Lieutenant, Kan-Ying penetrated to the Persian Gulf (A. D. 97). In the Eastern Han history we find two paragraphs in the chapter of "West Lands" relating to India: (i) on the Kushans, (ii) on India itself.

(i) "Yueh-Chi has a neighbour, Parthia, on the western border. It is 16,370 *lis* distant from Loyang. Its population is 400,000 and it has an army of over 100,000 men. After Yueh-Chi had been defeated by Hsiung-nus it migrated to Parthia. At first Yueh-chi was divided into five united principalities: Shumi, Shanmi, Kushan, Bitun and Tumi. After more than a century, the chief of the Kushans, Kanishka conquered the other principalities and assumed the title King of the Kushans. He also invaded Parthia and Kao-fu and absorbed Pada and Kipin. Kanishka died about eighty years old. His son, Yen-ko-tyen succeeded him and conquered India where a general was appointed to be his agent. Yueh-chi is now considered to be the richest and most prosperous country. The other countries call it 'the kingdom of the Kushans', but its original name is Yueh-chi."

Here I shall say a few words about the name Kanishka. According to R. C. Majumdar's *An Advanced History of India* he identified the Chinese name Kieu-tsieu-hio with Kujula Kadphises, or Kadphises I, head of the Kushan section of the horde. But of the three characters in Chinese, the first, Kieu, can be pronounced 'Ka', the second character, tsieu, is very near to 'Sh', and the third character is 'Ka'; so I think this term should rather be identified with Kanishka. In Majumdar's book he is not quite sure about the period in which Kadphises I and Kanishka lived. Obviously the period was that of the Kushan dynasty. I think that Kanishka is the correct equivalent of the three Chinese characters.

The names in this paragraph, Kushan and Kanishka, did not appear in the Western Han History and had no meaning to the Chinese for a long time. After reading the Indian and European publications on those subjects and knowing the roles played by them, this short paragraph was understood because it gives accurate information and we are glad that our ancestors put these names on record.

(ii) "Tien-chu, also called Sindhu (Shen-tu), is situated to the south-east of Yueh-chi, within a distance of a few thousand lis. Its customs are similar to those of the Yueh-chi: geographically it is low, humid, and hot in summer. Big rivers flow in this country, while fighting takes place by warriors sitting on elephants. The people are weaker than the people of Yueh-chi. They believe in Buddha and practise *Ahimsa*, which prevails throughout the country. South-West from Yuch-chi and Kao-fu down to the Western ocean, reaching Pan-Ki (probably Banga) on the eastern side (Bay of Bengal), all belong to India. There are hundreds of cities and the country is divided into a number of states, each having a king. All these states come under the common name India. At this time most of the states submitted to the Yueh-chi, that killed their king and appointed a general to rule over. Its products are elephants, rhinoceros, tortoise-shell, gold, silver, copper, iron, lead and tin. It carries on intercourse with the Roman Orient in the West; So Roman goods are found there. It makes fine cloth and woollen blankets and carpets. It has different kinds of spices, pepper, ginger, rocksalt and shellac. During the reign of Ho-ti India sent envoys with gifts to China; but later, owing to the rebellion of the West Lands, the intercourse ceased. In the reign of Huan-ti Indian envoys were sent to China by the southern route. According to tradition. Emperor Ming-ti had a dream of a Golden Man with a halo on his head, and he asked his ministers the meaning of the dream. Somebody said, "It is the divinity of the West called Buddha who is sixteen feet high and of a golden colour." Then Emperor Ming-ti sent envoys to India to seek for the law of Buddha and the image of the latter, which has since then been painted and sculptured in China too. Prince Young of Chu believed in Buddhism and it gradually spread throughout China. Emperor Huan-ti believed in divinities and offered sacrifices to Buddha and Lao Tze. In time, the faith in Buddha extended among the Chinese people."

The question of the exact date of the introduction of Buddhism to China is still controversial. To ascertain the exact date is now impossible ; because as regards the penetration of Buddhism, too many factors are involved such as the trips of the missionaries, their knowledge of the Chinese language, their translation work, their work of conversion, the circulation of their texts and the recognition of their work by the society and government. It must have taken a century or more before Buddhism could work effectively. It is a well known fact that the introduction of Buddhism could not be due only to the dream of Ming-ti. I think that it took a long series of processes between the reign of Wu-ti (140-87 B.C.) and the reign of Ming-ti (58-75 A. D.). It is reported in Chinese history that after the dream of Ming-ti, Kashyapa Matanga and Dharmaraksha were the first two Buddhist Monks to visit China. The so-called *Sutra* of the 42 Articles was attributed to their work. Following them two other Buddhist monks An-she-kao and Loka-kshema translated many Buddhist texts into Chinese. During this period the routes of communication between China and Central Asia were established. The monks who came to China were mostly Parthians, Yueh-chis, Sogdians, Kuchians and Khotanese. The acquaintance of the Chinese with Buddhism was through these *middle men* ; so we cannot say that the intercourse between China and India was direct.

PERIOD OF IMPROVED UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN CHINA AND INDIA

After the dissolution of the Eastern Han Empire there was a long period of division between Northern and Southern China. China was reunited for a short period of about fifty years under the Eastern Chin dynasty (265-317 A. D.) and then a long period of division followed (317-589 A. D.). This corresponds to the period of better understanding between China and India. During the period of the Three Kingdoms, except Shu-Han no other Indian monk visited ; the Buddhist monks continued their work of translation in Wei in Northern China and in the Kingdom of Wu, situated in Nanking, which had the facilities of communication with the outside world by *sea routes* also. Senghui, of Sogdian parents, born in Tonkin, came to Nanking by sea and converted Sun-chun, King of Wu, and erected the first monastery in the Southern capital.

During the Western Chin dynasty (265-317 A. D.) China was busy with a civil war and began to migrate to the Yangtse valley ; yet the translation work by Buddhist monks like Dharmaraksha and others continued. During the Eastern Chin dynasty (317-410 A. D.) Buddhists flourished in India where the Mahayana Buddhism was developed by Nagarjuna, Vasubandhu and Asanga. Chinese monks found that the different texts did not agree with one another and therefore doubted their correctness and so they started their pilgrimage to India direct. The first one who reached India and brought back to China Sanskrit Buddhist texts was Fa-Hien. On his way to Northern India he visited the principal centres of Buddhism and places of pilgrimage. The centres which attracted him were Uddiyana (Swat Valley), Suvastu, Gandhara (Peshawar),

Takshasila (Taxila), Nagara (Jelalabad) Mathura, Kanyakubja (Kanoj), and the places in Eastern India with which Buddha was connected : Kosala, Sravasti, Kapilavastu, Vaisali and Magadha (Bihar). In the country of Magadha he visited Pataliputra, Rajagriha, Gaya and Banaras. The purpose of Fa-Hien's trip was to study the Vinaya Books of Buddhism and he collected a manuscript of the *Mahasanghika Vinaya*. He left China in 399 A. D. and arrived in India after six years. After a stay of six years, his return trip took him three years more, arriving back in China in 414 A. D. Fa-Hien was the first Chinese to visit many places in India. After his trip it seems that China and India knew each other better. This is most marked in the histories of the Southern dynasties, Liu-Sung (420-479), Southern Chi (479-502), Southern Liang and Southern Chen (557-589), where one finds a number of *memorials* which were sent to the Chinese Emperor by the States in Indo-China, Burma, South Sea Islands, (Indonesia) and India. The names of these states are hard to ascertain now ; and the style of the memorials does not seem to be the originals ones but more like the translations of the Chinese officials. Besides the memorials, names of the envoys and the gifts were also mentioned. We find that the memorials were written in Buddhist terminology ; so these countries must have been under the sphere of the Mahayana Hindu-Buddhistic culture. Among the monks working under the Southern dynasties, Paramartha was the greatest, whose translation for the propagation of Buddhism was as great as that of Kumarajiva in Northern China. Bodhi-Dharma, whether his personality is legendary or not, also exercised great influence from China and Korea to Japan.

In Northern China the situation was different. The five Barbarians Hsiung-nus, Mongols, Tibetans etc. constituted the ruling class ; they had no ancient cultural background ; so they submitted themselves to Buddhism just as the Teutonic race did to Christianity in the Middle Ages. One of the tribal leaders in Northern China declared that Buddhism was the religion of the Barbarians ; 'as we ourselves are Barbarians we do not mind embracing it'. This meant that the Barbarians were free to choose their religion without being bound by Confucianism. The tribal leaders, Shih-leh and Shih-hu listened a great deal to an Indian monk, Fo-tu-tsen, who advised the leader to give up committing atrocities. When they had audience with the ministers, Fo-tu-tsen was asked to be present. When the leader Fu-chien attacked Ku-chi, a small country in Turkestan, they heard the name of Kumarajiva and asked his general Liu-kuang to send Kumarajiva to China. After Fu-chien's assassination, the successor Yao-chang again asked his general to invite Kumarajiva to come to China. His son Yao-hsin was very interested in listening to Kumarajiva's preaching. When the latter was working on the translation of the Buddhist texts, Yao-hsin took part in editing it. From A. D. 304 on, the Northern Wei dynasty, founded at Ta-tung by the Toba Tartars, unified all Northern China. The Toba Wei dynasty encouraged Buddhism and especially the Buddhist Art. They built the cave of the Thousand Buddhas at Tung-Huang, and also cut

cave temples, in Yun-kang and Lung-men near Loyang, the idea and plan of which went back to the Buddhist cave-shrines at Ajanta in India. From the work of cave temples Chinese sculpture and painting were brought under Indian influence and indirectly show Indo-Greek features.

What is more important is the chapter on Buddhism and Taoism in the history of Toba Wei. Though Buddhism was introduced in the two Han dynasties, the *History of Northern Wei* was the first book which gave a chapter on Buddhism in which the story of introducing the philosophy of Buddha and other things connected with it were elaborately described. The writer of this history could not omit it because of the wide spread of Buddhism in China.

CLIMAX OF CULTURAL TIES BETWEEN CHINA AND INDIA

During the reunion of China by the dynasties of Sui (581-618 A. D.) and Tang (618-907 A. D.), Chinese supremacy in Central Asia was again established. The information which was put down in the histories of Sui and Tang was just as accurate as that found in the history of the Hans; because it was first-hand information from the eye-witness Hsuan-tsang, a Chinese monk travelling and studying in India for sixteen years. I shall omit the description of India from the history of Sui, because it was edited by the ministers of the Tang epoch; so their source of knowledge about India must be the same as that of the Tang period. The paragraph on India from the history of the Tang is as follows:

"Tien-chu (another name for India) is the land which is called Sindhu (in the time of Han) or Land of Brahman. It is situated farther to the West of the Onion Mountain, or Tsung-ling. The whole of the Indian territory is more than 30,000 lis. It is divided into five parts: Mid-India, East-India, South-India, West-India and North-India. Each of these parts is a territory of several thousand miles with many cities and towns. South India is surrounded by ocean. North India is sheltered by the Himalayan Mountains whose passes are the gates to India. East of East-India is the ocean, but has on the border Fu-nan (Suvarna-bhumi) and Lin-yih (Assam and Burma and Indo-China) as neighbours, West-India has Kipin and Persia on the border. Mid-India is in the middle, where the other four parts meet. Its capital has a space enclosed of seven lis, and the river Ganges is on its northern side. According to legend, a Brahman, who had several thousand students, taught them under the trees of the forest. With the blessing of Forest deities, there came a man and a woman, and family-life grew up. Each family had a great number of servants. The city was built by the help of the deities, so the construction work was finished in a few days. Later on, King Asoka built his palace with stones, and decorated it with many engravings which could hardly be surpassed by other styles of craftsmanship. In his administration King Asoka applied ordeals and tortures, and the hall built by him still remains as a relic in the city area. The King of Mid-India called Katryti ascended the throne without usurpation or assassination. The land of India is low, humid and hot in summer. It can have *four crops* of rice a year. It

produces diamonds, which being bright can never be burned, and can cut precious stones. It produces sandal wood, turmeric, and other kinds of spices. Communication between India and the Roman Orient goes on and merchants sell these products to Fu-nan and Cochin-China. The people live prosperously, and no census of population has been taken. The tillers, who plough the crown land, pay in kind. Shells (cowries) are used as money. The people have deep eyes and high noses. In paying their respects the people prostrate themselves before other's feet. In the family there are musical instruments, singers and dancers. The king and the ministers all dress themselves in embroidered clothes. They have hair-locks twisted on the top of their heads. They are bare-footed. They prefer to wear white dresses. Only those who belong to the Brahman class distinguish themselves by wearing a white shawl or a wrap thrown over the shoulders. Those who die are either burnt to ashes (cremated), or thrown to wild animals to be devoured, or sunk in the river to feed the fish or turtles. They do not indulge in mourning or burial ceremonies. Those who commit small crimes are fined. Those who do not fulfil their filial duty are punished by having a limb or ear or nose cut off, or are sent away as exiles. They have a written language and are well-versed in astronomy and mathematics. They know *Siddha-vastu*, which is said to be the creation of Brahma. Their books are written on palm leaves. They are not allowed to kill for food or drink wine. Everywhere Buddhist relics are to be found.

"During the period of Sui Emperor Yang-ti appointed Pai-Chiu to deal with the intercourse with the West Lands. Many countries sent their envoys to China, but India did not; for which Emperor Yang-ti felt very sorry. During the period of Wu-teh, India was in disorder; king Siladitya trained good soldiers and appeared to be invincible. After six years, during which time the harnesses were not taken off the elephants, nor the helmets from the soldiers, the kings of the four parts of India submitted to him. His influence spread, and his administration was in good order. He assumed the title of King of Magadha. He sent an envoy to the Tang and in the year, 643, Emperor Tai-tsung gave him a reply, which caused him great surprise; because the note came from a land called *Maha Chin*, according to the Indian tradition. Between 639 and 643, the Chinese monk Hsuan-tsang arrived from China, and took to his country 600 Buddhist texts. In the year, 647 a second Chinese envoy, Wang Hsuan-tse, arrived at a time when King Siladitya died and India was in a state of disturbance. The throne of Siladitya was taken over by his minister Arunasva, and the latter sent his army to fight against Wang Hsuan-tse. Wang fought against him with his thirty men and horses and was defeated. The gifts given to Wang by different countries were plundered and captured, but Wang succeeded in escaping to Northern India. He gathered twelve hundred well-trained troops from Tibet and 7,000 cavalymen from Nepal and advanced to attack Mid-India. The battle lasted three days with 3,000 men killed and 12,000 men drowned. Arunasva fled first but was arrested. The booty taken by

Wang was 12,000 men and women, and 30,000 cattle. India was very much alarmed by this news, and Arunasva was made a prisoner and sent to China.

"This incident was explained later by the Emperor that Wang's action was due to the offence given to the envoy, and that China had no hostile intentions towards India. The Emperor said that if the Brahmans did not plunder our envoy, he would not have been taken prisoner. The idea of receiving an envoy from another country in a friendly manner was a rule of international intercourse which existed in China since the period of *Spring and Autumn* (722-481 B. C.)"

The above record shows that the Chinese knowledge of India was pretty accurate ; because this chapter must have been based on the records of Western lands by Hsuan-tsang and Wang-Hsuan-tse's report. It is as accurate as the history of Han because the source of information of the Hans is based on the reports of Chang-Kien and Pan-chao. What is written in the Tang history is the personal experiences of Hsuan-tsang and Wang-Hsuan-tse. Besides Hsuan-tsang, there were other Indian monks arriving in China who belonged to the school of *Tantrism*.

The Tang period was the climax of the Sino-Indian cultural friendship. In the following Sung period, 960-1270 A. D., still some Indian monks came to China to do the work of translations ; but we may say that the coming and going between India and China came to a stand-still after the Tang period. The reason is not difficult to find, because, on the Indian side Buddhism was on the decline even during Hsuan-tsang's stay ; and India came under the Mahomedan conquest led by Mahmud of Ghazni about 1000. On the Chinese side the Sung dynasty lost Central Asia to the Mongols, whose leader, Temujin was proclaimed Chingiz Khan in Karakorum from 1206 and so the line of communication between India and China was severed. Chinese Neo-Confucianist philosophy was flourishing in this time and most of the monks believed in the Ch'an or Zen Buddhism, which was distinguished by their zeal for meditation rather than the reading of texts. After the Sung, the Yuan dynasty in China was founded by Kublai in 1271 and the Mongols were interested in *Lamaism*. The Manchus did the same as the Mongols because they had an eye for subduing the Tibetans. All these descriptions tell us that the friendly ties between the two countries lasted over 1000 years, beginning with the reign of Wu-ti (140-197 B.C.) of the Western Han dynasty to the end of Tang 907 A. D.

I should say that the friendly ties which brought the two countries so close were much less due to the motive of military conquest or commercial profiteering than to the spiritual impulses. The Indian monks were anxious to carry on their missionary work while the Chinese were content with what they were given ; so they paid their homage to India and learned Sanskrit themselves and brought the Buddhist texts which they wanted.

Only the spirit of religion which made the Indians think in terms of eternal truth and self-sacrifice with complete disregard of the difficulties, built up

the cultural ties between the two countries silently, steadily and continuously. Fervour of the Indian monks went into the Chinese texts of Buddhism without leaving their personal records ; but the Chinese gratitude and respects with regard to their personalities can be found in the *Biographies of the Noble Monks*. The enthusiasm of the Chinese to know India is shown by the 180 Chinese monks who tried to reach India from the first century to the Tang period. Fa-Hien who was first to reach India put on record his experiences and the hardships of his trip in his book that : "The prefect of Tun-Huang provided them with means to cross the desert. There are many evil demons and hot winds in this desert ; when encountered, all travellers die without exception. There are no birds flying above, no beasts roaming below, but everywhere, gazing as far as the eye can reach in search of the onward route, it is impossible to know the way but for dead men's decaying bodies which show the direction." When Fa-Hien arrived in Northern India he managed to cross the Ts'ung-ling. He said : "In Ts'ung-ling there is snow both in winter and summer. Moreover, there are poisonous dragons, which when evil-purposed, spit poison, winds, rain, snow, drifting sand and gravel stones ; not one in 10,000 meeting these calamities escape."

Hsuan-tsang, on his way, suffered as much hardship as Fa-Hien. Once a grey-bearded old man told him : "The western roads are difficult and bad, sand-streams stretch far and wide, evil spirits and hot winds, when they come, cannot be avoided. Numbers of men travelling together, though they be many, are misled and lost. How can you accomplish such a journey alone ?"

Hsuan-tsang answered, "I am to reach the Western world to search after the Great Law. If I do not reach the land of the Brahmans there is no return to the east ; it matters not if I die in the mid-route." Hsuan-tsang happily knew some of the kings on his way and was given facilities for travelling. But in India, after Hsuan-tsang had left the Kingdom of Ayodhya, he was on a vessel traversing the river Ganges, in order to visit Hayamukha. After going about 100 li, ten pirate-boats burst forth into the mid-stream and took Hsuan-tsang's ship to the bank and ordered the men to take off their clothes and to give up their jewels and precious stones. As the pirates worship *Durga* so they look for a man of good from to offer his flesh and blood in sacrifice to their divinity. They said, "Let us kill him as a sacrifice and we shall gain good fortune." Hsuan-tsang replied, "If my body is suitable for this purpose of sacrifice I dare not grudge the offering ; but my coming to India is to enquire into the character of the sacred books ; and as this purpose has not yet been accomplished, your killing me will bring you misfortune, instead of good fortune." Then his fellow-passengers asked the pirates to spare him, but the pirates would not consent. The captain of the gangsters ordered two of the company to draw their knives and to bind Hsuan-tsang upon an altar. Hsuan-tsang showed no fear in his face and began to pray that he might be born in the Tusita Heaven and see Bodhisattva Maitreya. At this moment his body and soul was beaming

with joy and he knew nothing of the altar upon which he was to be killed. Suddenly a black tempest arose smiting down the trees, and clouds of sand flew on every side. The robbers were filled with fear and some fellow-passengers told them to repent. They bowed their heads before Hsuan-tsang and confessed their guilt. They promised to give up their evil ways and asked him to be witness to their sincerity. It is right to say, "If it were not for the power of Hsuan-tsang's resolution in seeking the Great Law, this would not have come to pass." These stories of Fa-Hien and Hsuan tsang are mere episodes in their lives. Their real value lies in their knowledge which they learned from India and in their translations of the Buddhist rare texts which brought new elements to the composition of Chinese thought and culture.

The work done by the Indian and the Chinese monks during those 1,000 years is, even in modern China, looked upon with great appreciation. I shall give you the best description of the Sino-Indian ties in a speech given by Liang-chi Chao on the occasion of the poet Tagore's visit to Peking in 1924. Though I was present at the meeting, I have no copy of the original text ; so I take the following from an article "Meeting of Brothers" by Prof. Kshitimohan Sen appearing in the *Sino Indian Journal* of Santiniketan.

Liang said, "In ancient times there was no civilisation to the north and south of China ; towards the east there was the Pacific Ocean, and no word of any civilisation came to China from that side. Towards the west there were nations devoid of culture and they had nothing to give to others. The only message which reached us was from the South-West. This was one of the blessings from India. Since then the two civilisations have marched along the path of progress like brothers. There were uninviting natural barriers to be crossed, but our friendship conquered all such obstacles.

"For nearly the first eight hundred years of the Christain Era, very many great Indian thinkers and saints came to China and of them the names of twenty four are famous. We had also thirteen messengers from Kashmir. From China, in return, 187 great scholars went to India with reverence and messages of friendship. Of these the names and doings of at least 105 have been remembered. India also remembers some of our great men like Fa-Hien and Hsuan-tsang and I-tsing and others.

"India did not covet anything of China. They gave us the *Sadhana* of *moksha* or freedom and *Maitri*. Along with that message came the wealth of their literature art and education. We had inspiration from them in the fields of music, painting, architecture, sculpture, drama. etc. They brought with them great gifts of astronomy, of medicine, of social and educational institutions."

The details concerning the different subjects in the fields of music, painting, drama, astronomy, medicine and education cannot be dealt with in this chapter. What I want to discuss is the question "Why has Buddhism found favour among the Chinese ?"

The Chinese mind is rational ; the Chinese believe what is based on

rational grounds. They were under the training of Confucius and Mencius ; so any doctrine they were asked to learn and to believe must have a moral and intellectual background. If they were merely given a religion based on Revelation and Miracles it would not arouse their respect and faith easily. They were trained by the Confucian school to subordinate dogmatic theology to the dictates of reason and conscience. The Catholics who first came to China in the 16th-17th century brought watches, astronomical instruments, books on astronomy, mathematics and logic. That is why they succeeded in converting some Chinese scholars to Christianity. In the eyes of the Chinese, Christianity and Science are the two aspects of the Jesuits. It is the same with Buddhism. Buddha tells us of the sorrows of mankind, and asks us to look compassionately upon the wordly life. He theorises on this theme in the categories of a three-fold corner stone : (i) *Anitya* All is impermanence ; (ii) *An-atma* There is no ego ; (iii) *Nirvana* is the only blessing.

The theory of impermanence is expounded by Asanga in his treatise *Madhyantanugama-sastra* as follows : "All things are produced by the combination of causes and conditions and have no independent entity of their own. When the combination is resolved their destruction ensues ; this is what is called the impermanence of a composite entity". Buddha himself exhorted to his disciples : "You should accept my words after subjecting them to a critical test and not out of reverence for me". This rational and critical spirit of India furnishes the soil upon which the Chinese faith grows. This kind of mind began with Confucius, Lao Tze, Mencius, and was handed down by Chu-hsi and Wang-yang Ming. This same state of mind, existing in India and China, is the main reason why Buddhism took firm root. Dr. S. Mookherjee in his book, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux* said as follows : "The cleavage between religion and philosophy is pronounced where religion is held to be a matter of unquestioning faith, irrespective of a philosophic sanction. But in India the two are identical... belief had to be subjected to the test of logic ; and a faith that was not warranted by philosophic conditions, was rightly regarded as perverse dogmatism which has no right to the allegiance of a man of sound education and culture. It is this fact of intellectual honesty and spiritual earnestness that accounts for the intensity and desperate character of this fighting for opinions among the ancient philosophers of India. As has been aptly observed by Professor S. N. Das Gupta with his characteristic insight : 'The system of philosophy in India was not stirred up by the speculative demands of the human mind, but by deep craving after the realisation of the religious purpose of life ; and the intensity of this craving was not appeased except by a thorough-going and meticulous application of the Truth to every detail of life.'

Here we find three main characteristics of the Indian religion or philosophy :

1. Religion combined with Philosophy.
2. No speculative or intellectual display.
3. A deep craving for the application of the Truth to every detail of life.

Confucian philosophy was developed along these lines and in the Sung Neo-Confucianist philosophy too. If one follows carefully the life of Confucius and reads the biography of Chu-hsi, one will find how the application of truth to their lives was thoroughly carried out. This state of mind and craving caused the two countries to be brought closer together with spiritual ties.

In spite of these affinities and similarities, India and China belong to two different worlds. India's chief passion is religion, while China's teaching is ethical not religious. India has her caste system and China tried to level down the class distinctions since Confucius. If I am allowed to modify a little Dr. Radhakrishnan's two-fold division of *Western thoughts and Eastern religion*, I may add a third category, Ethics of China, or in the terms of Kant, the *Practical Reason*; practical Reason is closely connected, on the one hand with Pure Reason which gives us the synthetic forms of Knowledge, and the other to the three ideas of the Soul, the World as a totality, and God, which are the very foundations of religion. In this sense, China may be said to belong neither to the section of Western thought nor to the category of Eastern religion, but she is between the two. Because of this *middle position*. China has to accept Buddhism or other religions from outside; and again she has to take Science from Europe. The Chinese have been trained by Confucius to be broad-minded and not to be exclusive. While China has the advantage of being placed thus, she loses her superiority in imagination over religion and also the power of penetration in the higher intellectual field. Since our history shows thus how Sino-Indian co-operation in the fields of Religion, Art, and Knowledge went on smoothly and harmoniously for a long time, one cannot help thinking that India and China, in future also, will go hand in hand, renewing their efforts for a common programme of cultural and spiritual co-operation.

GANDHIJI'S LIFE IN THE LIGHT OF CHINESE IDEALS

If one reads the book on the Laotzean and Confucian schools it will not be difficult to recognise the similarities of mental outlook and human values in India and China. On account of this similarity, it is easy to understand why Mahatma Gandhi's life and his way of experimenting with Truth is much appreciated in China. Many articles and books on Mahatma Gandhi have been published in India, America and Europe. So I shall not dwell in detail upon his life. It will be examined only in the light of Chinese Ideals. In this chapter his life and character, and in the next chapter his philosophy of Religion, Politics, and other problems will be considered from the Chinese point of view.

Since Gandhi has been described by Rev. J. H. Holmes as the "greatest man since Jesus Christ", it is difficult for a Chinese to find another title which is equally high and so imposing. In the temple of Confucius there is a table with the title, "The most perfect Saint and Teacher". This title may also be applied to Buddha; but it will not cover the whole field of Gandhi's activities, because his *master-passion was politics*. On the other hand, if we describe him only as a statesman of non-violence, the other non-political aspects of his life are overlooked. Fortunately we have a term from Chuang Tze, the Taoist philosopher: *Nei-Sen-Wai-Wang*, which means "internally a saint, externally a king". Gandhi's life has two aspects: on the one hand he tried to live the life of *brahmacharya*, and firmly believed in God; one can hardly find another man, in this age, who lived a more saintly life than Gandhi. On the other hand he never forgot politics, often misrepresented as the job of a politician only; but according to Gandhi, politics is a part of the ideal life, which cannot be separated from Religion.

"Internally a saint, externally a king" is the best title which the Confucian Chinese can confer on a man who combined the two aspects of life and who carried on his work in a most satisfactory way. Gandhi was not monarchical and a real king sitting on a throne; but he led the millions of India and won her Independence which had been lost for centuries. So we cannot omit the political aspect of his life and Gandhi's kingdom was the soul of India, recaptured by the integrity of his person. Gandhi was the uncrowned king of India, by the spontaneous way in which the people followed him, and in the way he won India's Independence. His leadership was not based on his position as the President of the Congress, but on his personality. I cannot do otherwise than to give a quotation from a Confucian book, *The Great Learning*, to describe the two aspects of his life.

The Great Learning teaches us—"to illustrate the illustrious virtue; to renovate the people and to rest in the highest good."

There are two sides of Gandhi's work: he was a vegetarian and lived a *brahmacharya* life: so he saw clearly that any political activity without a moral basis was incomplete. On the basis of his own virtue, he went further to renovate the people. The term "renovation" can be traced back to an engraving on a bath-tub running as follows; "If you can renovate yourself one day, do so from day to day. Yea, let there be daily renovation." The term "renovation" is illustrated by the example of taking a bath every day. The daily bath teaches that we should clean ourselves regularly, so the renovation of the people should go on unceasingly. I think that the work of Gandhi is well characterized in the opening words of the *Great Learning* to illustrate illustrious virtue and to renovate the people.

The reason why a king or a great leader of the people should be a saint is at the same time emphasised here. Because a king is to save and educate the people, he himself must have a good heart, a clear mind to know what is right or wrong, what are the first things and what are the last, and to choose right

persons for the right place. A king, in the ideal sense, is not a man to win wars, to extend territories or to increase the population, but to love the people and to give the people what they need. He should not follow the examples of Alexander or Napoleon, much less those of Hitler or Stalin, who both signed the treaty for the partition of Poland for their own selfish ends. In other words, politics must be based on moral principles. Throughout history, we have too many politicians, but too few real men who combine the nature of a saint and that of a king within themselves. Gandhi was a saint and at the same time such a great statesman that no one could take exception to his service or his methods.

The work of a saint and at the same time that of a statesman can also be explained by the theory of *eight stages* according to the *Great Learning*. To quote :

"The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the world, first governed their own states well. Wishing to govern their own states well, they first brought order to their families, they first disciplined themselves. Desiring to discipline themselves, they first sanctified their hearts, or minds. Seeking to sanctify their hearts, they sought to bring their will in accordance with truthfulness. In order to bring the will in accordance with truthfulness, they first improved their intellect to the utmost. Such an improvement of the intellect lay in the investigation of things."

So these are the eight stages according to the *Great Learning* :

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| 1. World Peace. | 5. Sanctification of the heart. |
| 2. Government of the State. | 6. Truthfulness of the will. |
| 3. Order in the family. | 7. Improvement of the intellect. |
| 4. Self-discipline. | 8. Investigation of things. |

In the reverse order of these stages, the same Confucian book says as follows :

"Things being investigated, intellect became complete. The intellect being complete, their will became truthful. Their will being truthful, their hearts or minds were sanctified. Their hearts being sanctified, their persons were well disciplined. Their persons being disciplined, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated their states were well governed. Their states being well governed, the whole world was made tranquil and happy."

The key to the eight stages is self-development. Thus it is said in the same book :

"From Emperor down to the mass of the people, all must consider self-development as the root of everything else. It cannot be that when the root is neglected, what springs from the root can be well ordered. It has never been the case that what was of great importance has been slightly cared for, nor that what was of little importance was much cared for."

If the fourth stage, self-development is the key to the whole subject in both directions, from self to the world or from the world to self, then it follows that sanctification of the heart, control of the will in accordance with truthful-

ness, and the other stages, must start from self-development. When self-development has been accomplished, one can extend one's service to the family, to the state, and to the world.

If this order of internal purification and external service is the right way of life, then we know why the achievement of Gandhi is so much appreciated by the Chinese. His whole life agrees with what the *Great Learning* instructs.

The work of the last stages in relation to the life of Gandhi will be dealt with in the next chapter ; because we have much to do with his "experimenting with Truth"—to use Gandhi's own term ; but the work of self-development, regulation of the family, and government of the state, and the deeds of Gandhi himself will be dealt with here.

The question why a king or a leader of the people should be as self-disciplined as a saint should be answered first. The actions of a king or a leader will be watched by thousands or millions of people. If a king or a leader merely wants to start a military conquest, or achieve a diplomatic victory, or increase the population and wealth of the state, he can easily carry out his policy by the principle of expediency. If a king or a leader desires to lead the people to live a life of austerity, or of good conduct, or to show a greater sense of responsibility, then he must set the example himself. Confucius once replied to a baron, Chi-kang, who asked about government : "To govern means to put the people on the right road of life. If you are on the right road, who will dare not be on the right road ?" Again Confucius said : "When a prince's personal conduct is right, his government is effective without the issuing of orders. If his personal conduct is not right he may issue orders but they will not be obeyed."

The idea that a leader can only lead the people by his own example, was known to Gandhi before he returned to lead the Independence Movement in India. He said in his *Autobiography* :

"As the ideals of sacrifice and simplicity were becoming more and more realized, and religious consciousness was becoming more and more quickened in my daily life, the passion of vegetarianism as a mission went on increasing. I have known only one way of carrying on missionary work, viz., by personal example."

These words may not only be applied to his inclination for vegetarianism, but to all aspects of his life. His disposition to cut down his family budget and to live a *brahmacharya* life, all prepared the way for his leadership of the Indian Independence movement. Otherwise, when there is greed for material possessions and personal desires, the resultant state of physical health will undermine the mind, and diminish the capacity of what one can do for one's country. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan has rightly interpreted the importance of celibacy : "When the masters of spiritual life insist on celibacy, they demand that we should preserve singleness of mind from destruction by bodily desire."

In order to serve one's country, one should lead a life of *sacrifice* and *suffering* which will be an example followed by millions of people.

Again, one's motive for starting a campaign of fighting for the independence of one's country must be pure. If a man starts it for his own fame, or for pecuniary gain, or for his own ambition, then it will soon be discovered and criticised and nobody will follow him. The purity of one's motive for a political movement is so important, that even if, at the beginning of the movement, it be stopped by government, it will expand and grow, influencing millions to follow because of its pureness of purpose. If honesty and personal integrity is the foundation of a successful business career, it is more so for a political cause. Gandhi's purpose was like this ; for he sought to win Indian Independence for the good of his people and not for his own fame.

So far the importance of self-development has been explained in general as the key to bringing order in the family and good government to the state. Again the *Great Learning* explains how the role of self-development is a remedy against one's bias or prejudice. It says :

"What is meant by the regulation of one's family depends on self development is this : Men are partial when they feel affection and love ; partial where they despise and dislike ; partial where they stand in awe and reverence ; partial where they feel sorrow and compassion ; partial where they are arrogant and rude. Thus it is that there are few men in the world, who love and at the same time know the faults of the object of their affection, or who hate and yet acknowledge the fine qualities of their enemies. Hence the adage has it : 'a man does not know the wickedness of his own son ; he does not know the wealth of his growing corn'."

If order in the home depends so much on the discipline in one's own person, it is even more so that good government of the state also depends on the same all-important factor.

How Gandhi worked on the question of self-discipline can be seen from his own words : "But the road of self-purification is hard and steep. To attain to perfect purity, one has to become absolutely passion-free in thought, speech, and action to rise above the opposing currents of love and hatred, attachment and repulsion. I know that I have not in me as yet that triple purity, in spite of constant, ceaseless striving for it. To conquer the subtle passion seems to me to be harder than the physical conquest of the world by force of arms."

Every word that Gandhi has written here is endorsed by the Chinese scholars both of the Confucian and the Taoist school. In agreeing with the last sentence of Gandhi, a Chinese proverb says : "It is easy to arrest a thief in the mountains, but it is hard to arrest a thief in your heart".

Apart from the role of self-development in relation to the family and government, we shall now consider of the family and the government in a country. Suppose one sets himself to the great task of saving his country ; but his wife is fond of costly jewels, beautiful clothes, and modern comforts : and his

children waste their father's money without doing any work to help themselves ; then the husband or the father would be greatly hampered by such a family. This is why Gandhi cut down his family budget, and asked his wife to do the household work. He had even a quarrel with his wife Kasturba on the subject at one time.

Family-life in China (as in India) does not only mean the husband, wife, and their children, it also includes one's brother, his wife and their children. Sometimes a family consists of ten or twenty or even more members, in which uncles and cousins and their children have been included. Thus the order of the family in relation to the country has been explained by the *Great Learning* as follows :

"What is meant by 'In order rightly to govern the State, it is necessary to regulate the family' is this : It is not possible for one to teach others while he cannot teach his family. Therefore, the ruler, without going beyond his family, completes his lessons for the state. There is *filial piety*—therewith the sovereign should be served. There is *fraternal submission*—therewith the elders and superiors should be served. There is *kindness*—therewith the multitude should be treated.

"From the loving example of one family a whole state becomes loving, and from its courtesies the whole state becomes courteous ; while from the ambition and perverseness of one man, the whole state may be led to rebellious disorder ;—such is the nature of mutual effect. This proves the saying : 'Affairs may be ruined by a single sentence, a kingdom may be settled by its One man'." This last sentence may be easily understood after the whole world has witnessed what Hitler and Mussolini meant to Germany and Italy. On the other hand, Gandhi's own example of simple living and going to jail has moved the Indian people to look upon going to jail as an honour, and this made the emergence of the New India possible.

From state government to world federation is a big step. It cannot be said that at the time of the *Great Learning*, the idea of moving from nationalism to a *world-government* was known to the Chinese people. We may say that in China nationalism has never had a chance to develop as it has done in Europe ; but the idea of *world-brotherhood* was much more pronounced. Confucius expressed this idea of human brotherhood in the following way :

"When the *Great Tao* prevails, the world will be a *commonwealth*. The wise and the able men will be employed in the service of government. Sincerity and harmony will be appreciated and observed by all. The people will not only serve their own parents, and will not only bring up their own children, but will *care for others* as well. The aged ones deserve a way to bring their lives to a comfortable end, the young have the right to make themselves useful, while the little ones have the right to be brought up. Even the widowers, and cripples have the right to be cared for and supported. The males know their duties

and the females should have someone to rely upon. Economic goods should not be thrown overboard, but they need not be kept only as one's personal possession. Work must be done by everyone, and none should withdraw from doing his share. The object of doing one's bit is not to seek any reward, but to do the work for its own sake. Peace and order under these conditions is so good that no intrigue will arise, and no theft or robbery will occur. Every house-hold may leave its door open, without fear of robbery or molestation. This is called the "Grand Harmony".

This last stage is considered by the Chinese as the ideal government, the idea called Utopia in Europe. Of course, the ideal can only be realized when there is a complete world-government.

There we have the balance of interrelationships ; from the individual to the family, to the state, to the world. That each of these stages owes much to self-development and self-discipline was clear to Gandhi and which is not difficult to know after a careful study of his Autobiography. His way of self-development, in order to carry the bigger work of saving his own country and serving mankind, reveals to us that his way of doing things agrees very much with what our own Chinese sages prescribed.

In order to study Gandhi's character one must go much deeper than the frame-work of the *Great Learning*. Basically, Gandhi's character was a religious one. He believed in Hinduism, but he said that all religions have served to enrich mankind. His depth and breadth of feeling made him go to the very *source of life* and then find out from it the way to the betterment of his own country and the world. The very source of human life is Love. This may not be in the same degree of sensitiveness in every person. But the religious founders were especially sensitive to the virtue of love. Jesus Christ said : "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you". Confucius glorified the idea of love in a similar way, but in different terms. His disciple, Tze-king said : "Imagine a man extensively conferring benefits on the people, and able to assist all. What would you say of him ? Might he not be called a man of love ?" Confucius said : "Why speak only of love in connexion with him ? Must he not have the qualities of a Sage ? Even Yao and Shun (the sage emperors of China) were still solicitous about this. Now the man of Jen (love), wishing to establish himself, seeks also to establish others ; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge others". Mencius expressed the same idea in another way : He said : "Yu, the Emperor (who regulated the flood) thought that if any-one in the empire were drowned, it was as if he had drowned them. Tsieh (minister who began to plough the land) thought that if any one in the empire suffered hunger, it was as if he starved them". These words today seem like legends ; but they have been realized by what Gandhi did for the Indians in South Africa, and later on in India itself. Gandhi's feeling of love is best seen in his repudiation of Untouchability. He said : "Untouchability is repugnant to reason and to the instinct of mercy,

pity and love. A religion that establishes the worship of the cow, cannot countenance or warrant an inhuman and cruel boycott of a human being. And I should be content to be torn into pieces rather than disown the suppressed classes."

In 1944 when Gandhi was ill with ankylostomiasis, he was asked by Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy to take medicines imported from America. Gandhi turned to Dr. Roy and said: "Why should I take your medicine? First, because it is an imported medicine, secondly, because you cannot give free treatment to the 400 millions of the poor as you are doing to me." This last sentence sounds typically *oriental*. Since the whole population had no access to this kind of treatment, why should he get it first? Gandhi had the same feeling like one of the Chinese sages who said: "Among all the people of the empire, even the private men and women, if their were any, who did not enjoy such benefits as Yao and Shun conferred, it was as if he himself pushed them into a ditch". If one looks only after one's own comfort, one cannot express a feeling or concern for the poverty and suffering of others less fortunate than himself. A Chinese statesman of the Sung dynasty, Fan-chung-yen, when a student, thought that he should shoulder the responsibility of world affairs. He has expressed the same idea as did Gandhi to Dr. Roy. Fan-chung-yen said: "One should feel sorry *before* the world feels it; one should feel happy *after* the world becomes happy." This means that a great leader, whether religious or political, will be glad to suffer ahead of the world, and to enjoy only when all people have known joy. This should come from his sense of cosmic love and responsibility.

Besides this sense of love, Gandhi had also the spirit of courage, which means *fearlessness*. Gandhi said: "I suggest to you that there is only one whom we have to fear, and that is God. When we fear God, then we fear no man, however high his position; and if you want to follow the vow of Truth, then fearlessness is absolutely necessary. Before we can aspire to guide the destinies of India, we shall have to adopt this habit of fearlessness." Confucius's thought goes along the same line, because he thinks that a man who possesses the sense of love, will risk life itself for the sake of love; so he is courageous and fears nothing. Confucius said: "A man of *jen* is sure to be courageous, but those who are courageous may not always be men of *jen*. His disciple Tsang-tze said: "I heard an account of great courage from Confucius. It speaks thus: 'If on self-examination, I find that I am not upright, shall I not be in fear even of a poor man in his loose garment of heir-cloth? If on self-examination, I find that I am upright, I will go forward against thousands and tens of thousands.'" A man of love does everything motivated by his feeling of love for the people and country. Then he knows clearly what he does is public-spirited, so there is nothing wrong in it. In such a case he will even die for such a cause, naturally he is courageous and fearless.

What of the question of right of wrong? Gandhi often said that he followed the *inner voice*. In the present age of experimenting and verification

one always doubts the words of the so-called inner voice, because it seems that it is not reliable. Men think that to find a moral law is the same as finding the natural law of the physical world. It should be based upon the inductive method, by which so many similar cases should be tested, and a law of cause and effect thus founded. But the moral law does not depend on the cases one is studying, but on the purification of one's own heart. If a man is free from desires, lusts, greed of money or power, then his mind is pure and clear, and his judgment of what is right or wrong will be right too. Kant has explained to us that the activity of the *rational will* in proposing ends to itself, must appear as a command, in the form of the *categorical imperative*, as against the empirical motives of will and action. This means that if the will is directed to making use of other persons as a means, it means selfishness and wrong-doing. Otherwise, if it is directed towards something other than selfishness, this something else, which the moral law orders, is called duty. So long as a man's motive conforms to duty, the aims of his will shall be right and moral. This is why Jesus, Confucius and Buddha, though they did not consult each other, gave us almost the same commandments,—no lying, no stealing, no adultery and no killing. The details in following these fundamental principles may be different, but the spirit underlying them, it will be agreed by all, is the same. Gandhi discovered his principle of non-violence and the *brahmacharya*-life in the same way. His inner voice did not come from his whims or his idiosyncracies, but it came from the work of self-control and purification of heart ; so he became a law unto himself, according to which he judged and acted in a sense of righteousness and justice.

A man's life, in most cases, goes on smoothly without any ups and downs. Such a life may be very comfortable, but it will not achieve much. Any one after suffering a shock in his life, will have a more intense feeling of his experience and will lead himself in a more serious, earnest and truthful way, and will, in the end, start a revolution, not only in his own life but throughout his country. This is the treatment which Gandhi received in South Africa. He was pushed out of the 1st Class compartment, in which *coloured people* were not allowed to travel. He was attacked at a landing place at Durban. This kind of treatment made him conscious of the position to which the coloured races and his own people had fallen. His reaction to the supremacy of the Whites was different from that of the extremists, who put all the blame on Capitalism and not on themselves. Gandhi told his countrymen to reform themselves and to uplift themselves. After these experiences, insults, and bitterness, a new life grew out of him. That this kind of shock or sudden stimulation can work wonders may be illustrated by another case of love. Suppose a young man proposes to a young girl, his schoolmate. She turns him down by saying that he is too stupid and not her equal. This young man feels angry and insulted. He goes away from her, works hard until he has succeeded. This latent energy, if he had not been turned down, may have remained hidden

and not produced any effect on him. After being turned down he received a shock which stimulated ; so he worked much harder than before, and his will became more determined to attain success. This kind of sudden stimulation has a good effect upon an individual ; it also works wonderfully upon a nation.

Mencius explained how a reformation can take place in an individual who has suffered insult and poverty. He said : "Thus, when Heaven is about to confer a great mission on any man, it first exercises his mind with suffering, and his sinews and bones with toil. It exposes his body to hunger, and subjects him to extreme poverty. It confounds his undertakings. By all these methods it stimulates his mind, hardens his nature, and supplies that which he is not yet capable of."

"Men for the most part err, and are afterwards able to reform. They are distressed in mind and perplexed in their thoughts, and then they arise to vigorous reformation.

"If a prince has not about his court men of principle, and worthy counsellors, and if abroad there are not hostile states or other external threats, his kingdom will generally end in ruin.

"From these things we see how life springs from sorrow and calamity, and death from ease and pleasure."

These remarks of Mencius best explain India's revival under Gandhi's leadership. After his bitter experiences Gandhi led a new life more intensely and courageously.

Now we come to Gandhi's leadership of the Indian Independence movement. Gandhi, as a Hindu, felt humiliated that his country had lost her independence and became a colonial subject under the United Kingdom. During his stay in South Africa he saw how his countrymen were treated ; his patriotism was much kindled and he decided to devote his life to the service of his country. His leadership of this movement has been characterized by such principles as non-violence and civil disobedience. But non-violence or civil disobedience, I think, does not cover every aspect of Gandhi's political activities. Gandhi's success in recovering the independence of India, was due to his spiritual leadership.

In the eyes of Orientals, personal example, as mentioned above, is the prerequisite to leadership. A good speech or a clever programme need not have a big following. If a man lives a simple life, performs difficult tasks, and his deeds agree with his words, such a man will have a great number of followers, and in some cases they will die for him. Such a man's leadership will be very effective. The story of Tseng-kuo-fan who led his army and defeated the Taiping Rebellion, may be taken as an illustration of the Chinese view of leadership. At the beginning Tseng-kuo-fan was a mere scholar and had no army and financial support. Through his personal integrity, foresight, courage and knowledge of men, he gathered a number of friends as the nucleus of his army. After many futile attempts at fighting he was sometimes disappointed and

tried to drown himself. Yet his bringing together of thousands of honest men built up a good and strong army, and he ultimately succeeded in putting down the Taiping Rebellion. Later he wrote an article called the "Source of Talents," which was a discussion on leadership. He said: "Whence is the origin of the moral atmosphere? It depends on the direction of the mind of one or two men. Most people are below average quality. If one or two men are wise and able, many will follow them and receive their orders. The abler he is, the more followers will he have. If the mind of the one man is directed towards righteousness, the mass of the people will go in the direction of righteousness. If the mind of the one man is directed towards money-making, the mass of the people will do the same. This is like the blowing of the wind, or the flowing of a river, which a strong force cannot change."

The words of Tseng-kuo-fan cause one to think that the Chinese expect very much of the role of the leading men. But I can also quote the words of a westerner who thought in the same way. Professor Gilbert Murray said: "Be careful in dealing with a man who cares nothing for sensual pleasures, nothing of comfort of praise or promotion, but is simply determined to do what he thinks to be right. He is a dangerous and uncomfortable enemy, because his body, which you can always conquer, gives you so little purchase over his soul."

Here the question is, why a man of principle and good character is a powerful enemy to a government? It is because he is so good that a great number of people will follow his footsteps. I think that Gandhi's success lies in his simple life, serving the poor and identifying himself with them. The way he fought successfully for India's independence can be explained thus:

I. On the basis of his being morally right, Gandhi challenged the British Rule, as was shown in his letter to Every Englishman in 1920, in his Trial Speech in 1922, and at the London Round Table Conference in 1931. From the very beginning he knew that India could not regain her independence by violence, but she could win it by moral force. Gandhi said: "Bravery on the battle field is impossible for us, but bravery of the soul still remains open to us." What he proposed was non-cooperation, which would rouse the people to disobey the law within the limits of non-violence, but would make them political rebels for their love for their own country. It was impossible for the British Government to kill them all, because the latter stood for liberty and the rule of law. Gandhi's moral affirmation put the British rule in a very awkward position, because a government can only rule with the consent, not the dissent of the people.

II. Gandhi knew that the Indian people were not yet ready for fearless participation in politics. When he came back from South Africa, he said: "I found, through my wanderings in India, that my country is seized with a paralysing fear. We may not open our lips, we may only talk about our opinions secretly. We may do anything we like within the four walls of our homes; but these things are not for public consumption."

By his open talk, by doing everything before the eyes of the world, by his conscious suffering and by going to jail, he kindled the fire in all hearts and changed the mentality of the Indian people from inertia to activity, from fear to courage and from slavery to freedom. It is right for Prof. Humayun Kabir to say : "Gandhiji transformed Indian politics by his deliberate defiance of unacceptable laws with the full consciousness of the possible consequences. It is now difficult to remember the fear and nervousness which jail-life then had for the average citizen. Imprisonment for a political cause carries with it an air of martyrdom in contemporary India. By overcoming the fear of jail Gandhiji wrought a psychological revolution, the extent of which we can hardly realise today.

III. By gathering together the members of the Congress Party, and improving their work in the legislative assemblies, and by his negotiation with the British Government, Gandhi made the best selection of men who loved their country and were really public-spirited. He did not appeal to their mob-frenzy and to their hot-headedness, but trained them in discussion, negotiation and discipline ; in other words, in sure parliamentary procedure.

By this we are led to the point of saying that Gandhi's leadership was not only based on the Indian tradition of self-mortification and sacrifice, but also involved assimilation of many factors which are of Western origin.

Firstly, he was a barrister-at-law, so he knew just how far to carry civil disobedience. So long as you do not do violence to person and property you remain within the law. Within this limit, the boycott of tax-payment, of Government schools, and the acceptance of office in public institutions would make the Government feel awkward. As it is still within the limit of non-violence, though the Government may punish the non-co-operators, the placing of many thousands of people in jail is not a good sign for any dignified government.

Secondly, Gandhi knew well that independence could not be obtained in one or two days. He never hesitated to stop the civil disobedience when he found that it reached the point of violence, as in the cases of 21st July, 1919, and April 1934. Gandhi's non-cooperation had never meant the immediate overthrow of the British rule in India, but he intended to negotiate. He intended to realise his objective step by step ; yet he never surrendered till freedom was fully realised. In other words, he saw that by adopting the Fabian tactics of gradual penetration, he would finally win what he desired. Here also enters the British practice of government and settlement by negotiation. When both sides come together for a round table conference, they can present their complaints and explain their position, and ask for reforms. When they reach an agreement, they will carry it out faithfully and peacefully. This leads the antagonists along the path of peaceful progress without fighting and bloodshed. This kind of progress will be more sure and lasting than what is gained by violent means. Violence will often lead to civil war and dictatorship, not to peace and freedom. Gandhi realised this, so he preferred the way of negotiation to bloody fighting.

Thus we see that parliamentary methods played an equally important part in Gandhi's role.

The best commentary to Gandhi's personality comes, it seems, from the *Great Learning* of Confucius. Gandhi's spirit of love has gathered millions of men around him. This is wonderful enough, because this is not due to the art of propaganda, as in the case of Hitler, but from the people's appreciation of his character. Again his capacity to gather men of extraordinary ability, such as Rajendra Prasad, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Rajagopalacharia, Maulana Azad with many others, and also many Europeans and Americans, is a still more wonderful art. This cannot otherwise be explained than by his knowledge of men, his faith in goodness, his generosity and his broadmindedness to tolerate any one who came to him. His love of goodness and good men can again be illustrated from the last chapter of the book *Great Learning*. It says : In the Announcement of Kang, it is said, 'The Heavenly decree may not always rest on us ; That is, goodness obtains the decree and the want of goodness loses it'.

In the book of Ch'u it is said, 'The Kingdom of Ch'u does not consider anything valuable but good men'. In the declaration of Ch'u it is said : "Let me have but one great minister, plain and sincere, not pretending to other abilities, but with a simple upright mind ; and possessed of generosity regarding the talents of others as if he himself possessed them ; and, when he finds accomplished and perspicacious men, loving them in his heart more than his lips express, and showing himself really able to bear and employ them,—such a great minister will be able to protect my sons, grandsons and the people, and to bring benefit on the kingdom as a whole".

Thus we see that a man of noble character, has a great course to pursue. He must show entire self-devotion and sincerity to attain it, and by pride and extravagance he will fail to possess it.

Let us repeat that Gandhi has won India's independence by his plain and upright character, his complete self-devotion and spirit of love.

In the above sections I have taken quotations from the Chinese Classics, our old books, because this is the best way of showing that there is the same standard of moral values, and the same appreciation of human character both in China and India.

From our Chinese experiences I am convinced that such a moral foundation as Gandhi has laid for the Republic of India, will remain unshaken and unconquerable.

GANDHI'S WORK OF WORLD RENOVATION

Gandhi's teachings will, no doubt, place all aspects of human life in a new perspective. Gandhi is one of the very few, like Jesus Christ, Buddha, Confucius, Lao Tze or Socrates, who went to the primary source of life and the universe, in order to find out their meaning. In that he went to the primary source, He did not see only a part of the world, or part of human life or human knowledge ; he possessed such a breadth and profundity of feeling, intellect and will, that his thoughts and actions fundamentally changed human outlook on religion, politics and philosophy ; his view will change the generally accepted ideas, and lead us along a new road. Gandhi, because he followed so closely the "Sermon on the Mount", is a light which reveals several things we did not see before. He is a fountain of that water sent from Heaven, which will fill many streams and rivers ; and through his life many will come to live a new life today and tomorrow.

I call him a man of primary source in contradistinction to others whose ideas were not original, but derivative and limited in scope. Among these latter there are original thinkers, scientists, discoverers ; yet they cannot exercise such a vast and profound influence over the whole aspect of human life. A man of primary source may not be a great scientist or a brilliant scholar, displaying wide knowledge or coining new words ; but his intense love, understanding and intuition can see fundamental problems and can solve them in his own way. Gandhi's solution of the problems, apparently extremely difficult on the surface, is new and amazing because it had not been tackled by others before him. His solution, on the other hand, may appear very simple, and therefore, still more amazing to an incredulous world ; but its very simplicity gives the answer that the problem in question had never been visualized in that way before.

The very source of life and the universe is simple. God who made us is simplicity itself. But it takes a genius to discover it. Most of life's problems really have simple solutions ; but it is our complex mind that clouds the basic simplicity. And because simplicity and humility are the attributes of the truly great, it takes a great man to discover the truth of these things. This simplicity permeates the universe, therefore it influences every aspect of human life. Jesus Christ's Love, Buddha's Mercy ; and Confucius's theory of *Jen* belong to the same category, and Gandhi should be classed with them.

These men go back to the very source of life, which may be simple and invisible, because it is hidden in a high place. When the power begins to flow from the source, it supplies in abundance. That is why men of the Primary Source constitute a power of great influence.

Why is it that the modern world needs a man like Gandhi who is born to go to the very source of life ? The manifestations of our life,

be it material or spiritual, have produced a number of cultural heritages : religion, philosophy, art, knowledge, politics and economics. All the institutions are produced in different countries without their knowing one another. All of them have something in common, yet they are separate and so they are independent of each other. Each of them is proud of its own culture without seeing the goodness of the others. Look at one of them say, religion. If one thinks of the principal religions which are commonly known, one will find Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and Confucianism, if the last can be counted as a religion. Because of their origin in different places and the differences in their preaching, they are different and they conflict with each other. In the above religions, because of the long period of their life, sects have grown up like Catholicism and Protestantism. Even in the same sects there are many different sub-sects and denominations.

Again, look at the question of the human race. We do not know whether it is derived from different roots or the same root. We have the white race, the yellow race the black race etc. Some of them are progressive and some are backward. Each of them has a different colour, faith, political institution ; so they are hostile ; first between different races, and next within the same race. Again with regard to the social heritage ; we have religion, philosophy, knowledge, politics and economics. The standard of values in each field is different what is valid in one field, is not valid in others. Religion preaches poverty and non-possession, while in business the first objective is money-making and the accumulation of wealth. While religion preaches justice and brotherhood, the policy of the government is the conquest, expansion and the subjugation of the weaker ones. While in religion and ethics one is asked to be honest and benevolent, in diplomacy shrewdness and the outwitting of others is much more appreciated. All these are contradictions which are too often found in our religious, ethical, political and economic life.

The same conditions occur in the various fields of study. In the field of physics mechanism prevails, but in the biological world one finds organism a substitute for mechanism. In the physical world the law of cause and effect, or of determinism is followed, while in the field of the mind, one acknowledges indeterminism or free will. No doubt the subjects under research are different, so the laws governing them are also different.

If we classify all these differences or contradictions in the various fields of life, we call them *walls of partition*, or barriers, and the process of departmentalism. Now departmentalism implies that the same individual classifies his conduct into departments, and each mode of conduct is adopted to different conditions and circumstances. Thus a man shows kindness to his friend, but the same man makes no allowance for his enemy. How can the same man reveal love and animosity ? Viewed rationally, this varying conduct in the life of human beings does not make sense, and yet how many are there who are not subject to these inexplicable contradictions ?

There are so many walls of partition or divisions, that stand between the followers of different religions, between different races, nations, classes, and many other biases and prejudices against each other. For the purpose of illustration, I shall take one or two subjects to show how these dangerous walls of partition have been gradually built up.

The founding of a religion begins with a message from God, to be transmitted to the people of this world, either for the correction of the human conduct or for its further enlightenment. The founder gives his teachings to his disciples, which they respect because they have been convinced of the merits of the teachings. The passage of time gives rise to the growth of a Church organisation, Holy Scriptures, dogmas and a hierarchy of ministers, all of which have their origin in the teachings of the religious founder. These are the accompaniments which are bound to come. The original purpose was to convey a message from God which transcends the temporal world. This message, having become part and parcel of our lives, had to be expressed in a concrete form so that all might understand and appreciate the God-sent message to mankind. This concrete expression takes the form of Church organisation, scriptures, dogmas, and rituals. All this is the outcome of man's mental complexity. With the passage of time, man feels that he must embellish the message; for it is too difficult to be understood in its original simplicity. So man builds up his variety of explanations or rituals to present, to the visual sense of man, the lesson God intended him to learn from His message. Thus, in a multitude of explanations and comments the simple truth is lost to the world.

The next stage in the development, or should one say retrogression, is when a man more enlightened than the rest realises how the truth has been lost to the world, and in his efforts to give the truth back to the world in its simplicity, he breaks away from the mother-body and sets up his own daughter-sect. With the further passage of time, this process goes on multiplying until there are so many different schools of teaching that one is hard put to it to know which is really right. The ultimate result is still the same, the Truth is hid through man's obscurantism.

The growth and hardening process, above described, is like the body of man dividing each from the other, or like the crust of an insect which has to undergo changes. When a man is old he loses his vitality and vigour and his arteries become hardened. It is the same with the different kinds of institutions which, when once they are static and fixed, have to be cleaned, reshaped or renewed. I shall call this kind of rigidity in the social phenomena incrustation, fixation, or deterioration.

Only those who go back to the very source of life, can see the phases of incrustation. They pull down the walls of partition, grasp the key to the locked doors, and seek to rectify the illusions under which the world has been blindly living. This is what most of the religious founders did. They saw the light, pointed the way, and shouted to the world to follow the light.

Gandhi saw the deterioration of mankind, in the divisions among the various religions, discrimination between the races, inequality between the classes in the same country, and also the differences between the standards of value in the various fields of human life. Had he remained in one field, such as religion or politics, and had he not transcended the boundary lines of the various aspects of human life, he could not have been so thorough nor gone so far forward into the unknown in order to show the world that there is a higher life far more worth-living than that of materialism, selfish regard for one's own interests to the exclusion of all else, and a life of passion on the lower levels. Because he went up on the mountains and looked down from the heights to the plains below and because he went to the source of human life and saw the great wealth to be had, and how it had been lost in the passage of the river through the plains of time ; so he was able to see clearly that the walls of partition in religion, or between one religion and another, or between religion and the other aspects of human interests, was a wrong idea which should be put right as soon as possible. In other words, he saw unity in religions, unity in human life, unity of standard of values in the various fields of human activity. Therefore he carried on a revolution in religion, politics, and all the other fields. He lived in a world which cut right across the existence of different kinds of faith to a universal religion from a world of many nations to one where all are united ; from the different standards of values in the various fields to a single standard for all subjects. He was a pioneer in the field of *moral discovery* for a unity of outlook for all mankind. He saw the fundamental unity and brotherhood of Man.

First, as regards religion ; Gandhi said, "The Allah of Islam is the same as the God of the Christians and the Isvara of the Hindus. Even as there are various names for God in Hinduism, so are there many names for God in Islam. The names do not indicate individualities, but attributes, and little man has tried in his humble way to describe Mighty God by giving Him attributes such as, Indescribable, Immeasurable. Living faith in this God means equal respect for all religions. It would be the height of intolerance—and intolerance is a species of violence—to believe that your religion is superior to other religions and that you are justified in 'converting' or wanting others to change their faith to yours."

Gandhi's attitude towards other religions is not one of negative toleration, but of positive appreciation, as Radhakrishnan said in his collection of essays and reflections on Gandhi. Gandhi acknowledged that Jesus Christ occupied in his heart the place of one of the great teachers. He also appreciated the character of Mohammad. Although Gandhi once called himself a *Sanatan Hindu*, he explained it in the following way : "It is not the Hindu religion that I prize above all other religions, but the religion that transcends Hinduism, which changes one's very nature, which binds one indissolubly to the Truth within, and which ever purifies."

I cannot say that Gandhi suggests a universal religion, but he asks for equal respect for all religions. To discover what is common to all, and to reject that which is peculiar and strange to each of them. This is the way to mutual appreciation, the way for the common good of the believers of all religions.

Second, as regards human conduct in Gandhi's view of life, there should be a unified standard of values, whether in religion, politics or business. If, according to him, Truth is God, and religion and morality are synonymous, then what we believe should be carried out in our daily life. What is good in one aspect of life cannot but be good in another aspect. His advice to the Indians in Pretoria was to observe *truthfulness in business*. He said: "I have always heard the merchants say that truth was not possible in business, I did not think this was true then, I do not think so now. Even today, there are merchant friends who contend that truth is inconsistent with business. Business, they say, is a very practical affair, and truth is a matter for religion; and they argue that practical affairs are one thing while religion is quite another." Gandhi speaks about his own business as a lawyer: "I have learnt the true practice of law. I have learnt to find out the better side of human nature and to enter men's hearts. I realize that the true function of the lawyer is to unite parties driven asunder...I lost nothing thereby, not even money, by being truthful or moral to myself. It should be even more so with a government which has the public well-being at heart."

Gandhi sees clearly that moral force should not only prevail in the field of religion or morality, but also in politics and the other fields of human activity. This is the spiritual basis upon which he fought for India's independence. Gandhi proudly said: "My religion has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself. My life is dedicated to the service of India through the religion of Non-violence, which I believe to be the *root of Hinduism*." Here is the unity of value which covers every aspect of religion, ethics, economics and politics. He makes man an integrated personality, and does away with the splitting of man into so many different compartments: the religious man, the moral man and the economic man.

Thirdly, mankind: Gandhi, in his autobiography, tells us how Indians or Asiatics were treated in South Africa. He said: "In the Orange Free State Indians are deprived of all their rights by a special law enacted in 1888. If they choose to stay there, they may do so only to serve as waiters in hotels or to pursue some other menial calling".

He tells us that a similar law was passed in the Transvaal in 1885. Indians should pay a poll tax of £3, as an entry-fee into the country. They might not own land except in locations set apart for them. They have no right to the franchise. All this was enforced under the special law for Asiatics, against whom the laws for the coloured peoples also applied.

But one notices that there is a gradual change of attitude among the Whites, so the Declaration of Human Rights has been approved by the U. N. O. The

idea of equality or brotherhood of man has been the song of poets, yet we are far from realizing it today. Gandhi was the first who fought the battle for race-equality in South Africa. After Gandhi had been shocked by the conditions of Indians in South Africa, he returned to India to fight for her independence. As long as intellectual differences, and different standards of achievement remain among the races and the nations, equal respect will not be accorded to all. Gandhi's idea of *Ahimsa* or non-violence, that love should be shown to all, friends and enemies alike, has given a great stimulus to the progress of humanitarianism and the welfare of all mankind.

Having discussed Gandhi's ideas of unity in religion, human conduct, and mankind, I shall examine how he was able to see these fundamentals. In any human society there are formal customs, conventions, and also those things that are eternal. These have been so deeply rooted in the human mind, that no one dare question them. If one does, he will be looked upon with suspicion. He will be considered a corruptor of morals and a public enemy. This is why Jesus Christ and Socrates died the deaths of martyrs. In this world there are so many religions, each of them having their own scriptures, rituals and denominations, and each thinking itself better than the other. Naturally there is a boundary line between this religion and that. They will squabble with each other, each will show its own superiority and expose the weakness of the others. Gandhi says this should not be. He advises them to seek the similarities and disregard the differences, to see the light rather than the darkness. He is the man who pulls down the walls of partition, schism and hatred, and goes directly to the very meaning or essence of religion. When the rigid rules and the dogmas have been removed, one goes back to the very source of life, and the essence of religion becomes as clear as daylight to every body.

Again, the life of a man is so departmentalized that for each field of human activity there is a separate set of rules. In the field of international relations there is a common saying: "My country—right or wrong!" The case of the other party will never be considered. In the field of economics the starting point is desire, and the work of economics is to meet the demand of desires by supplying the goods. But economics seeks to satisfy the desires of those who can afford to pay, and does not worry about those who cannot pay, even if they have to starve. Again there is the theory: "The end justifies the means." In order to propagate one's religious beliefs, or to gain one's political objectives, one can cheat, double-cross, bribe, as if honesty stands for nothing in these fields! But Gandhi affirmed: "It is not right that in human conduct there should be this *double standard of morality*, and that there should be one co-ordinating principle which should prevail in all aspects of human life."

The genius of Gandhi lies in the fact that he saw these external formalities as corroding crusts, which were strangling the spiritual life of man, and should therefore be discarded as soon as possible. Because he went back to the very source of life, he saw more clearly than others what was right and what wrong,

what was essential and what non-essential ; and he was so bold that if anything in the old tradition was considered inequitable he condemned it. Typical is the case of Brahman's *inter-dining* and of the *untouchables*. According to him this kind of practice is repugnant to human reason and charity. In the twentieth century, religion, politics, morality are so governed by the very long accepted customs of the various groups or countries, that they can no longer help man to reach a state of unity in diverse fields of human life. Such an age calls for a new attempt to enlarge our vision, in which the principle of right or wrong plays its part. Such an epoch-making reformer was Gandhi in the fields of religion, morality economics and politics.

The importance of Gandhi's experiments with Truth are borne out by his experiments on vegetarianism, nature-cure, and the *brahmacharya* life. His exactness and minuteness can best be illustrated by a story which is told by E. Stanley Jones in his book, *Mahatma Gandhi*. He said : 'Gandhi was an experimenter in many realms, but he was primarily an experimenter of the spirit and its laws. Even he demanded experimentation with interpreting scriptural texts. When he was experimenting with foods, he said : 'Two or three sent me the identical texts (from the Ayurvedic writings) against taking honey mixed with hot water, and pronouncing dire results. When I asked them if they had verified the text from their own experience, they were silent. My own experience of taking honey mixed with hot water extends over four years, and I have not experienced any ill effects.' Here was an important statement and attitude : everything, including even sacred texts, must be subject to experimentation and verification. To take them on blind faith was wrong."

Jones goes on to say that Gandhi would not preach anything which he had not tested. Jones says :

"When I urged him to go to Europe before the war, hoping that his very presence there would be a call to peace, instead of war, his reply was simple : 'I have not demonstrated peace in my own country, how can I preach it to Europe ? This shows how Gandhi grasped the importance of the method of experimenting. He applied the Baconian method not only to physical bodies, but also to the spiritual field'".

Hitherto, I have only dealt with Gandhi's fundamental attitude towards different aspects of human life. I shall now come to the specific question : his experiments with Truth, and the realization of Truth.

Let me take a quotation from his own book, and then explain it. Gandhi said : "I should certainly like to narrate my experiments in the spiritual field, which are known only to myself, and from which I have derived such power as I possess for working in the political field."

He goes on to say that the work of experimenting, though it was carried out by himself, was done in the open, so it could be carried on by others too. This means that there is no mystery about his work, as it can be verified by others. He says :

"What I want to achieve—what I have been striving and pining to achieve these thirty years past—is self-realization, to see God face to face, to attain Moksha. I live and move and have my being in pursuit of this goal. All that I do by way of speaking or writing, and all my ventures in the political field, are directed to this same end. But as I have all along believed that what is possible for one is possible for all, my experiments have not been conducted in the closet, but in the open; and I do not think that this fact detracts from their spiritual value. There are some things that are known only to oneself and to one's Maker. These are clearly incommunicable. The experiments I am about to relate, are not such. They are spiritual or rather moral; for the essence of religion is morality".

If the Chinese point of view about the three mental functions: Cognitive, Affective, Conative, be understood and compared with Gandhi's method of self-purification, I see on both sides only agreement and no disagreement. Gandhi's words are as follows:

"Identification with everything that lives is impossible without self-purification; without self-purification the observance of the law of Ahimsa must remain an empty dream; God can never be realized by one that is not pure of heart.

"But the path of self-purification is hard and steep. To attain to perfect purity one has to become absolutely passion-free in thought, word and deed; to rise above the opposing currents of love and hatred, attachment and repulsion."

A comparative study of Mahatma Gandhi's view and the four stages of the *Great Learning* should be attempted. I shall go back to the stages which gravitate around the central question of self-development.

(i) *Rectification of the Mind or Heart.* The explanation of the *Great Learning* tells us first how to train the mind and then to exercise its function in the right way. Of the presence of the Mind it says as follows: "When the Mind is not present, you look but do not see, you hear but do not understand, you eat but are not aware of the taste of the food". Concerning the exercise of the proper function of the Mind it says: "If a man be under the influence of passion, his mind will not be on the right path. It will be the same if he is under the influence of terror, or under the influence of fond regard (passions), or that of sorrow or distress".

I suppose that the above remarks of the *Great Learning* mean the same as what Gandhi calls passion-free.

(ii) *Truthfulness of Will.* Will is a kind of determination in our mind. What must be done? How can it be done? Why must it be done? All these questions come into the formation of will. The motive of doing, whether it be right or wrong, whether it be evil or good for others, will be clear to oneself, and others. When you follow your own conscience you are true to yourself, otherwise you do things against your conscience. This is called

self-deception. *Great Learning* says: "What is meant by the Truthfulness of Will is the absence of self-deception".

It goes on to say that the process of eliminating self-deception should go on in the same natural way as when one hates a bad odour and one loves what is beautiful.

The motive governing a man's action may be very complicated. But if one examines oneself, one knows what should be done and what should not be done. This work of cleansing the heart can best be done when one leads a life of tranquillity. *The Great Learning* advises that a man of noble character must be watchful over himself when he is solitary.

Again the remarks of the *Great Learning* are the same as Gandhi's heart-searching.

(iii) The third and the last point is the *Improvement of the Intellect* and the *Investigation of Things*, both are two aspects of the same question.

.....There is no doubt that inner *purification* was an important process in Gandhi's life. His writings show how clear-headed, thorough-going, and consistent he was. His determination to carry on his fight for India's independence was due to this clear thinking and thoroughness. Through these factors he acted with determination, faith and courage. His clear thinking and courage were founded on a true spiritual sense of religion. So we turn now to the meaning of Truth according to Gandhi. He said in his Autobiography:

"My purpose being to give an account of various practical applications of these principles, I have given the chapters, I propose to write, the title of "*The Story of My Experiments with Truth*." These will, of course, include experiments with non-violence, celibacy, and other principles of conduct believed to be distinct from truth. But for me, truth is the sovereign principle, which includes numerous other principles. This truth is not only truthfulness in word, but truthfulness in thought also, and not only the relative truth of our conception, but the Absolute Truth, the Eternal Principle, that is God. There are innumerable definitions of God because His manifestations are innumerable. They overwhelm me with wonder and awe and for a moment stun me. But I worship God as Truth only.....But as long as I have not realized this Absolute Truth, so long must I hold by the relative truth as I have conceived it. That relative truth must, meanwhile, be my beacon, my shield and buckler."

As far as I can understand, Truth, in its distributive sense, is synonymous with scientific or philosophical truth which is based upon the theory of correspondence or coherence. In this sense Truth means correspondence with fact, or fitness into a harmonious pattern of internal relationships. Gandhi has recognised what has been discovered in the physical world as Truth. But they are merely truths in a special field of the Universe. Truth, in a generic sense, is not a personal God, but is realized in the Asiatic sense of an impersonal Order. Gandhi said: "There is no other God but Truth." Again he said: "I do

not regard God as a person, Truth, for me, is God. He and His Law abide everywhere and govern everything." Again he said : "I do not say God is Truth, I say, Truth is God." The last formulation tells us that his God is pantheistic or impersonal.

If this is his sense of Divinity, then God means the reservoir of Truth, and we men can only discover a bit of it from time to time. God is the fountainhead of the water of Life and we can only dig a well and draw water from it in bucketful here and there. In order to illustrate the meaning, I shall quote two sentences from the book, *Chung-yung* or *Golden Mean* : "Truth is the way of Heaven ; to realise Truth is the way of man." I suppose this Chinese understanding of the relation between Man and Truth would be approved by Gandhi also

I shall give another quotation from the book, *Chung-yung* to illustrate Gandhi's meaning of Truth. The following is taken from Lin Yu-tang's book *Wisdom of China* :

"Truth is the beginning of material existence. Without truth there is no material existence. Thus, absolute Truth is indestructible. Being indestructible, it is eternal. Being eternal, it is self-existent. Being self-existent, it is infinite. Being infinite, it is vast and deep. Being vast and deep, it is transcendental and intelligent. It is because vast and deep that it contains all existence. And because it is transcendental and intelligent that it embraces all existence. It is because infinite and eternal that it perfects all existence. In vastness and depth it is like the earth. In transcendental intelligence it is like Heaven. Infinite and eternal, it is the Infinite itself. Such being the nature of absolute Truth, it manifests itself without being seen ; it produces effects without motion ; it accomplishes its ends without action.

The principle of the operation of Nature may be summed up in these words because it obeys only its own immutable law ; the way in which it produces a variety of things is unfathomable.

"Nature is vast, deep, high, intelligent, infinite and eternal. The heaven appearing before us is only this bright shining mass ; but in its immeasurable extent, the sun, moon, stars, and constellations are suspended in it, and all things are enforced by it. The earth appearing before us, is but a handful of clay : but in all its breadth and depth, it sustains mighty mountains without feeling their weight ; rivers and seas dash against it without causing it to founder. The mountain appearing before us is only a mass of rock ; but in all its vastness, grass and vegetation grow upon it, birds and beasts dwell on it, and treasures of precious minerals are found in it. The ocean appearing before us is but a ladleful of liquid ; but in all its unfathomable depths, the largest crustaceans, dragons, fishes and turtles are produced in them and all useful products abound therein.

In the book of *Poetry* it is said :

"The ordinance of God

How inscrutable it is and it goes on forever."

That is to say, this is the essence of God.

If one reads the above passage from *Chung-ying* and compares it with the following words of Gandhi, one will certainly reach the conclusion that this is the same great Impersonal Order of the Asiatic thinkers :

There is an indefinable mysterious power that pervades everything. I feel it, though I do not see it. It is this unseen power which makes itself felt and yet defies all proof, because it is so unlike all that I perceive through my senses. It transcends the senses. But it is possible to reason out the existence of God to a limited extent.

"I do dimly perceive that whilst everything around me is forever changing, ever-dying, there is underlying all that change, a Living Power that is changeless, that holds all together, that creates, dissolves and recreates. That informing power or spirit is God ; and since nothing else that I see merely through the senses can or will persist, He alone is."

The acknowledgment of the existence of God in all things is nothing peculiar to Gandhi. What is peculiar to him is that when once he feels the existence of God and when he finds that the attributes of God consist in Love, Goodness, Service and Righteousness, he realises them in his own person. From *Ahimsa* one learns love which implies no killing. But he says further that a *Satyagrahi*, a civil resister, will harbour no anger even when he suffers from the anger of an opponent. Furthermore, he says that non-violence also means conscious suffering. He took a vow that he would sacrifice his life for his principle. Thus the principle of Love is all-pervading as God Himself is. In this largeness of heart no one can be his equal.

On the other hand he is not conservative in his religion. In every respect he is a reformer of religion. His proposal of change, such as the abolition of untouchability, is based on reason and love. He said : "I decline to be bound by any interpretation, however learned it may be, if it be repugnant to reason and moral sense."

In this sense he is a religious *revolutionary*. Yet his revolution, whether religious or political, is carried not by force but by Love and Reason. Gandhi was a thorough and a daring man. His affirmation and negation are more like Buddha's renunciation and Jesus Christ's challenge on the Sabbath Day. His thoughts and his methods of putting them into execution go to the *bitterest end*, and give us no sign of caution or Confucius moderation.

It needs a Chinese to make clear that, if the above comparative study between the Gandhian and the Chinese philosophies has been suggestive, it means that there is an agreement on both sides with regard to the question of experiments with Truth, purification of heart, and the meaning of Truth.

This comparative estimate does not, however, exhaust the wide scope and deep meaning of Gandhi's great philosophy. His theory and application with regard to *Ahimsa*, Love, and Truth have a meaning which is truly Universal.

III

GREATER INDIA

BY

Dr. KALIDAS NAG

DEDICATED
TO
OUR LEARNED PRESIDENT
Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD

When we started the Greater India movement, over thirty years ago, I published some *bulletins* which roused great interest in India and abroad. They were out of print for years and I reproduce them for the benefit of the public.

I thank my learned collaborators and remember specially my two late lamented friends : Prof. P. C. Bagchi, former Vice-Chancellor, Visva Bharati University and Dr. N. P. Chakrabarti, once Director of the Archaeological Survey of India.

A STUDY IN INDIAN INTERNATIONALISM

INDIAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS HISTORY

India enjoys the precarious privilege of possessing no systematic history well defined by Time and Space. She has passed, like every other country, through all the phases of historical evolution - sociological and religious, economical and political ; yet with a peculiar obstinacy India has hitherto refused to develop a hierarchy of orthodox or heterodox historians and a consistent tradition of national history. No doubt she has acknowledged from very ancient times the value of chronicles (*Itihāsa-Purāṇa*) as an intellectual and moral discipline ; yet such compositions have remained, down to the appearance of the Muhammadan historians, as subsidiary to her proverbially rich contributions to Literature and Philosophy, Religion and Ethics.

To Western scholars, trained in the methods of precision applied to the intensive study of national histories, the apparent apathy of India, towards the preservation of what they call "national glories", seems not only to be a little disconcerting but even derogatory to the prestige of the Indians as an intellectual people. Diagnosis of this peculiar malady led to the development of diverse theories : lack of political cohesion and comprehension of national solidarity, oriental fatalism and obsession of hereafter-ism—all seemed to have combined to weaken the Hindu sense of Reality and the faculty of precision and thereby sap the foundation of historical science in India. The present political degradation of India was considered to be the cumulative effect of these national perversities and well-wishers of India, both outside and inside, have sought to cure it by reconstructing her history on a politico-economic basis.

Without discounting the value of possessing a systematic national history or disputing India's poverty in that department of literature, one may still plead that the judgment passed on the Indian people from that stand point is nevertheless superficial and unjust. A people that could evolve forty centuries ago, the earliest collection of human lyrics in the form of the Rig Vedic Hymns, may be credited with a certain amount of creative imagination. A people that could present to the world about 2,500 years ago a scientific treatise on grammar like that of Pāṇini, may aspire to a certain amount of analytical power and capacity for system-building. A people that could perpetuate through millenniums, the traditions of its religious, social, economic and intellectual life—not through writing but by a phenomenal memory, (*Smṛiti*) may claim to possess some sort of instinct for precision and preservation. So it still remains a problem why such a people did not develop a tradition of national history in the special sense of our days. This is a paradox which has not been explained by condescending theorists of the Western historical school.

It may not be an improbable hypothesis that the Hindus somehow felt history, with its interminable details of wars and treaties, of triumphs and dissolutions, as a poor portraiture of the real national life and a very unsatisfactory and imperfect reflection of its creative activities. They boldly challenged the validity of the *world of phenomena* and tried to discover the *world of permanence* immutable beyond all phenomena. Revulsion from things transient and temporal produced almost an obsession of the Absolute and the Eternal. Thus India partly neglected History and developed Philosophy; or rather, she considered the quest of the spirit for the Eternal Verity as the real history of Humanity. (cf. Nag : *The Humanisation of History*, Modern Review, Feb. 1923). Thus whilst her next door neighbour China was laying the foundation of early science and inventions; while Babylonia was developing the earliest astronomy and legal code; while Egypt was composing her "Book of the Dead" and was trying to triumph over Death by her titanic architecture,—India was quietly scaling the supernal heights of Human Philosophy—the Himalayas of Thought—and was filling the world with the reverberations of profound questions about Existence and Non-existence, Death and Immortality—fundamental problems of human life—through the early Vedic Hymns :—

There was not the Non-existent nor the Existent then.

There was not the air nor the heaven which is beyond.

What did it contain? Where? In whose protection?

Was there water, unfathomable, profound?

There was not Death nor Immortality then,

There was not the beacon of Night nor of Day,

That one breathed, windless, by its own power.

Other than *That* there was not anything beyond.

Rig Veda, IV. i. 112.

Descending from the heights of primitive speculation when the Indians were confronted with the problems of complex life, in and through the expansion of her Society, they subordinated *Economics* to her science of Equity and Jurisprudence and *Politics* to her science of Ethics. Thus she developed her *Dharma-shāstra* and *Rāja-dharma* with *Dharma*, the Eternal as the mainstay of her secular history. This obsession of the Eternal in her temporal life had its counterpart in the obsession of the Universal in her national history and that of the Formless in her æsthetic disciplines, creating mystic forms and symbolic art-languages. So Hindu apathy towards History is the effect of a malady that is deeper than the diagnosis of our modern historians. It is a triple complex which some future psycho-analyst may analyse to satisfy our curiosity. Meanwhile I beg leave to trace the influence of the Universal on the history of India, to indicate the landmarks of Internationalism in her national evolution and to point out, by suggestions and implications if possible, the specific contributions of India to the development of International History. In an age wherein an international hatred threatens unfortunately to be the order of the

day, such a study may not be without profit, not simply for the transvaluation of historical values but for ascertaining the warning-gesture of the profound Past to our muddling Present.

RETROSPECT ACROSS THE FIRST MILLENNIUM

(CIRCA 1400-500 B.C.)

EXPLOSION OF THE "SPLENDID ISOLATION" THEORY

The first fiction and unfortunately the most tenacious fiction of Indian History is the glaringly unhistorical hypothesis that India grew up in "splendid isolation." For the fabrication of this fiction we have to be thankful as much to the narrow outlook of late Hindu orthodoxy as to the erroneous picture of primitive Indian society drawn by the early school of occidental philologists. While acknowledging fully the value of the works of these scholars in the decipherment of the ancient texts, we cannot forget that the outlook of these new types of Pundits were generally limited by those very texts which engrossed their attention. Thus frequently too much emphasis was laid on particular aspects of Indian life, as suggested by some special terms or word forms, and too little regard paid to the general historical evolution. Words are valuable as landmarks in the progress of society, but for that very reason they are but *static symbols* of the ever-changing and ever-expanding life. So the picture of caste-ridden India, cut off from the rest of the world by the external barriers of the Ocean and the Himalayas, as well as by the internal prohibitions of a morbid, all-excluding cult of purity, India ever chanting Vedic hymns or celebrating occult sacrifices, weaving transcendental philosophies or absurd reactionary principles of life,—this fancy picture of India fades away as soon as we view it from the vantage ground of History.

VEDIC GODS IN WESTERN ASIA

Truth is not only stranger but thousand times stronger than fiction. The chance stroke of the spade of an archaeologist makes short work of heaps of scholarly theories. So the discovery of the inscriptions of Boghaz Keui in 1907 by the German archaeologist Hugo Winckler led to the explosion of the "Isolation" theory and expanded, to an unexpected extent, the horizon of Indian history. Here, for the first time, we read the startling fact that in far off Cappadocia, in the fourteenth century B. C., two belligerent tribes, the Hittites and the Mitannis, invoking the Vedic Gods, *Mitra*, *Variṇa* and *Indra*, while concluding a treaty; moreover, the special twin-gods, *Nāsatyas* were invoked to bless the new marriage-alliance concluded between the two royal families. (Cf. Dr. Sten Konow: *The Aryan Gods of the Mitanni People*, *Modern Review*, Dec. 1921 pp. 683-684).

INDIA'S SYMBOLIC ROLE: THE PEACE-MAKER OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Thus, by a curious coincidence, these first concrete epigraphic documents in the history of Indian internationalism, represents the Indian gods as the peace-makers and harmonisers of conflicting interests; and as such, we consider the Boghaz Keui inscription, not only as a landmark in Asiatic history but also as a symbol of India's role in the development of internationalism through *peace and spiritual unity*. This is, as we shall try to show, quite different from the *economic internationalism* of exploitation (e. g. Phœnician) or the *imperialistic internationalism* of compulsion (e. g. Assyrian and Roman). We cannot forget that when the Indian gods appear for the first time in their symbolic role of Peace-makers in Cappadocia, Egypt is proudly proclaiming her world-conquests through the famous Victory Ode of Thutmosis III, cataloguing with sublime egotism the vanquished nations and countries. Further westwards, we hear about the same time (1400 B. C.), the Achæans thundering on the ramparts of the Aegian capital Knossos (Crete), the collapse of the Minoan hegemony in the Mediterranean and the determined penetration of the crafty Phœnicians connecting the East and the West with the subtle tie of economic exploitation. The Achæan ascendancy, already weakened by the fateful Trojan war (1200 B. C.) as well as the Phœnician commercial empire, began to give way before the onrush of the virile Dorians who, with iron weapons, inaugurated the Iron Age in Europe (1000 B. C.), vanquishing their predecessors of the Bronze Age; while in Asia the Assyrians played the same role as that of the Dorians, pulverising the decadent nations with superior military organisation and efficiency.

ARYO-NONARYAN COMPROMISE

What was happening in India in that epoch of transition from, the pre-classical to the classical period of Western history with its interlude of the Epic Age, we have no definite political records to ascertain. But we have invaluable literary documents to attest to the rapid development of Indian life and thought. From the Rigveda (the sublimest literary monument, if not of humanity, at least of the Indo-European people) to the earliest *Brāhmaṇas* (1000 B. C.), Indian life had traversed quite a long path of sociological evolution. The Vedic Aryans were confronted with the same problem, presented to the Egyptians and the Assyrians, the Achæans and the Dorians,—of an autochthonous people barring the way of a more virile expanding power. And herein lies the originality of the Indian Aryans, that they solved the problem in the only lasting manner possible—by recognising the title of their rivals to co-exist, not merely as enemies but as collaborators in the building of a civilisation which we may call to-day as much Aryan as non-Aryan Indo-Mediterranean or Dravidian as we like. (Cf. my note on the "Aryo-Dravidian Compromise," *Modern Review*, January, 1922 pp. 31-33).

The Vedic literature being essentially sacerdotal, records but poorly this march of India along the path of historical synthesis. Yet we get glimpses

of the complexity of the picture here and there ; the background is already polychrome ; the crowding of the canvas is already Epic. From the very beginning we notice the *white* Aryans engaged in a tussle with the *dark* aborigines. Surely, the social and political problems thus raised were not removed by the simple utterance of *Vedic Mantras*. There were occasional conflicts and out-bursts of cruelties. The path was often red with "blood and iron." The atmosphere was often dark with horror and the Vedic poets seemed to have given vent to their feeling of suspense and agony during those awful nights, in their semi-symbolical hymn to *Ushā*, the goddess of Dawn to be born in the womb of primeval Darkness :

"Arise ! the breath, the life again has reached us !
Darkness has gone away and Light is coming.
She leaves a path for the sun to travel.
We have arrived where men *prolong existence* !" —

Rigveda V. i. 113.

INDIAN PRINCIPLE OF CO-EXISTENCE

Yes, the aim of the Indian Aryans was to prolong existence not to extinguish it. And long before the formulation of the doctrine of *Ahimsā* (non-injury) by Mahāvira and the Buddha, India demonstrated her *profound respect for life* by realising *Shānti* or Peace in her early Vedic history. The Aryo-Dravidian synthesis will ever remain as the first and the foremost glory in her career of inter-cultural amalgamation. Two nations, quite different in race, language and culture were fused to give birth to a virile stock of people and to lay the foundations of a great assimilative civilisation.

IDEALS OF WORLD-CONQUEST IN THE EPICS

Needless to say that this was achieved through many conflicts and catastrophies which prepared the way for the Indian Epic Age with its formulation of the principles of *world power* and *world-empire* (though the geography of that world was singularly different from our own). Hence in the later Vedic literature as well as in the *Brāhmaṇas*, we read frequently of *Sāmrājyas* (vast empires) and *Sārvabhaumas* (great emperors). From that doctrine it is an easy and normal transition to the concepts of *Digvijaya* (conquest of world-quarters) and that of *Rāja-chakravartin* (super-sovereign of the diplomatic circle). That naturally brought in its train, wars on an epic scale, and martial ballads came to be composed by contemporary bards and minstrels. And just as Homers and proto-Homers appeared several centuries after the Trojan war to give epic form to the floating legends and ballads, so the actual great epics of India, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* were composed by our Vālmikis and Vyāsas, many centuries after the traditional wars between Rāma and Rāvaṇa or between the Pāṇavas and the Kauravas.

WAR AS A SOCIOLOGICAL EXPERIMENT—ITS LESSONS

So, whilst the Vedic age was a period of tribal warfare and unconscious fusion of tribes and races, the Epic age was a period of strife between more extensively organised kingdoms and empires, striving after suzerain power. In this epoch the old principle of *amalgamation* underwent its hardest test. In both the Epics, we read a great deal about war, but in none of them we miss the *lessons of war* as they were imprinted on the heart of the ancient Hindus; the ultimate victory is always on the side of the righteous and even then, victory in a gamble like war is too much like defeat! That shows clearly that even in the process of testing the principle of concord and amalgamation, in the very act of experimenting with a new method of discord and dissolution, Indian mind was wide awake and open to conviction. Hence the poet of the *Rāmāyana* makes the victor Rāma stand humbly by the side of his dying enemy to have his parting advice. Hence also, in the *Mahābhārata*, we find the triumphant Yudhisṭhira sitting at the feet of the dying hero Bhiṣma, to listen to the Canto of Peace as the only fitting conclusion to an War Epic. Thus, confronting the actualities of war as a sociological experiment, its terrible consequences and tragic legacies, Indian mind pronounced its verdict on war through the formulation of new doctrines, later on embodied in systematic treatises like the *Śāntiparvan* and the *Bhagavad Gītā*. This sanity and this self-knowledge are really admirable. India tried the path of "blood and iron" and shuddered back in horror and disgust. No doubt one school of thought continued to refine the philosophy of mutual suspicion and of the inevitability of war as a means of aggrandisement, and thus gave rise to the science of *Sāḍgunya* (sextuple methods of Diplomacy) culminating in the atomistic politics of the *mandala* of the *Arthashāstra* of Kautilya which dominated the political thoughts of India in her periods of turmoil (Nag: *Les Theories Diplomatiques de l'Inde Ancienne et l'Arthashāstra*, pp. 115). Another school attempted to explain away the war philosophically, by transforming local war into an allegory of cosmic or spiritual war, thus giving rise to the grand philosophical poem of the *Bhagavad Gītā*. While a third school candidly preached Peace to be the only true sublimation of War and thus gave us the famous *Shāntiparvan* (the Canto of Peace).

EMERGENCE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF UNIVERSAL TOLERANCE AND AMITY

The soul of India seemed to have been undergoing a travail for New Birth. The atmosphere was surcharged with a new agony and a terrific gloom which reminded us very much of the age of the Vedic groping in the dark. Suffocating under that atmosphere of narrow egotism and shocking carnage, one section of the Indian mind sought and found liberation in the serene region of emancipated individualism (the gravitation of the Hindu mind) and cried out through the

deathless voice of the sages of the Upanishads, the message of this fresh Revelation :—

"Listen to me, O ye children of immortality...I have come to know the Great Person (*Purusha*) like the Sun, beyond the darkness!"

This solemn call was sent to the whole universe (*Viśva*), for it was the result of the realisation of Him who is the All-feeling one (*Sarvānubhūḥ*). And this new aspiration did not remain a mere ecstatic dream but soon became flesh in the Jaina *Tīrthaṅkaras* and in an actual *Purusha*, a historical personality, the Buddha, whom India created out of the depth of her universal Charity. Truth that was burning in the heart of India became incarnate. Dispelling with the radiance of Divine Amity (*maitrī*), the dark smokes arising out of the bloody altars of sacrifice, both sacerdotal and political. Buddha proclaimed the sublime paradox that to gain all one must give all, to avoid suffering one must eradicate that all-devouring Ego, the root of all suffering, and that real illumination is in the quenching of the flames of passion (*Nirvāṇa*).

THE AGE OF THE BUDDHA AND THE SOUL OF ASIA

Political history of Humanity is full of absurd gaps, stupid silences and illogical *lacuna*. That is why we cannot explain satisfactorily the real significance of such grand historical revelations. But the history of human thought expresses itself by suggestions probably too subtle for our chronological apparatus. The unerring universalism of the Upanishads, the divine cosmopolitanism of the Buddha, surely proceeded from some *super-historical*, if not historical need of Humanity. That is why, towards the end of our First millennium (circa 1400-500 B. C.), we find the Buddha dedicating himself to Humanity; Mahāvīra, the master of Jainism, preaching *Ahimsa* (non-injury) as the noblest principle of religion; that in the dark days of the Chou dynasty of China, Lao-tse and Confucius (500-478 B. C.) evolving respectively their grand systems: the Tao-kiao (School of the Way) and Ju-kiao (School of the Knowers), emphasized the same principles of life: non-interference, suppression of ego (or *anātma*), and purification of heart. So also in the land of the Iranian cousins of the Indians, the reformation of faith was started a little earlier by Rishi Zarathustra or Zoroaster; and now we are startled to read for the first time in an imperial autobiography on stone—in the famous Behistun and Naksh-i-Rustam inscriptions of Darius the Great (550-485 B. C.):—

"Says Darius the King: for this reason Ahuramazda bore me aid, and the other gods which are, because I was not an enemy, I was not a deceiver, I was not a despot....."

The last words of the Emperor of Asia were equally significant for the age :—

"O man, what (are) the commands of Ahuramazda, may he make them revealed to thee; do not err, do not leave the right path, do not sin....."

RETROSPECT ACROSS THE SECOND MILLENNIUM

(CIRCA 500 B. C.—500 A.D.)

"...*rastam ma avarada ma starava*"—right (path) relinquisheth not, do not sin—these are the last words of Darius I, the greatest figure in world politics towards the end of our millennium. They signalled a new departure in the history of the epoch we are going to survey. The Persian empire under Darius the Great, touching India on the one side and Greece on the other, marked the *apogee* of the history of antiquity and the connecting watershed of the streams of the Ancient and the Modern history. It awakened the lyre of the first tragedian of Hellas, Æschylus fighting in the field of Marathon (490 B. C.) and composing his drama, "The Persians." It evoked also the genius of Herodotus, the father of European history. Pursuing the age-old method of pulverisation, Persia battered at the decaying fabrics of ancient empires of Egypt and Mesopotamia and they tumbled down like houses of cards. So the Achemenian art under Darius represented, in traditional style, the throne of the world-emperor carried by long rows of vanquished sovereigns. At the same time the traditional political legacy of the *dream of world-empire* hypnotised Greece, the first rival of Persia in Europe. From Greece the chronic infection contaminated Rome. Greece checked the military advance of Persia but had neither the political sagacity nor the spiritual insight to arrest the disintegrating politics of antiquity, represented in its last phase by the Persian imperialism. The Peloponnesian war destroyed miserably the noble prospect of consolidation opened by the Confederacy of Delos. Hellas, and with her Europe, preferred the fateful path of empire-building. Athens, Sparta, Thebes, all attempted by turn, till at last Alexander of Macedon succeeded in traversing the same fateful path of conquest from Greece to India. What appears as a splendid turning of the table on Persia is really an ephemeral imitation of the Persian emperors; and Persian influence on Alexander is acknowledged by all, for it was highly resented by his Hellenic compatriots. World-empire may be a new ideal with the occident but it is a dangerously old institution of antiquity. In spite of the unmistakable warning of ancient history as to the inevitable self-disintegration of such gigantic edifices, resting on the precarious foundation of *force*, Greece under Alexander and Rome under her republican proto-cæsars and imperial Cæsars, attempted the dangerous experiment, met with the usual tragic disaster and, even in the very failure, left the tragic legacy of empire-building to all their "Barbarian" successors who are struggling, down to this day, with varying degrees of success and permanency, with the same impossible, antiquated experiments of Antiquity—of building a world-empire—a machinery of gain for a few at the sacrifice of the many, based on the quick-sand of selfishness and propelled by the inhuman energy of possession and brute force.

With phenomenal originality, nay with divine inspiration, India under Asoka the Great (273-242 B. C.) suddenly developed the idea of *Empire of Peace*

and Progress for all. Within 250 years of the appearance of the great Buddha, India produced another historic personality. *Dharmāsoka* not only contradicted with an unparalleled historical sagacity, the entire politics of antiquity up to his age, but also, like a Spiritual Columbus, discovered a new world of constructive politics which unfortunately, remains as yet only an aspiration and a dream for humanity. Behind him stretches the dead ruin of ancient empires; before him unfolds the tableau of lamentable duplication of the same selfish politics in our modern history; and in the centre lies the *spiritual oasis* of Asokan Welfare State. It shines as a beacon light in the path of the political evolution of humanity, explaining the inevitable decay of old empires and putting to shame the retrospective laughter of the cynical imperialists of our modern age. Thus the empire of Asoka, with its new philosophy of conquest by Righteousness (*Dharma-vijaya*) and its new foundation of universal Well-being (*Kalyāna*), stands as the central climacteric of human history—at once a fateful warning and a sublime inspiration for Humanity.

Starting his career as an orthodox emperor engaged in the conquest of a territory (Kalinga) to the east of India, entailing the death of millions, Asoka had his first conversion as the result of that tragic contact with the actualities of politics. In a moment he discovered his mistake; and not stopping there, like a truly great soul, admitted his mistake with a sincerity and penitence rarely paralleled by any other character of history. His edict of Kalinga is the noblest monument of his magnanimity; he made his repentance a perpetual lesson to posterity by carving, on the rocks of the ravaged Orissa and elsewhere, an account of his Imperial blunder. Through that awful suffering he arrived at the noblest of political revelations that "true conquest consists in the conquest of men's hearts by the law of Dharma." From his conversion and from that revelation issued twenty years (261-242 B. C.) of humanitarian activities touching the frontiers of the Hellenic world on the one hand and of the Mongolian world on the other, building the *first great causeway of Love and Illumination* between the Orient and the Occident, the first code of progressive government and the first basis of constructive internationalism. The great truth of Universalism which flashed as a *revelation* upon the Souls of the Rishis of the Upanishads, which appeared as an *incarnation* in the personality of the first World-man, Buddha, translated itself into the *Cosmopolitics* of this first practical internationalist of history—*Dharmāsoka Piyadasi*, the well-wisher of all, proclaiming with divine simplicity, "*Sava munisā me pajā*"—whole humanity is my offspring—an echo of his master Buddha's saying.

India is generally known, represented and accepted as physically isolated and psychologically exclusive, and in a way that is true. But how could such an India evolve great cosmic personalities, remains still a paradox of history. Between the Boghas Keui inscription and the Behistun inscription—for nearly one thousand years, the history of India's relations with the external world is full of tantalising guesses and absurd gaps. Latest researches, however, seem to

discover "specific evidence for supposition that by 15th century B. C., tribes of Aryan stock held influence over the wide area extending from Northern Asia Minor and North-western Babylonia to Media."* Coming nearer home we find that there was a period of intimate historical contact between India and Iran, postulated and proved by philologists analysing the *Rigveda* and the *Avesta*. So Indo-Iranian period is a definite chapter of Asiatic history. Yet concrete historical facts are so few! The invasion of India by the Assyrian Queen Semiramis is only a legend though Arrian (Ch. 5) records that some Indian tribes were subjects of the Assyrian sovereigns. The simultaneous occurrence of the legend of the great Deluge in the Babylonian record and in the *Śhatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (circa 1000 B. C.) is probably more definite as an evidence of contact of India with the Mesopotamian culture. Some astronomical notions and the use of iron are said to have been derived from Babylonia †

The occurrence of Indian apes and peacocks in the Old Testament is admitted by others.‡ But Rawlinson and Kennedy (J. R. A. S., 1898) demonstrated that there are evidence of very early commercial relations between Southern India and the Western Asian and Mediterranean regions. The Semetic races were great pioneers in connecting isolated countries through commercial relations, one of the earliest motives of human co-existence. Another great service rendered to humanity by the Semitic races was the *diffusion of alphabet*, at first probably for commercial facilities but later on converted into one of the greatest machineries for the propagation of thought and Humanism. India is said to have derived her first alphabet *Brāhmā* mfro Semitic sources about the same time as Greece did (800 B.C.). And even if we do not accept the possibility of the march of Cyrus the Great to Indian frontiers, we cannot help admitting that another script of India, the *Kharoṣṭhī* was established through the instrumentality of the Iranian rulers of north-western India. Darius was the first King to bring India to historical clarity. He sent one Skylax of Karyanda (516 B. C.) who discovered a water-passage from Persia to the mouth of the Indus; and as the result of that survey the Indian *satrapy* of Darius was acquired. According to Herodotus it was the richest and the most populous of the Persian provinces. From that time the relation between India and Persia became steady. Indian soldiers fought with the Persians under Mardonius, against the Greeks, on the field of Plataea (479 B. C.) and the Mauryan empire and art bear, here and there, traces of this Persian contact, though the categorical assertions of a "Zoroastrian period of Indian history" and Zoroastrian influences on Asoka are not taken today seriously.

But all these are phases of primitive aggression or imperialistic exploitation—the earliest and the latest features of human politics. To elevate that politics

* Dr. P. Giles, *The Aryans*, Cambridge History of India (1922).

† Indian Antiquary, XXXIV.

‡ Sylvain Levi, *Bāveru Jātaka*; Keith: Cambridge History of India, Chap. V.

§ V. Smith, Oxford History of India, 1919, pp. 79, 95.

upto the dignity of a medium of humanistic ministrations and to transform that primitive instinct of aggrandisement into a creative cosmopolitanism—that was done for the first time by the Buddhist Emperor Dharmāsoka fulfilling the Brahmanical prophecy of Dharma-rājya (Kingdom of Righteousness) contained in the *Mahābhārata*. Thus in the same epoch that Rome, the mother and model of European imperialism, was pulverising her last oriental enemy, Carthage, in the Punic wars, Asoka had been celebrating the Spiritual Matrimony between countries and continents. This was undoubtedly a new departure in world-politics and the opening of a new page in the history of humanity. Not satisfied with preaching his new revelations inside India, Asoka sent his missionaries of humanism to Syria (then under Antiochos Theos), to Egypt (under Ptolemy Philadelphos), to Cyrene (under Magas), to Macedonia (under Antigonos Gonatus), and to Epirus (under Alexander). Apart from these names inscribed on his Rock Edicts of 257-256 B. C., we have strong traditions about his missions to Ceylon, visited by his own son (or brother) Mahendra and daughter Sanghamitrā, and even of his mission to far-off Burma (*Suvarṇa-bhūmi*). Thus for the first time in history, humanity witnessed the *humanisation of politics*; and India, through the hands of Asoka, showered her blessings of Peace and Progress over this symbolical union of Asia, Africa, and Europe with ties of true internationalism.

By the side of this grand achievement of Asoka, the military adventures of Alexander the Great, in spite of their voluminous, nay garrulous expatiations, appear quite mediocre so far as the sublimity of conception and originality in execution of a *world idea* are concerned. Alexander, while acting as a splendid Western "Scourage of God", punishing the decadent powers of the Orient, followed the traditional method of conquest in achieving the age-old ideal of autocratic empire. Thus, accidentally, he happened to be the founder of the Asian Greek colonies which helped in the propagation of Hellenism; but consciously he might seldom be said to have worked out any definite order of human welfare. All the legends collected by later chroniclers about Alexander and the Indian mind was not only not affected by the so-called martial glories of Alexander in India, but showed a somewhat disdainful pity at the sight of the cruel exploits of that Grand Barbarian. As a matter of fact, as soon as his army, demoralised by over-exhaustion and by the dread of the great Gangetic empire of Magadha, turned its back on India, the so-called Hellenic conquest of Alexander was dissipated from the mind of the Indians as an evil dream. Soon after, Chandragupta Maurya (330-298 B. C.) the grandfather of Asoka, cleared the country of all foreigners and taught a good lesson to the second Greek invader, Selukos Nikator, who was forced to cede the provinces of Paropanisadai, Aria, Arachosia and Gedrosia. A treaty to this effect was concluded about 300 B. C., strengthened by a matrimonial alliance,—a Hindu emperor marrying a Hellenic wife, in spite of the so-called caste rigidities. The Syrian court sent Megasthenes as an ambassador to the court of Chandragupta. Megasthenes left a valuable

book—his *Indika* ; and he was replaced by Deimachos in the reign of the next emperor Bindusāra (298-273 B. C.), who also received another envoy Dionysios sent by Ptolemy Philadelphos of Egypt (285-247 B. C.), an ally of Bindusāra and of his son Asoka who imported some Egyptian motifs into Indian art.

Thus down to the end of the reign of Asoka, the Hellenic people looked up to India as a strong ally and a civilising power ; and thus the Greeks adopted Indians Gods and seldom aspired to impose upon the Indians, in contact with the Hellenistic world, a civilisation of their own.

ASOKA'S MISSIONS : THEIR HISTORICAL CONSEQUENCES

Historically this was the commencement of the period of steady decadence of Hellas rendering the Hellenism of this epoch a dangerous solvent of the victorious Roman society. Both in art and literature the Greeks were betraying unmistakable signs of exhaustion and atavism. So, when Hellenism under Heliodorus and Menander made headway for the second time into the very heart of Hindusthan, we find some of these Hellenic adventurers already devotees of Hindu faith. The famous Besnagar Column (c. 150 B. C.) announces the conversion of a Greek ruler to Vaishnavism of the Bhāgavata sect ; while the Buddhist classic *Milinda Pañho* (the Questions of Milinda or Menander) stands as the proof of assertion of Buddhist thought against Greek mind. This process continued also in the realm of art, when the Greek converts to Buddhism, collaborating with their Hindu fellow-believers, developed the *Graeco-Buddhist* and *Romano-Buddhist* art which exerted such a profound influence on the art evolution of Central Asia and the Far East (cf. Nag : *Indian Iconography*, Modern Review, January, 1922).

Thus India, through various political vicissitudes, through victory or defeat, was ever transforming the weapons of brute force into instruments of human progress—art and literature, philosophy and religion. Her north-western frontier lands remained ever as a veritable laboratory of Cultural Chemistry. India has demonstrated so far, that the political nomenclatures like the *Victor* or the *Vanquished* are misnomers. The real thing that counts and lasts for ever is human creation, in and through human amalgamation.

BARBARIAN INVASIONS AND THE PROBLEM OF THE "OPEN DOOR"

But now came the period when the principle of amical internationalism was put to the severest test. During the first half of this millennium (500 B. C. downwards) India had to encounter two nations that had a civilisation of their own—Persia and Greece. Fusion with them was comparatively an easy problem. But throughout the second half of this millennium (down to 500 A. D.), India was confronted with the problem of meeting the savage Barbarians from Central Asia, surging down the Himalayas, and threatening to submerge civilisation in a deluge of savagery ! Was India to make no distinction between

the civilised and the non-civilised ? Was she to follow still her policy of "open door" ? With supreme faith in her principle of *international amity*, India answered in the affirmative. Yes, she must allow every species of humanity to participate in her life and to test her principle of co-existence. A law is either universal or nothing. Thus India remained faithful to her spiritual tradition whatever might have been the fluctuations of her political destiny.

INSTINCTS OF CONSERVATION AND ASSIMILATION

So when the barbarian Śakas began their trial of India's faith, India accepted them, as she did accept and assimilate, the other branches of the barbarous races—the Kushans and the Huns. No doubt the instinct of conservation manifested itself in the stricter social legislation. The simpler social laws of the early law-books, the Dharma-sūtras, were amplified, sometimes showing inordinate rigidity (not always however ensuring or enforcing practice). Thus the great codes of Manu and Yājñavalkya, of Vishnu and Nārada were all compiled in a systematic fashion by 500 A. D. ; and through them the Hindu mind betrayed its pre-occupation with the Untouchable and *Mleccha* problems. But actual history always defies the codification of social Legislators as well as the admonition of religious Censors. Sacerdotal blockade and imperial barricade were futile against subtle sociological fusion. Thus the Four Orders of Society—the *Chaturvarṇas*, in spite of their being very ancient and quite orthodox as contended by Oldenburg (Z.D.M.G., Vol. 51), remained generally and especially in this period, in a *state of fluidity* ; and S  nart had good reasons to assert that *Caste System* was largely a social fiction (Emile S  nart, "*Les Castes dans l'Inde : les Faits et la syst  me*," 1896). Hence we find frequently, glaring exceptions and anomalies, e.g., *Mleccha* kings or laymen, our Usabhad  tas and Rudrad  mans posing as the Pillars of Orthodoxy ! This has been conclusively proved with reference to concrete epigraphic documents by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in his valuable paper, "The Foreign Elements in Hindu Population" (*Indian Antiquary*, 1911).

SALVATION THROUGH FAITH : BHAKTI MARGA AND MAHAYANA

The sudden invasion and the continuous infiltration of these uncivilised foreigners into India, produced at first an ethnic confusion (*varṇa-saṃkara*) and cultural disturbance which threatened to be cataclysmic. It is the phenomenal adaptability or vitality of Hinduism that enabled India to sustain that shock. It produced no doubt at first a laxity in her lofty discipline by the inevitable enfranchisement of diverse religious and social norms. But in another way, that apparent lowering of her standard led to a grand enrichment of her cultural life and an unparalleled *democratisation of her culture*. India had already developed the discipline of Faith (*Bhakti-m  rga*), through the Bh  gavata sects of Vaish  navism (2nd century B. C.), for the foreign converts. (Vide. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar,

Vaiṣṇavism Śaivism etc.) The Bhagavad Gītā offered, through its philosophical muse, salvation through one God :

‘Leaving everything else aside.

Betake thyself to my unique protection.”

And about the same time that the divine prophet of Judaea was putting to shame the whole decadent culture of the Greco-Roman world by his martyrdom and profound expiation for Humanity, India also was transcending her “little path” (*Hīna-yāna*) of individual salvation and inaugurating her career along the “grand path” (*Mahā-yāna*) through her divine solicitude for the All-Being (*Sarva sattva*). Her great poet-philosopher Aśvaghoṣa, who composed a magnificent poem on the life of Buddha the first inculcator of universal amity (*maitrī*), also developed the philosophy of the All-Being as the ultimate goal of individual discipline, in his “Awakening of Faith (*Śraddhotpāda Śāstra*) which may be accepted as a landmark in the history of Indian internationalism. Moreover, it was composed by a philosopher who himself was carried away as a part of a tribute imposed on his native city by the barbarian conqueror Kanishka.

PAN-ASIATIC EXPANSION

Thus, from the beginning of the Christian era, India started playing her role of internationalism not only through her lofty academic philosophy or through the vigorous propagation of a royal personality, but as a whole people following mysteriously a divine impulse, an ecstatic inspiration to sacrifice the *Ego* for the All. This grand movement of spiritual conquest, this noble dynamic of cultural integration—a legacy of Asoka—soon won for India the inalienable empire over the vast continent, right across Tibet and China to Korea and Japan on the one hand, and across Burma and Indo-China to Java and Indonesia on the other. The history of this phenomenal progression has yet to be adequately written. It is full of profound lessons for students of internationalism. We can only suggest here a few lines of approach. It was a period of rare give-and-take in human history—between Buddhism and Mazdaism, Taoism and Confucianism, Manichæism and Christianity. It is through years of international collaboration that we may hope to reconstruct this long-forgotten history and to trace the specific contributions of India in this grand Passion-Play of Humanity.

Scholars like Richard Garbe and Vincent Smith agree with regard to the theory that Buddhism influenced the early development of Christianity* which in its turn coloured some of the later Hindu doctrines and creeds. “Although Asoka’s missionary effort did not succeed in planting Buddhist Churches in foreign countries (excepting Syria), its effects may be traced,” says Mr. V. Smith, “obscurely both on the history of Gnostic and Manichæan sects of Christianity.” So the great Egyptologist Flinders Petrie remarks after having discovered portraits of Indian men and women of Memphis: “These are the first remains

* c. f. also Kennedy, *Buddhist Gnosticism* J. R. A. S., 1902 and *Dead Sea Scrolls*.

of Indians known on the Mediterranean. Hitherto there have been no material evidence for that connection which is stated to have existed both by embassies from Egypt and Syria to India and by the great Buddhist missions sent by Asoka as far west as Greece and Cyrene. We seem now to have touched the Indian Colony in Memphis and we may hope for more light on that connection, which seems to have been so momentous for Western thought !"

FROM GANDHARA KHOTAN AND CENTRAL ASIA TO CHINA

But the most important result of the formulation of the new doctrine of the Grand Vehicle (*Mahā-yāna*) was not so much on the Western Countries as on the Eastern Asiatic world. Arrian, writing about this epoch, notes in his *Indika* that "a sense of justice prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India." While remaining true to this tradition with regard to political expansion, *Mahāyāna* India set about a *spiritual* conquest that remains to this day a marvel of history. Shaking off the narrow individualism of the old *Theravāda* school, India elaborated (in *Gandhara*, that crucible of her cultural experiments) the doctrine of *Sarvāstivāda*, asserting that everything external as well as internal is *real*. The classical works of this new school of philosophy, the *Vibhāsa* and the *Mahā-Vibhāsa* were composed by Kātyāyana-putra one of the masters of *Aśvaghosha*.† The *Vaibhāsika* sect of the *Sarvāstivādins* were strong in the border-lands of the North-western India, in Kashmir, in Gandhara and through Udyana, Kashgar, Khotan and Persia § it entered China. In fact, there are strong traditions about the persistent attempt of China to reach India. In 217 B. C. in the reign of Emperor Tsin Shih Huaung-ti, 18 Buddhist monks are said to have been brought to the Chinese capital. It is a fact well established that the Chinese Columbus in this respect was Chang Kien who succeeded, for the first time, to penetrate through the barbarian zones of the Hiueng-nu to the West of China, and to bring definite information about Ta-hia (Bactria) and Shen-tu (Sindhu-Hindu) by his intrepid adventures between 128-115 B. C. (cf. Nag : *Les Theories Diplomatiques de l'Inde Ancienne et l'Arthasāstra*, Paris).

About the beginning of the Christian era, Yue-chi ambassadors to the Chinese Court are said to have brought some Buddhist Scriptures, proving thereby that Buddhism had already spread over a part of Central Asia. Lastly, in 67 A. D. under Emperor Ming-ti we hear about the official introduction of Buddhism into China, not only with Buddhist scriptures but paintings, statues and also two Indian monks. Kāśyapa Mātanga and Dharmarakṣa, the former translating the first Chinese Buddhist text : "The 42 sayings of Buddha text." In the then capital Loyang, the famous *Pai-ma* temple was built in the Honan

* "Man," Vol. VIII (1906). † Dr. Takakusu, "Sarvastivadins."

§ Stein, *Geographical Journal*, May and Aug. 1916

province and many Taoist and Confucian nobles were said to have been converted to Buddhism by 71 A. D.

ASVAGHOSHA AND NAGARJUNA

This period coincides with the great Kushan empire in India, which witnessed such a grand development in religion art and literature that this foreign Mleccha dynasty underwent a sort of canonisation. Its greatest King Kanishka appeared as a second Asoka. So the principles of the Great Vehicle suggested by Āśvaghosha was given a tremendous impetus by its second great philosopher-scientist Nāgārjuna living about this age of illumination with its centre in the court of Emperor Kanishka who was also a great patron of the Græco-Buddhist art of Gandhara which came gradually to be a sort of international art-language for the whole of Central Asia. So Taxila became a great centre of scientific and artistic activities with Charaka as the master of the medical school, Kātyāyana-putra its great philosopher, and Āśvaghosha as its poet and musician.

EXPANSION BY SEA : CHAMPA, CAMBOJ, SUMATRA, JAVA

But the expansion was not only along the land routes. In this marvellous century Hippalus discovered the Tradewinds, the "monsoons" (79 A. D.) and thereby facilitated sea voyage. *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, an invaluable journal of some nameless Greek navigator of this age, saved for us by chance, proves the magnitude of the international trade in that epoch extending from Africa via India and the Malay Peninsula to far off China. Bold Indian mariners were starting to found their culture-colonies in Champā and Cambodge in Indo-China, and in the Malay Archipelago as far as Java. For Ptolemy in his Geography (2nd century A. D.) already calls the Island of Java by its Indian name *Jabadiu*. So Professor Pelliot in his researches into the history of Fu-nan (ancient Cambodia) finds traces of Indian culture there, already in the 3rd century A. D. and also notices the frequent mention of big ships crossing the seas. (Vide *Le Fou-nan* ; Bulletin. Ecole F. Ex. O., Vol. III.)

Indian legends stories and art traditions were already penetrating the Far East by these Sea Routes, as Indian religious and philosophical texts were entering by the Land Routes ; and in course of a few years we find China using both the routes in her grand cultural commerce with India. So, on the one hand, the material wealth of India was rapidly developing an active commerce between China and the Western World through the Roman Empire, and on the other hand, the invaluable spiritual treasures of India were inducing her far stabler relations with the Eastern World. So Bakaria (port of Kottayam, Travancore) and Bhārukaccha (Broach), Vidisā and Vaisali, Tāmrāparni and Tāmrālipti, were big centres in this grand international circulation, so well reflected in the wonderful anthologies of popular tales and legends : the Jātakas, the Avadānas and the Kathā literature of India.

COMMON PEOPLES AS CIVILISING AGENCIES

By the side of this marvellous development of internationalism through free economic relations and spiritual exchange, the rise and fall of self-centered governments and nationalistic empires seem to be quite second rate in importance. The profoundest changes in the life-history of nations are often effected silently by agencies distinctly non-political. So we watch the simultaneous collapse of the Kushan Empire in India and the Han empire in China (circa 225 A. D.) ; we observe the rise of the Sassanian empire in Persia (226 A. D.), the establishment of the Gupta empire in India (300 A. D.) and the downfall of the Western Roman Empire as the result of the Barbarian invasions (847 A. D.). But through all these rises and falls of empires, continues the silent fertilising current of International Commerce—economic as well as spiritual—leading to a phenomenal quickening of human thought and sympathy. Thus through all these periods of political trials and vicissitudes, India went on quietly with her work of internationalism ; and about the same time that the Huns were to open another chapter of savage onslaught on her bosom, India was sending her sons Kumārajīva and Guṇavarman to China to preach Buddhism, while Chinese pilgrims like Fa-hien, Chih-mong and Fa-mong were coming to India to drink at the fountain-head of spiritual wisdom. All the barriers of geography and ethnography have been swept away by the inundation of international amity. India realises herself in a new way by transcending her narrow national limits. That is probably why the greatest poet of this epoch (5th century A. D.) Kālidāsa, the brightest of the "Nine gems" of geniuses adorning the court of Vikramāditya, gives deathless expression to this profound longing of India for the world beyond the Himalayas, through his immortal poem of the "Cloud Messenger" (*Megha-dūta*) addressed to the Beloved in the Great Beyond—almost symbolical of this Cosmic passion of India in this golden age of Indian internationalism.

RETROSPECT ACROSS THE THIRD MILLENNIUM (CIRCA 500-1500 A.D.)
INDIA, THE HEART OF ASIATIC HUMANISM

The cry of the hero of Kālidāsa's "Cloud Messenger" for his Beloved beyond the barriers of the Himalayas, was a veritable cry of India at that age, for the Great Beyond—the *Greater India*. Out of the sheer fulness of her heart, India had already twice before, under Asoka and Kanishka, plunged into the vast world outside her narrow geographical limits. Each time India transcended her national boundaries, she had developed a civilisation as permanently *national*, in the best sense, as *international* in its beneficial operation. Now, for the third time we witness the *overflow of Indian Humanism* fertilising the whole of Asia, at the same time, developing an indigenous culture unparalleled in her history. The mere names of Kālidāsa and Varāhamihira, Guṇavarman and Vasubandhu, Aryabhatta and Brahmagupta, are sufficient to mark this epoch

as an *apogee* of Indian culture. Our political historians try to explain this grand development by referring to this or that emperor of this or that dynasty. The Guptas or the Vardhanas of India, the Wei or the Tang dynasty of China are supposed to have worked the whole miracle. But thanks to the indisputable evidences recovered, as the result of the international crusades of archæology in Central Asia, we know that this wonderful transformation was effected by factors far from being political : its progression was mostly along the peaceful silk-roads from China and *manuscript-roads* from India rather than along the path of aggressive imperialism. The Russian archæological missions under Klementz and Kazoloff, French missions under Dutreuil de Rhins and Paul Pelliot, English researches under Dr. Hoernle and Sir Aurel Stein, German missions under Grünwedel and von Le Coq and Japanese missions under Count Otani and Tachibana, have brought to light a treasure of archæological and artistic finds, masses of inscriptions and manuscripts which, when thoroughly analysed and digested, would revolutionise our conception about the migration of early culture in Eurasia, now viewed generally from the false prespective of isolated national histories of the different countries. With gratitude to the researches of those *savants* I beg to present a rough sketch of this grand movement of cultural exchange between nations and nations.

INDIA AND CHINA

Down to the period of the missionary activities of Kumārajīva (344-413 A.D.), Buddhism and Indian culture penetrated China mainly through the Central Asian routes. Most of the early Sino-Buddhist texts coming down from the Loyang School, were from the pen of the Yue-chi, Parthian or Sogdian converts to Buddhism, working in collaboration with the Chinese Buddhists. In Mahayana texts like the *Chandragarbha* and the *Sūryagarbha sūtras* as well as in *Mahāmayūri* texts, we find a curious admixture of Indian, Khotanese, Iranian and Chinese spirit. Linguistic test also demonstrates that most of these translations were not done directly from Indian classical languages, like Sanskrit and Pali, but from popular dialects (*Prākritis*) of the various parts of India.

FA-HIEN, A PILGRIM FROM CHINA

With the appearance of Fa-hien (399-414 A. D.) one of the earliest of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims of India, the great period of direct Sino-Indian collaboration was opened. Classical Buddhist texts like *Dhamma-pada* and *Milinda-pañho* came to be translated or adapted directly from Indian originals. Fa-hien studied in Pataliputra (Patna) under the great *savant* Revati, master of Buddhaghosha who soon carried the torch of Truth to Ceylon. Since then the history of India and Ceylon are so intimately connected that we shall not attempt here a separate treatment of Indian influences of Ceylon. India in this age was the veritable land of illumination and attracted countless ardent

spirits like Fa-hien who took tremendous risk in those days to cross the Taklamakan (Gobi) desert, Khotan and the Pamir ranges to reach the land of his heart's desire. Visiting the great intellectual centres of Taxila and Puruṣhapura (Peshawar), studying for three years at Pataliputra and two years at Tāmralipti, Fa-hien returned to China, having stopped for some time in the colonies of Ceylon and Java on his way.

KUMĀRAJĪVA, A MISSIONARY FROM KUCHA

Kumārajīva* (344-413), a monk from an Indian family domiciled in Karashahr (Kucha), was brought to China as a captive by a Chinese general. This Buddhist captive repaid his captors by working for more than ten years in China, attracting by his phenomenal talent the best Chinese brains of that age. The most veteran men of letters collaborated with Kumārajīva in his work. No wonder that the translations from his pen are recognised to-day as classics of Chinese literature and his version of the "Lotus of the Good Law" (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*) still stands as the most valued text of the Chinese-Buddhist scriptures. By sheer genius and devotion Kumārajīva succeeded in reuniting temporarily the Northern (Turco-Mongolian) and the Southern (Indigenous) schools of Chinese Buddhism which had by that time made a tremendous progress amongst the mass of the people.

BUDDHABHADRA, FOUNDER OF THE DHYANA SCHOOL IN CHINA

About the same period another Buddhist missionary, Buddha-bhadra, arrived in China by the *sea route* (Shantung), and by his purity of life, great discipline and meditation influenced profoundly the southern Chinese people, poetic and transcendental in spirit. Here Buddha-bhaddra found a field of work congenial to him ; and by fusing Buddhist meditateness with Chinese quietism, he laid the foundation of the *Shan-no* or Dhyāna school of Chinese philosophy and poetry, collaborating with the group of monks, poets and philosophers of the monastery of Mount Lu Shan associated with the name of the great Hui-yuan (416 A.D.).

PRINCE GUNAVARMAN, THE PAINTER MISSIONARY FROM KASHMIR

Simultaneously with Kumārajīva and Buddha-bhadra appears the noble figure of the Prince-monk Gunavarman† who refused his throne of Kashmir, prompted by his zeal for the mission work. He visited Ceylon in 400 A.D. and then crossed over to the island of Java where he found the first Buddhist monastery converting the King and the Queen-mother. Then he appeared in

* Cf. Sylvain Levi : *Journal Asiatique*, 1913.

† Cf. E. Chavannes, "Gunavarman," *Toung Pao*, vol. v.

Canton (424 A. D.) and in Nanking, propagation his faith as much by his wonderful religious paintings as by his learned translations. He founded two *vihāras* in Nanking, introduced the strict *Vinaya* system of ordination after the Indian School, and organised the first congregation of Chinese nuns. After his death in China (431 A.D.) we read of the arrival of two batches of nuns from Ceylon under Tissara (?) organising the Chinese nunneries after Sinhalese model. So during this epoch the relation between India and China, through Ceylon and Java by the sea route, was quite intimate; and Dr. Takakusu opines (J.R.A.S., 1896) that the great Indian missionary Buddhaghosha also visited China from his base of work in Ceylon. No wonder that China acknowledges her gratitude by translating in 472 A. D. from an Indian original now lost and cherishing the "Lives of Twenty-three Indian Patriarchs", comprising the careers of great Buddhist saints like Kāśyapamātanga, Āśvaghosha, Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu and others. But while a few such names have been fortunately preserved, hundreds are lost. And we are as much thankful to those nameless and unknown workers of humanity as to the group of the more fortunate known. The precious researches of Edouard Chavannes and Sylvain Levi have recovered for us from oblivion many such grand yet long forgotten personalities: Chih-mong and Fa-mong (contemporary of Fa-hien, 400 A. D.) from China, and Sanghasena and Guṇavarddhi from India (492 A.D.).

BODHIDHARMA THE SILENT MISSIONARY

In the six century we witness a phenomenal development in sea-communication between India and China via Malay Archipelago. The first notable case of sea voyage from India was that of Bodhidharma who came to south China in 520 A.D. and worked in the same field as Buddhābhadrā, amongst the mystic population of China. Bodhidharma is said to have remained silent for full nine years! Yet he exerted a profound influence on the Chinese mind and "opened a powerful stream of meditative naturalism in China and Japan."

PARAMARTHA, FOUNDER OF THE YOGACHARA SCHOOL IN CHINA

The second case of sea voyage was that of the Indian *savant* Paramārtha, the famous biographer of the Buddhist philosopher Vasubandhu (420-500 A.D.). Having arrived in China in 540 A.D., Paramārtha was cordially invited to Nanking in 548 in 548 A.D.. He was not only the translator of the works of Asanga and Vasubandhu, the pillars of the *realistic school* of Buddhist Idealism, but was also the first propagator of the *Yogācāra* school of thought before Hiuen-Tsang.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF SINO-INDIAN COLLABORATION

With the unification on the North and the South under the auspices of the Tang Dynasty (617-910 A.D.) China was recovering control over Central Asia,

and there opened the most glorious period of Asiatic Art and Philosophy through the vigorous collaboration of India and China. The invaluable records left by the two great Chinese pilgrims Hiuen-Tsang (629-645 A. D.) and I-tsing (700 A. D.), bear testimony to the fact that India had then come to be the very heart of Asiatic Humanism. That explain partly the jealous attacks on the Buddhist organisations in China from contemporary Taoist and Confucian rivals. Yet it must be admitted that through every phase of this evolution, India had been shaping vigorously the whole fabric of Chinese thought and aesthetics. On the one hand, the Indian spirit was so marvellously naturalised in China that the Sino-Indian texts, even to-day, "form an integral part of the Chinese language and literature." On the other hand the recent discoveries of Grünwedel and von Le Coq in Central Asia and of Sir Aurel Stein and Paul Pelliot in the wonderful grottos of Tuen Huang, prove the phenomenal fusion of Hellenic and Hindu, Iranian, Christian and Manichæan streams of thought and culture, under the grand transforming agency of Buddhism. "Anything that came from India brought with it a high prestige." Indian models of Buddhist art were closely followed; Indian imagery and symbolism, Indian ideals of form were taken over by Chinese masters; and therefore their Buddhist pictures showed striking contrast to their secular sculptures, and painting. The Tuen Huang pictures show the wonderful fusion of Sino-Indian styles and the Tang masters of Tuen Huang were closely followed by the early Japanese artists. Thus the chance discovery* of this desert grotto with its polyglot library and wonderful art treasures, has contributed so much to our knowledge of the history of international intercourse. Tuen Huang, situated on the great highway, (stretching across Asia from China to the Mediterranean) where it intersected the main routes from Mongolia in the north and Tibet and India in the south—naturally shows the relics of the historical fusion of the Orient and the Occident; and that is why the Chinese Buddhist painting of the Tang period are considered, by experts like Raphael Petrucci and Laurence Binyon, to inaugurate "one of the greatest periods of creative art in world history."

INDIA AND KOREA

From China, Buddhism naturally entered Korea. As early as 374 A.D. two monks A-tao and Shun-tao, both foreigners, were invited from North China to the capital of Koryo (modern Pien-yang). In 384 A.D. certain Matanada (a curious Indian name) was welcomed by the court of the Paikchai (middle Korea) and was backed by a fresh batch of Indian and Chinese missionaries. Towards the middle of the 5th century Buddhist propaganda advanced to the south and an ascetic called the "Black Foreigner" preached

* Cf. Sir Aurel Stein: *Ruins of Desert Cathay and Serindia*; also Paul Pelliot: *Touen Houang*, Paris.

the doctrine of the *Tri-ratna* (triple gem), after having been famous by curing with his wonderful science a princess of the Silla kingdom which recognised Buddhism officially in 528.

Between 540-576 A.D., we read about a king and a queen of Korea taking to the robes of monks and nuns. In 551 A.D. a sort of Buddhist Patriarchate was created with a Korean priest as the archbishop of the realm ; and Buddhism continued to shine with incomparable radiance down to the 10th century when Korea was under the Koryo dynasty (918 A.D.). So Korea still remains a rich and virgin field of Buddhist archaeology largely unexplored. We may hope that some day the friendly collaboration of Chinese, Korean and Japanese scholars would unfold to the world the complete history of Korean Buddhism.

INDIA AND JAPAN*

The small country of Korea had the unique privilege of presenting to insular Japan one of its greatest civilising agencies—continental Buddhism. Chinese learning had penetrated Japan as early as the 5th century A.D. ; but it was Korea that made the first official presentation in 538 A.D. of a gilt statue of Buddha, some beautiful banners and sacred texts to the Japanese court, as a sign of homage and friendship. The accompanying message from Korea was also noble, declaring that "*Buddha dharma* the most excellent of all laws which brings immeasurable benefit to its believers...had been accepted in all lands laying between India and Korea."

The opposition of the conservative party only accentuated the zeal of progressive Japan ; and with the fall of the anti-Buddhist party in 587 A.D., Prince Umayado or Shotoku (593-622 A.D.), the Constantine of Japan, made Buddhism the state religion of Japan. He invited Korean monks to teach the sciences like astronomy and medicine to his people and sent Japanese students to China to study Buddhism. With the influx of Buddhist monks and savants came artists, artisans and physician-philanthropists as the rear guard of religion. And here, as everywhere, Buddhism built its influence on the solid foundation of the philanthropic and aesthetic instincts of the believers. Thus there grew up asylums, hospitals, dispensaries as well as the great treasures of Art, painting, sculpture and architecture, wherever the new Faith went. We hear of Chinese missionary Kan-jin (754-763. A. D.) organising medical missions and founding botanical gardens. So the Indian missionary Bodhisena, a Brahmin of *Bhāradwāja* gotra, came to Japan in 736 A.D. with his Cham (from the Hindu colony of Champā) and Chinese followers, many of whom were artists and musicians ; and Bodhisena worked as the Buddhist Bishop of Japan till his death in 760 A.D. , always known as the "Brahmin Bishop".

* Cf. Dr. Anesaki : "Buddhist Mission" in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* ; also Dr. Takakusu : "What Japan owes to India" in the *Young East*, Tokyo, Vols. II.—VI.

These missionaries not only introduced but developed many useful arts, knowing full well that art is a great handmaid to religion. Indian lyre (*vinā*) and other musical instruments as well as bas-reliefs are found in the Imperial Treasury of Japan dating from the 8th century A.D. With profound respect for individual development, these Buddhist workers never imposed anything by force; so that everywhere their advent was followed by a phenomenal growth of native arts and crafts. Thus the medical and the artistic missionaries played almost as great a part as saints and learned scholars in the propagation of the Indian faith in the Far East.

During the whole of the 8th century, the famous Nara Period (708-794 A.D.), the movement of Peace and Illumination spread from the capital city Kyoto to the provinces where many people now began to endow religious and philanthropic institutions; and these humanitarian works soon "converted the whole of Japan into Buddhdom." Japanese sculpture and painting began to awaken to its career of world famous creation, while the constant contact with China brought, from time to time, different schools of Buddhistic thought. The mystic *Mantra* sect, introduced into China in the 8th century by Śubhakarasiṃha and Amogha-vajra, entered Japan in the 9th century; and even some of the esoteric sects like the *Dharma-lakṣaṇa*, organised by Asanga, while losing hold on India and China, were preserved in the Japanese school of Buddhist philosophy. Far from imposing a foreign system to the detriment of the independent development of the indigenous peoples, Buddhism liberated the dormant springs of individual creative activities. So, within two centuries of the official introduction of Buddhism, we find the Japanese people developing cults, sects, schools of philosophy and art-traditions of their own. The brightest stars of Japan in the 9th century, like Saichō and Kōbō, were pioneers of real Japanese Buddhism independent of continental influences: Saichō (767-822 A. D.) founded the famous sect called *Tendai-shū*, preaching "Buddha the historical revealer of Truth as the full enlightenment; and the realisation of such Buddhahood in one's own consciousness as the supreme object of all mysteries, virtues and wisdom." Another sect called the *Shingon-shū* was founded by Kōbō or Kūkai (774-835 A. D.). He preached: "the Universe is Buddha externalised" and that "the Buddha within us may be called forth by the practice of the mystery in heart, in conduct and in speech."

The *Tendai* and *Shingon* sects, like the later *Nichiren*, exerted powerful influence amongst the refined and cultured aristocracy of Japan. But the stoic military class and the superstitious mass also were evolving their own suitable systems out of Buddhism. Since the beginning of the 12th century internal troubles and disasters of Japan slowly developed a pessimism which wanted less philosophical and more emotional form of religion to satisfy the people. So Hōren (1133-1212 A. D.) appeared denouncing all philosophy as effete and all mysteries as useless. He preached the doctrine of *Sukhāvati*, the Japanese Jōdo or "The Western Paradise" according to which any creature, ignorant

or wise, high or low, could be saved by simple faith in the boundless grace of *Amitābha*.

Side by side, we watch the marvellous transformation of the primitive Shintoism under Buddhist influences, when men like Chika-fusa (1339 A. D.) developed a new syncretism representing all popular animistic gods of Shintoism as the *avatāras* of Buddha.

Lastly, the stoical *samurai* military class found its firm support in the philosophy of the Zen (*Dhyāna*) sect introduced into Japan in 1250 A. D., by some disciples of the old *Shan-no* (*Dhyāna*) sect of China, organised by Indian missionaries like Buddha-bhadra and Bodhi-dharma. Thus while India herself, on account of her pre-occupation with narrow domestic problems forgot all about her far-off cultural colonies of Korea and Japan, the devoted philosophers and master artists of Japan were worshipping the ineffable personality of *Buddha-Amitābha* and covering temple after temple with the marvellous figures of the Buddha and of Indian saints like *Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja*.

INDIA AND TIBET

Tibet was rather late in emerging from its state of savage isolation. It is significant that the very first king who brought Tibet up to Asiatic importance, was in close contact with India and China : King *Srong-btsan-Gampo* (630-698 A. D.) married an Indian (Nepales) princess as well as a Chinese one ; the former introduced the Hindu-Buddhist cult of *Tārā* along with other occult practices, while the latter brought Chinese Buddhism and priests. Not stopping there, Gampo sent his able minister *Thummi Sambhota* to India where he studied and gradually evolved out of Devanāgarī script, the present Tibetan alphabet. The next King *Khri Srong-de-btsan* (740-786 A. D.) invited learned scholars from India ; and with their noble collaboration, the Tibetans soon managed to have a scripture and literature of their own. The names of Indian savants like *Padmasambhava* and his disciple *Pagur Vairochana* are ever memorable in Tibetan history. Translations and adaptations of Indian texts continued vigorously down to the appearance of the great *Dīpaṅkara Srijñāna* or *Atisa* (1038 A.D.) from Bengal, who effected a veritable reformation in the religious history of mediaeval Tibet and her neighbours.

Naturally primitive and gross by temperament the Tibetans did not develop any independent philosophical system of their own, as was done by the Chinese or Japanese. Most of their standard compilations like, the *Kandjour* (book of revelation—words of Buddha) and the *Tandjour* (book of tradition) stand to-day as curious collections of religion and magic, science and poetry. No doubt they translated from time to time, classical works of Indian literature like the famous lexicon of *Amarakoṣa* and the *Meghadūta* or "Cloud Messenger" of Kalidasa, the grammar of *Chandragomin* and the treatises on painting and iconography like the *Chitralakṣana*. Yet we cannot help noticing that the Tibetans showed almost a morbid preference for the mystical and magical sects

of later debased Buddhism : the *Vajra-yāna*, the *Kālachakra-yāna*, etc., which went to the formation of later Lamaism. Here we find the later alchemist-philosopher *Nāgārjuna* tacitly preferred to the Buddha himself. So the savage pre-Buddhistic Shamanism of the *Bon cult*, the crude magic and devil-charming rituals, common to the mountainous tribes, came to be mixed up with Indian Buddhism. Still it effected a miracle by gradually transforming the mentality of the backward people. Mr. Waddel who lived amongst the Tibetans for a long time and who is one of the leading authorities on Tibetan history, writes :

"The current of Buddhism which runs through its tangled Paganism has brought to the Tibetan most of the little civilisation which he possessed and has raised him correspondingly in the scale of humanity, lifting him above a life of semi-barbarism, by setting before him higher hopes and aims, by giving milder meanings to his demonist mythology, by discountenancing sacrifice of animal lives and by inculcating universal charity and tenderness to all living things."

INDIA AND THE TURCO-MONGOLIAN PEOPLES

With the conquest of China and Central Asia by the Mongol chief Chengiz Khan (died 1227 A.D.) and his successor Kubilai Khan (1260 A.D.), Tibetan Buddhism was established as a sort of theocracy by Lama Phagspa, the Tibetan ally of Kubilai. Through the intermediary of Tibet, the arts and crafts of India and Nepal (especially *Bronze casting*) reached the courts of the Buddhist Mongolian emperors of China and were always prized as works of rare craftsmanship and great value. Phagspa* (Tibetan for *Arya*) died in 1280 A.D. and was succeeded by Lama Dharmapāla in the office of the Imperial Chaplain of the Mongol emperors of China. The noble activities of these Buddhist workers, in this epoch, connected the Tibetans, the Mongols, the Tunguse and the Ouigur Turks (in the frontiers of Siberia) and other Samoyed races, in one bond of spiritual union.†

INDIA AND SOUTH-EASTERN ASIA

The whole of the eastern Asiatic world may be linguistically divided into three main sections : (i) *Koreo-Japanese* (ii) *Sino-Tibetan* and (iii) *Malayo-Polynesian*. We have, so far, traced the influence of Indian humanism on the nations of the first two groups. Now, passing on to the third group, we remember the border land of Burma. From Burma we march through *Siam-Cambodia* (in fact the whole of the *Trans-Gangetic peninsula*) to the *Malay Archipelago* (with Sumatra, Java, Madura, Bali, Lombok, Borneo, Celebes and other islands) till at last we are in the heart of *Indonesia*. The whole history of this vast area was enveloped in deep obscurity till very recent times. Thanks to the researches

* Prof. Paul Pelliot : *Lectures on Lamaism in College de France* (1922-23).

† Huth (G) : *Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei* (1893).

of the French and the Dutch scholars who are pioneers in this branch of investigation, we have now a fairly clear view of the history of South-Eastern Asia. With every fresh archaeological discovery or philological analysis, we are more and more convinced of the fact, that down to quite late period (13th-14th centuries) when Islam penetrated this area, the greatest formative influence on the life and history of the peoples of South-Eastern Asia was that of India, backed by China in certain parts.

EPOCHS OF HINDU COLONISATION

The archaeological finds in this part of the world are of a comparatively late period. So the scholars of the last generation were rather sceptic with regard to the possibility of early penetration of Indian influence. But we should consider that long before a king feels inclined to get a grandiloquent panegyric of his career inscribed on a rock or a copper-plate, that long before a community is capable of rearing a great architectural monument, a people discovers another people quite normally, propelled by the *spirit of adventure*, economic or spiritual. So it is not *prima facie* improbable that Indian missionaries reached south-eastern Asia by the sea route, about the same period that they had been penetrating the Far-Western and the Far-Eastern religions by the land route.

The very fact that Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.) names many of the places in his Geography of this region in an Indian style up to Java, proves that the Indians were already in the field. The earliest inscriptions of *Champā* (Indo-China) bearing evidences of Indian (simultaneously *Brahmanic* and *Buddhistic*) influence, go as far back as the 3rd century A. D. Prof. Paul Pelliot, one of the greatest living authorities on the history of this area, believes that apart from the great *Central Asian route*, there were *to other old roads* of communication for the Eastern Asiatic peoples: one was the land-route from India via Assam and Burma to China and another was the sea-route via Malaya and the Indo-Chinese coasts. And Pelliot discovers in Chinese documents that India appears in the history of *Funan* (ancient Cambodia) as early as 3rd century A. D. Thus, although the materials are as yet scanty, we may state that in course of their *first movement of expansion*, about the beginning of the Christian era, the Indians left unmistakable traces of their influence on Pegu, Burma, Malaya, and *Champā*, Cambodge, *Sumātrā* and Java, though the despatching of Asokan missionaries to Burma may be a later fabrication.

The *second cultural colonisation* was in the 5th century A.D.—a period of great internal prosperity and intellectual maturity in the history of India. During this century not only *Champā* and *Cambodge* were thoroughly *hinduised*, but fresh Hindu colonies appear in the Malay Peninsula, in ancient Siam, in Laos, in Borneo and Celebes, Sumatra and Java. This is the epoch when *Aryabhatta* (b. 479 A.D.) and *Varāhamihira* (505-587 A.D.) were assimilating the Hellenic sciences, when *Gupavarman* (dying in Nanking, 431 A.D.) was converting

Java to Buddhism, when the frescoes of Ajanta were recording in their exquisite language the fusion of Aryo-Dravidian and Indo-Persian culture. In this grand epoch of *Hindu renaissance*, there was no exclusive caste prohibitions and intolerant sectarianism. Hence we find Bramanism and Buddhism, in fact all Indian sects and denominations, flourishing peacefully in these cultural colonies of India in South-eastern Asia. The full history of the movement of Hindu syncretism and cultural synthesis in this part of *Magna India*, has yet to be written.

BURMA AND CEYLON

Burma is linguistically related to Tibet but it came in touch with India civilisation much earlier. The introduction of Buddhism by Asokan missionaries (3rd century B.C.) may or may not be true ; but it is strongly affirmed by native tradition that *Buddhaghosha* established the Hinayāna Buddhism in Burma from Ceylon about 450 A.D. Meanwhile the sinologists have discovered in Chinese *Tai Annals*, sufficient evidences to assert that even *Buddhaghosha*, the champion of the Ceylonese Hinayāna was not the first in this field. He had his predecessors in the missionaries of the Mahāyāna and of the Brahmanical systems in Burma. This is corroborated by the interesting collection of *Pyu* inscription (5th century A. D.) which bear traces of borrowing from Sanskrit vocabulary through the medium of *living dialects* (*Prakrits*) of Eastern India and not through the canonical language Pali. So there is every possibility of early contact with Sanskrit Mahāyāna through Eastern Bengal and Assam. From that period down to the present day, Burma, like Ceylon, remains in religion and culture, essentially a part of India.

CHAMPA CAMBODGE SIAM AND LAOS

The big Indian colonies of Champā and Cambodge are, like Ceylon, too important to be treated summarily ; special studies had been devoted to them.

Siam was also formally converted during the later period of Hindu expansion. Buddhism was introduced into Siam from Cambodia ; and like Cambodia it remained faithful to the Ceylonese or the southern Pali Buddhism. A splendid Buddha image, a rare specimen of Ceylon bronze-casting, has been discovered amongst the ruins of Champā. Mon. Cabaton, an authority on the history of these peoples affirm that until the advent of the Portuguese navigators (16th century), Siam was completely within the cultural influence of India :

"It received its first civilisation from the Brahmins of India and then from the merchants from the Malabar and the Coromandel (coast) ; and along with Cambodia and Laos, Siam remained permeated with Indian civilisation until the east coast of Indo-China (Annam) accepted Chinese civilisation. There are still extant, noteworthy archaeological witnesses of this primitive *hinduisation* of Siam in the monuments of its former capitals, *Savankhalok*, *Sukhotai* and *Lopburi*. The former and present religions of Siam (mixed Brahmanism and Buddhism) its

sacred language, its civil institutions, its writing, its arts, and its literature, came from India. In the 13th century the *Thai* alphabet, the prototype of the present alphabet was invented by the help of *Brahmin gurus* on the model of the Indian writing already in use in the country. All this civilisation has been preserved and diffused up to the present day by the monks who are, as a rule, the educators of the people....."

FROM THE INDIAN TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN

Leaving aside the obscure problem of pre-Arian, and pre-Dravidian contacts of India with the Mon-khmer and the Malayo-Polynesian world, we may still safely say that there were very early maritime communications between the peoples across the Indian Ocean, connecting the African continent including Madagascar with the Malay Archipelago. The island of Ceylon or Taprobane was a sort of a halting stage in his grand oceanic traffic. The very frequent confusion between Indian, Malayan and African place-names, made by Classical travellers and geographers, is highly significant. It is now beyond doubt that audacious Indian mariners reached Madagascar, Maldiv, Ceylon as well as Sumatra, Java Celebes and Borneo in early times. Fa-hien and Gunavarman (400 A. D.) followed only the traditional maritime routes of Indian Oceanic migration. The Malay Peninsula served both as a *great causeway* for the migrations from the Asiatic continent and as a *rendezvous* for merchants and peoples coming from South East Asian countries. In Sumatra the Malayan races were moulded by Indian influences into a relatively civilised condition before they crossed over to the Archipelago. The oldest foreign loan-words in the Philippines and whole of *Malaysia* are *Sanskritic*, including words for religious, moral and intellectual ideas, with some astronomical, mathematical and medico-botanical terms, a court vocabulary and a large number of ordinary words. In their pantheon the greater gods are Hindu while the lesser gods are native Malayan. Their cosmology is also Hindu. Only in one branch, in their arts, both industrial and ornamental, some of the Indonesian peoples, while deriving the ideas and inspiration from India (China did not play a great part here before the T'ang period, 6th century A.D.), could preserve their distinct individuality. Both in the evolution of the architectural and of the decorative motifs, the *Javanese* and the *Khmer* peoples will always occupy a big place in the general history of Asiatic art and culture.

THE EMPIRE OF SRI-VIJAYA IN SUMATRA

So it is not at all surprising to note that the famous Chinese-Buddhist pilgrim *I-tsing* twice visited (in 671 and 698 A.D.) Sumatra then known as the kingdom of *Sri-Vijaya*,* studying and translating Indian texts. More than 1,000 monk-scholars studied there all the subjects that were taught in Indian

* Coedes : *Le Royaume de Sri Vijaya*, B. E. F. Ex. O. 1917.

centres of learning. In fact this daughter university of Sumatra had already become so important that *Dharmapāla*, the celebrated Mahāyāna professor of the great Nālandā University and *Atsia*, later on, visited *Suvarṇa-dvīpa* (Sumatra) most probably as veteran *Directors of Indian Studies*. Between the age of I-tsing (700 A. D.) and that of the Mahāyāna Buddhist king Ādityavarman of Middle Sumatra (1350 A. D.), we have as yet very few records. In the 14th century, Sumatra, under king Āditya-varman was still erecting the statue of *Jina Amoghapāśa*, a Tantric incarnation of *Avalokiteśvara* in the temple of *Padang Chandi*, with an inscription in barbarous Sanskrit. But already the north of Sumatra had been converted to Islamism which soon overwhelmed the whole of Indonesia.

JAVA MADURA BALI LOMBOK AND BORNEO

Java was from very early times noticed in Indian literature. Rāmāyaṇa describes Java (and probably also Sumatra, known as the *Suvarṇa-dvīpa*), as rich in gold mines. Fa-hien found it necessary to pay a visit to this island in the early 5th century. Like Sumatra, Java was the stronghold of the Buddhist sect of the *Mūla-Sarvāstivādins*. Their scriptures being in Sanskrit was much valued locally, but those texts frequently checked the spontaneous development of Javanese-Buddhist art which remained a little too textual and rigidly documentary as was noticed by Mon. Foucher in his monograph on the Buddhist temple of Boro-Budur. In the 8th century, Mahāyāna Buddhism gained a firm footing in Java. In 778 A. D. a king of the *Śailendra Dynasty* of the Śrī-Vijaya Kingdom of Sumatra, commemorates the erection of a statue and a temple of *Arya Tārā*, the Śakti of *Avalokiteśvara* by an inscription in Sanskrit language and in a north Indian script, not in *Kawi* or old Javanese. Dr. H. Kern, the great Dutch savant, expressed his opinion to the effect that the *Tantric-Mahāyānists* came to Java from Western Bengal. The temple of *Arya Tārā* is now in ruins known as *Chandi Kalasan*. The splendid monuments of architecture, which appear in Java from the 9th century, bear the impress of Hinduism and Mahāyāna. But the earlier and later Javanese art, as well as the Javanese literature and inscriptions, are largely *Hindu-Śaiva*. That seems to show that a great bulk of the people, in the Hindu colonies like *Champā*, Java and especially in the island of Bali, were allowed to practise and profess the popular cults of Hinduism even when the ruling houses were officially adopting Buddhism. Down to the middle ages, the relation between official Buddhism and non-official popular Hinduism, was marked by perfect tolerance and friendliness which produced a wonderful fusion of religious thought and art-styles.

In the 9th century we witness the third grand wave of cultural colonisation mainly from South India. The kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya (Sumatra) suddenly becomes a great civilising agency extending its influence over Java as well as a part of South India ; and its name appears in an inscription of king *Devapāla*

recently discovered in Nalanda. Impregnated with the spiritual and aesthetic ideals of Eastern India, Java now created the wonderful temple of Boro-Budur, a marvel of oriental architecture. Buddhism was a favourite religion with the Javanese sovereigns from king Sree Isanavijaya Dharmottunga-deva (950 A.D.) to Tribhuvanottunga Devi, the queen ruling over the whole of Java (1350 A.D.).

INDO-CHINA AND INDONESIA SPIRITUALLY CONNECTED

Other forms of Brahmanical religion, affiliated to Brahmā, Vishnu, Śiva Durga etc. were widely practised by a large part of the population of Java, Madura, Bali, and Lombok. That is why probably during the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries when the *Indonesian art* reached its *apogee*, we find in Java, the great Prambanan and Panataram temples consecrated to Brahmanical deities like Brahmā, Vishnu, Rāma, Śiva, Gaṇeśha, etc., as well as brilliant stone pictures (bas-reliefs) of the Rāmāyana and the Krishṇāyana. So we find in Cambodia, the famous Mon-Khmer monuments, the Saiva temple of Lévarapura and Angkor Thom the Vaishṇava temple of Bapuon, as well as the marvellous monument of Angkor-Vat (completed 1105 A. D.) dedicated to Vishnu, by the Cambodian king *Parama Vishṇuloka*. "These monuments," remarks Mon. Cabaton, "give evidence, to this day, of cultural and artistic gifts so incompatible with the intellectual apathy of the *Khmers*, that some scholars are inclined to think that the grandeur of the empire was due to a *Hindu colony* which governed the country (Champā-Cambodge) from the 8th to the 14th century." However, the Sino-Tibetan invasions of the Annamites and of the Siamese during the 12th and 13th centuries led to a gradual decadence; and the downfall of the great Hindu colonies of Champā and Cambodge was complete when Islam swept over the whole area like a hurricane.

MALAYO-POLYNESIAN WORLD

Leaving aside the question of reciprocal influences of the Hindu and the Islamic history, we shall note summarily the main features of India's role in the history of South-Eastern Asia. Unlike the thoroughly pacific cultural penetration of India in Serindia, China and Japan, her expansion over South-eastern Asia was not unaccompanied by occasional political conquests or military occupations. However, what India brought as her real contributions to these regions, were not the conquering armies or dynasties long forgotten, but a veritable *fertilising influence* in the domain of intellectual and artistic creation. That is why a veteran philologist like Dr. Skeat found, after an elaborate analysis, that the oldest loan-words in this linguistic group are 'words for religious, moral and intellectual ideas coming from India'. So in the highly interesting monograph on the "Indonesians", Mr. Kruijt notices how the name for God in most of the languages of this Malayo-Polynesian world, is derived from the Indian word *Devatā*. "In Siau the highest

god is called *Duata* which is also found among the Macassars and Buginese as *Dewata*, among the Dayaks of Borneo as *Jabata* or *Jata*, among the Mongondouians as *Duata*, and among the people of the Philippine islands as *Divata*, *Davata*, *Diuata*." So the Sanskrit word *Bhattāra* is found, in more or less changed forms, in many Indonesian languages, in the sense of God e. g., *Batara guru* who appears with *Saripada* and *Maṇalabulan* as the three most important deities of the Malay Archipelago, as pointed out by Dr. H. Kern. And what is still more amazing is the recent discovery of Indian influence on the formation of early Polynesian poetry and mythology. Mr. A. H. Keane's remarks in this connection deserve quoting :

"At times the Polynesian singers appear to soar into the ethereal spaces and to realise the concept of a Supreme Being.....Tangaroa is spoken of as *Toivi*, the Eternal ; or else like the Hindu *Brahma* or the Dodonian Zeus that 'was is and shall be'.....described in the loftiest language, as dwelling 'in the limitless void of Space, when the world was not yet, nor the heavens, nor the sea, nor man.' Such sublime conceptions, such subtle theosophies, such personifications of Chaos, Immensity, Gloomy Night and other pure abstractions, in these children of nature, excite wonder and remain inexplicable in their present fragmentary state. Everywhere we find Heaven, Earth, the Universe, the Afterworld, recurring under diverse names and forms, personified by a language embodied in theocratic and anthropomorphic philosophies—echoes as it were of the Vedic hymns, reverberating from isle to isle over the broad Pacific waters. The question arises : *Have there been Vedic contacts ?* It is a chronological question which cannot be answered until the date is approximately determined of the eastward migration of the Indonesians from Malaysia. Did the migration precede or follow the arrival of the Hindu missionaries in that region ?"

SERVICE AND FELLOWSHIP : KEY-NOTES OF GREATER INDIAN HISTORY

Thus listening as it were to the profound hymns of the Polynesian Vedas amidst the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean, we seem to catch the real secret of India's success in her career of internationalism. In spite of occasional lapses to militarism on the part of individual sovereigns, the *Indian people as a whole, stuck substantially to the principle of Peace and Progress*. They respected the individuality of the races and nations which came into contact with them, offering their best and evoking the best in others. Thus India managed to leave to posterity, a record of co-existence and collaboration in the realm of the Sublime and the Beautiful, quite remarkable in world history. The political conquerors and economic exploiters might have been there too ; but they never played a dominant role in this grand drama of Creative Unity. That is why when the names of the great kings and emperors were forgotten, the people of these

cultural colonies cherished with gratitude the memory of the services rendered by the innumerable Indian monks and teachers, artists and philanthropists—selfless workers for human progress and international amity.

"Thou hast made me known to friends I knew not
Thou hast given me seats in homes not my own
Thou hast brought the distant near
And made a Brother of the stranger."

Rabindranath Tagore

Gitanjali, 1913

(First Noble Prize winner from Asia)

This paper was read in connection with a Symposium on "The Role of Internationalism in the Development of Civilisation," invited by the Peace Congress of Lugano (Switzerland), in August 1922. It was attended by the master spirits of modern Europe and America, like Romain Rolland, Bertrand Russel, Hermann Hesse, John H. Holmes and others. I beg to express in this connection my best thanks to my friends, of the "International League of Women for Peace and Freedom", for provoking this study and for publishing the French and Italian versions of this monograph in the *Rassegna Internazionale*, Rome, April, 1923. Its Bengali and Hindi translations also were published since the foundation of the Greater India Society (1926).

INDIAN CULTURE
IN
JAVA AND SUMATRA

BY

DR. BIJAN RAJ CHATTERJEE,
D. LITT. (PUNJAB), PH. D. (LONDON).

P R E F A C E

My Friend Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterjee has rendered a great service to us by giving a popular exposition of his researches into the history of Hindu Colonisation—a branch of study in which he has specialised. His “Indian Political and Cultural Influence in Cambodia, from the 6th. to the 14th. century,” won for him the PH.D. degree of the University of London. The work was deeply appreciated by the public. Meanwhile we, on behalf of the Greater India Society, offer him our best thanks for popularising the important history of Indian Cultural Colonisation of Insulindia. This bulletin gives only the first instalment of his studies. He has kindly agreed to prepare another important monograph published by our Society : the *Corpus* of the Sanskrit inscriptions found in Java, together with his notes comments and translation, in collaboration with Dr. N. P. Chakrabarti.

KALIDAS NAG

A U T H O R ' S N O T E

In this Bulletin I have tried to give a general idea of Indian Culture of Java and Sumatra in a popular way. In this connection I desire to express my indebtedness to Prof. Dr. Otto Blagden, Dean of the School of Oriental Studies, London, who introduced me to the standard Dutch works on the subject, guided me in my studies on the history of *Insulindia* and read with me several important texts. I am specially thankful to Dr. Blagden for his help as regards the sections on *Śhrīvijaya* and the Javanese *Rāmāyaṇas*.

BIJAN RAJ CHATTERJEE

AN OUTLINE OF INDO-JAVANESE HISTORY

The material on which Sir Stamford Raffles based his history of ancient Java, viz., comparatively recent Javanese tradition, has but little historical value. We have to go back to the ancient inscriptions of the Malay Archipelago, contemporary notices in Chinese annals and Kavi chronicles, like the *Nagarakṛtāgama* and the *Pararaton*, in order to reconstruct the Hindu-Buddhist period of Javanese history. The Dutch scholars like Kern, Brandes and Krom have accomplished much in this direction.

The mention of Java in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, where Sugrīva sends out searching parties in quest of Sita to the four cardinal points, is well-known. Professor Sylvain Lévi would ascribe to this passage a date not later than the first century A. D. Ptolemy, the astronomer of Alexandria who wrote his geography about the middle of the 2nd century A. D., refers to Java as *Jabadieu* (Yavadvīpa)—a name which he himself translates as the island of barley. Thus the Sanscrit name of the island was already known to foreigners. Chinese chronicles mention that about 132 A. D. Tiao Pien (Deva Varman ?), the king of Ye-tiao (Yavadvīpa), sent an embassy to China. The Emperor presented to Tiao Pien a seal of gold and a violet ribbon.

The earliest inscriptions hitherto discovered come not from Java but from eastern Borneo. They are not dated, but, on palaeographical grounds, they have been assigned to the fourth century A.D. The script closely resembles that of the early Pallava inscriptions of South India and that of the earliest inscriptions of Champā and Kamboja. The language is tolerably good Sanscrit. The inscriptions tell us of one Aśvavarman, the founder of a noble race. Foremost among his sons was Mūlavarman, the lord of kings, who had celebrated a *bahūsuvarṇaka* sacrifice, for which ceremony the stone *yūpas* (sacrificial posts) had been prepared by Brahmans. Fragments of these stone-posts have been discovered along with the inscription.

The next series of inscriptions tell us of Pūrṇavarman of Western Java. These, too, are not dated, but, on account of their archaic character, have been ascribed to the middle of the 5th century A. D. The script is the same Pallava *grantha* as is found in early Borneo and in the Indo-Chinese Sanskrit epigraphy of Champā and Kamboja. Pūrṇavarman calls himself the lord of the Trāuma-nagara (near Batavia) ; and one of the inscriptions refers to the construction of two canals, Chandrabhāgā and Gomati. It is to be noted that both the names are those of rivers of North India. On two of the inscriptions the foot-prints of Pūrṇavarman himself are carved and compared with those of Viṣṇu, while on a third the footmarks of the king's elephant are cut into the stone.

It might have been during the reign of Pūrṇavarman or one of his immediate predecessors that the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien reached West Java

from Ceylon. Fa-hien writes that in this country there were many Brāhmins but that the Buddhist religion here was not of sufficient importance to be worth mentioning. Then he mentions that, after a short stay, he sailed for Canton (in 413 A. D.) in a merchant vessel which had 200 Hindu traders on board.

Buddhism was probably first preached in Java by Guṇavarman, a prince of Kashmir, in 423 A. D. From Java Guṇavarman proceeded to China in a ship belonging to a Hindu of the name of Nandi.

The next mention of Java is also from a Chinese source. We learn from the history of the first Sung dynasty that, in the year 435 A. D., the king of Ja-va-da whose name was Sri-pa-da-do-a-la-pa-mo (Śrīpāda Dharavarman ?) sent an envoy to the Chinese court to present a letter.

Another Chinese chronicle, which covers the first half of the 6th century A. D., describes a kingdom of the name of Lan-ga-su on the N.-W. coast of Java : "The people say that this kingdom was established more than 400 years ago. It once happened that a king of this country was very unsatisfactory in his rule. One of his relations was a clever man and therefore the people began to turn towards him...The king drove him out of the realm, where-upon his kinsman went to India and there married the daughter of a ruler of that country. When the king of Lon-ga-su died, the exiled prince was called back by the nobles to be their king..." The son of this king sent a letter to the Chinese Emperor which is characterised by a fervent Buddhist tone.

It seems that towards the end of the 6th century, Western Java fell into decay and Central Java rose into prominence. The new history of the T'ang dynasty mentions a kingdom of the name of Kalinga in Central Java and describes embassies which came to China from this kingdom and from the Hinduized island of Bali in the period 637-649.

"In 674 A. D. the people of this realm took, as their ruler, a lady of the name of *Simā*. Her rule was most excellent ; even things dropped on the road were not picked up. An Arab chief (an Arab colony existed on the Western coast of Sumatra from an early date) sent a bag of gold to be laid down within her frontiers. The people avoided it in walking and it remained untouched for three years. Once the crown-prince stepped over that gold and Queen *Simā* was so angry with him that she wanted to have him executed. There was however a compromise and the prince's toes, which had touched the bag of gold, were cut off."

We hear no more of this kingdom of Kalinga in Java. Our next source of information is the Janggal inscription of Central Java, of the Śaka year 654 (732 A. D.), the first dated record which we have got as yet from Java. The script (Pallava Grantha) and the language (Sanskrit) both closely resemble the characters and the style of the Han Chey inscription of Bhavavarman, the king who reigned in Kamboja about the middle of the 6th century. This Central Javanese inscription is a Śaiva document and refers to the reconstruction of a Śaiva temple on the model of a celebrated shrine in the holy land of Kuñjara

Kuñja. Probably this Kunjara Kunja is to be identified with the *āshrama* of Agastya of that name in South India. Two kings of Central Java, Sannaha and Sanjaya (father and son), are mentioned here as having ruled long on this earth with justice like Manu. Perhaps the Śiva temples on the Dieng plateau should be ascribed to this period. A later Javanese chronicle describes extensive conquests of Sañjaya beyond the boundaries of Java. Princes of Sumatra, Bali and the Malay Peninsula are said to have yielded after severe fighting and acknowledged his supremacy.

Another Śaiva inscription discovered at Dinaya in Eastern Java, dated 682 Shaka (760 A. D.), describes the construction of a black stone image of Agastya Rishi. This was done by the order of king Gajāyana, the benefactor of Brahmans and the worshipper of Agastya, who had seen an image of the Rishi constructed out of Devadāru wood by his ancestors. "In order to get rain, this image of Agastya Kumbha-yoni was consecrated in *kumbha-lagna* by the strong-minded king in the fine Mahārṣi-bhavan."

It may be mentioned in this connection that Agastya is referred to again in another inscription which is dated a century later (785 Ś=863 A. D.) and which is partly in Sanscrit verse and partly in Kavi. Kavi is a mixture of Sanscrit and a Polynesian dialect. There Agastya is also invoked under the Javanese name of Valaing. A temple of the name of *Bhadraloka* is mentioned in this inscription as having been built by Agastya himself; and in the concluding lines there is a prayer offered for the peace and prosperity of the descendants of the Mahārṣi who, it seems, had settled down in Java.

In the meantime, however, important political changes had come over Central Java, which had passed, about the middle of the 8th century, from the hands of the Śaiva rulers into the control of a Mahāyānist dynasty from Sumatra. Chinese records tell us that a Hinduised kingdom of Palembang existed in Sumatra in the 5th century A. D. A learned French *savant*, M. Coedes, has made a most remarkable contribution to our knowledge of the ancient history of Further India by identifying Palembang with Śrī Vijaya, the San-fot-si of the Chinese. We know that the Śailendra dynasty of Śrī Vijaya ruled over a mighty empire extending over the Malay Peninsula and Central Java besides Sumatra. In the 10th century a Buddhist temple was constructed at Negapatam (near Madras), at the expense of a king of this Sumatran dynasty, with the permission of a Chola prince. The Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla records the grant of some villages, by the Pala sovereign of Bengal, for the upkeep of a Monastery at Nālandā which was built at the instance of Balaputradeva of the Śailendra dynasty of Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra) out of his devotion to Buddhism. Evidently therefore Śrī Vijaya or Palembang in Sumatra had become a stronghold of Mahāyāna Buddhism since the days of I-tsing who, towards the end of the 7th century, described it as a great centre of Hinayāna learning.

To come back to Java, an inscription found near the lovely temple of Kalasan in Central Java and dated 700 Śaka, (778 A. D.) tells us that this

temple of *Tārā* was built at the command of the Śailendra king of Śri Vijaya in his own kingdom. Apparently the Javanese possessions were governed by viceroys on behalf of the Sumatran sovereign. A remarkable fact is that this inscription is not in the Pallava script of South India but in a North Indian alphabet. In my work on ancient Cambodia I have tried to show that the introduction of Mahāyāna Buddhism and a North Indian script in Cambodia should also be associated with the dominating influence of Śri Vijaya. Moreover, this North Indian script of Java and Cambodia is obviously more akin to Bengali than to the Deva-Nāgarī characters. This feature and the curious combination of Mahāyāna Buddhism with Tāntric elements and Śaiva doctrines to be found henceforth in Java, Sumatra and Cambodia, have led me to suggest in the abovementioned work that, from the 8th century onwards, South Indian influence seems to be on the wane in Further India which, in religion and in art, comes more and more under the sway of Pāla Bengal and Magadha (Bihar).

Central Java did not languish under the rule of the Śri Vijaya kings. This is the classic period of Javanese architecture. *Borobudur*—that epic in stone—is also to be ascribed to this period. The image of Avalokiteśvara in the Chandi Mendoot is one of the happiest efforts of Javanese sculpture and can stand comparison with the best specimens of the Gupta school. Again, by a Śailendra king, as a proof of his study of Sanscrit, was edited a Sanscrit glossary in Kavi (Old Javanese). The Sumatran rule in Java probably lasted up to the beginning of the 10th century.

About this period the Śaiva princes, who had been ousted from Central Java and who had settled down in the eastern portion of the island, appear to win back their lost territory from the governors of the Śailendra kings of the Śri Vijaya. The great building activity continued in Central Java; for to this period of Hindu revival belongs the famous *Prambanan* group of temples with its magnificent reliefs depicting scenes of the Rāmāyaṇa. Shortly afterwards occurred a great disaster, probably a volcanic eruption, and Central Java was temporarily abandoned.

The scene now shifts to Eastern Java where arose a powerful state under Mpoo Sindok. His great grand-daughter Mahendradattā (महेन्द्र दत्ता) was married to Udayana, the governor of Bali, which island had already come under the sway of the East Javanese princes. The offspring of this union, as we are told in an inscription, was the great Erlangga. While only 15 years of age, this prince had to fly from his enemies and take refuge in the forest of *Vanagiri*. He and his followers lived with the ascetics in the forest, clad in the bark of trees, and partaking of the same food as these hermits. He then made a vow that, if he was ever restored to his throne, he would build an *āshrama* in the forest—a vow, which the inscription tells us, he carried out on a magnificent scale. In the Śaka year 957 (1035 A.D.), after having overthrown his enemies in the east and west; and, like fiery dragon, having burnt the *anārya* (non-Aryan)

south, Erlangga was enthroned as the overlord of Javadvipa. It was during his reign that some of the most renowned Kavi (Old Javanese) poems were composed—*Arjuna-Vivāha*, *Virāta-parva* and a translation of the *Mahābhārata*. The *Rāmāyana* may also have been translated into Kavi during this reign.

In 1042 King Erlangga again took to a hermit's life after dividing his kingdom between his two sons. The partition was effected by a learned sage, Bharada, who had acquired 'siddhi'. With a pitcher of water which came down from the heavens by the magic power of the great master, the boundary line between the two kingdoms of Kediri and Janggala was marked out.

Of Janggala little is known; but Kediri or Daha has made itself illustrious by the contributions its poets have made to Kavi literature. As a Dutch scholar has written: "The Javanese of today still looks back on Kediri's golden age as the most perfect realisation of his romantic dreams." About 1104 A. D. flourished at the court of king Varshajaya the poet Triguna, who was the author of the Kavi poems *Sumanasantaka* and *Krishnāyana*. About 1120 A. D. reigned Kāmeśvara who has been identified with the famous hero Raden Panji of the *Panji romance*, still so popular in Java. He was married to Chandra Kirana—a princess of Janggala—"with whom the king always sat on the golden lion-throne," and he was the hero of all sorts of adventures. His court-poet was Mpu Dharmaja, who composed the *Smara-dahana*. (The burning of *Kāma-deva* the God of Love).

Between 1135 and 1155 A. D. Jayabaya, who is remembered to this day in Java, was on the Kediri throne. During his reign the poet Penooloh wrote the *Bhārata Yuddha* and the *Harivaṃśa*. Later on *Mahābhārata* episodes were adapted in such a way that the scene of the great battle was shifted to Java and the heroes were transformed into Javanese princes and thus became the ancestors of noble Javanese families. King Jayabaya is described in the *Bhārata Yuddha* as a great conqueror who succeeded in overcoming even the ruler of Sumatra. The tradition still exists in Java that Jayabaya will come back and restore the golden age. He was a Vaiṣṇava prince.

The rulers of Kediri also made their influence felt in the foreign relations. In 1129 A. D. Kāmeśvara received from the Chinese Emperor the title of king. We learn from Arab sources that Javanese merchants traded up to the vicinity of Sophala (on the southwest coast of Africa) opposite (Malay-speaking) Madagascar. There were numerous Negro slaves at the court of the Javanese princes. Indeed M. Gabriel Ferrand has been led to the conclusion, by linguistic evidence and by the accounts of Arab and early Portuguese travellers, that Madagascar was colonised, in the first centuries of the Christian era, by Hinduised emigrants from Sumatra and Java. In the 10th century, he states, there was a new migration to Madagascar from the Malay Archipelago.

Early in the 13th century Kediri had to submit to the adventurer Ken Arok with whose romantic career we have now to deal. We have ample material for the history of Java from the 13th century onwards for the

Nagara-kṛtāgama and the Pararaton, the two most valuable Kavi chronicles which we possess, cover the Singasari and the Majapahit periods. The Pararaton continues its narrative up to 1478 A. D. i. e. the end of the Hindu period of Javanese history, while the Nagarakṛtāgama stops in the year 1365 during the reign of Hyam Wuruk—the author Prapañcha being the court-poet of that great monarch.

The Pararaton begins with the story of Ken Arok—the ancestor of the rulers of the Singasari and Majapahit kingdoms. He is described as the issue of Brahma, the incarnation of Vishnu and a near relation of Śiva. Being thus a superman, he hesitated at nothing. He was guilty of theft, murder and of every conceivable crime. One day while he sat in a gambling den, he met a Brahman who had come from India for the sole purpose of seeing him. This Brahman had come to know, from supernatural sources in India, that Vishnu had incarnated himself in Java in the person of Ken Arok. With the Brahman's help Ken Arok gets into the service of the prince of Singasari (or Tumapel), a vassal chief of Kediri. Then he falls in love with the wife of the prince,—the most beautiful woman in Java, Dedes of whom had been foretold that her husband would be a *Chakravarti* monarch. After a series of disreputable adventures the Kediri prince is disposed of by means of a dagger which is destined to prove fatal also to Ken Arok and his descendants down to the 7th generation. Ken Arok ascended the throne of Singasari in 1220, married Queen Dedes and soon reduced the neighbouring principalities of Janggala and Kediri to submission. He assumed the title of Rajasa Sang Amurvabhumi and had succeeded in consolidating his conquests before he was murdered in 1227. The celebrated image of Prajñā-pāramitā, perhaps the most exquisite specimen of the Indo-Javanese school of sculpture, is ascribed to his reign, and is said to represent the features of his queen Dedes.

The reign of Kṛtanagara (1268-1292 A. D.), the fourth ruler of Singasari after Ken Arok, was full of events which formed a turning point in Javanese history. Kṛtanagara, even in his life-time, was adored as Śiva-Buddha, but in reality he was weak and frivolous and brought disasters on his state. Without taking care to make his position secure at home, he frittered away his resources in expeditions to Malayu (in Sumatra), Bali, Bakulpura (in S. W. Borneo), etc. His inordinate pride led him to insult the envoy of the Chinese Emperor Kubilai Khan. Meanwhile a vassal of his, Jayakatong of Kediri (or Daha), rose in revolt against him. Kṛtanagara's son-in-law, Raden Vijaya, tried in vain to resist the rebel chief, who made his entry into Singasari. Kṛtanagara was slain and Vijaya escaped to Madura, the island to the north of Java. He came back again, however, entered the service of his former enemy Jayakatong and served him with a carefully feigned faithfulness. With that prince's permission, Raden Vijaya founded a new town on a waste land which came to be known as Majapahit (*Bilva-tikta*) from a *bael* tree with bitter fruit found growing on the site. Vijaya was all the while biding his opportunity, which came in 1293 A.D.,

with the arrival of the Chinese troops sent by Kubilai Khan to avenge the insult offered to his envoy. At the instigation of Raden Vijaya the Chinese generals moved against Jayakatong of Kediri, who perished in the conflict. His enemy being thus disposed of, Raden Vijaya then attacked the Chinese troops who, astonished at this treachery, retreated to their ships and sailed away to China without having accomplished anything. Kubilai Khan was highly incensed at the failure of this expedition and condemned one of his generals, a Mongol, to receive seventeen lashes.

Raden Vijaya, having got rid of all his foes, ascended the throne of Majapahit, in 1294 A. D., the town which he himself had founded, and, assuming the title of Kṛtarājasa Jayavardhana, made himself the overlord of East Java. A fine statue of this first sovereign of Majapahit, erected in the temple built over his ashes, represents him as Viṣṇu with all the sacred symbols. This practice of identifying deceased monarchs with the divinities they worshipped in their life-time was common in ancient Cambodia as well as in Java.

The son of Kṛtarājasa, who succeeded him, was a worthless ruler. The third sovereign of Majapahit was the great queen Tribhuvanottunga-devī Jaya Viṣṇuvardhani—the eldest daughter of Kṛtarājasa. She shared her royal position with her mother Gāyatrī (a devout Buddhist) and her sister Rājadevī. Her husband, the Prince Consort, was the chief justice of the realm. It was, however, Gajamada, the prime-minister, who was the most masterful personality at her court. One day in a cabinet meeting he declared that he would not touch the income from his estate till West Java, Bali and the chain of islands to the east of it, Bakul-pura in S.-W. Borneo, Palembang or Śrī Vijaya in Sumatra and Pahang and Singapura (Singapore) in the Malay Peninsula were conquered by Majapahit. This solemn vow was received with jeers and contemptuous laughter. Gajamada, keenly feeling the insult, laid his complaint before the queen. The scoffers had to clear out and Gajamada received the royal permission to carry out his policy.

Bali was overrun in 1343. The powerful prince of Badahulu in Bali was slain; and as he was the over-lord of the chain of islands to the east of Java and of Madura and a portion of the Celebes—this was a great triumph for Majapahit.

Probably the other conquests were achieved during the next reign, that of Hayam Wuruk, under whom also Gajamada continued to serve as prime-minister.

To this period belong the curious inscriptions of Adityavarman—a prince of Sumatra who was a relation and a vassal of the queen of Majapahit. The language of these inscriptions is very obscure but they clearly show the prevalence of Tantric doctrines in Sumatra and Java. De Heer Moens, in the *Tijdschrift van het Batoviasch Genootschap*, 1924 (3 and 4), thus interprets these stanzas, which were obviously meant to mystify the reader:—"In 1269 Śaka in the month of Jaiṣṭhya, prince Adityavarman received, on a cremation-ground, the highest consecration, thereby gaining salvation, becoming a Kṣhetrajña, under the name of Viśesa Dharāṇi,—enthroned in solitary state

(on a heap of corpses), laughing violently and drinking blood—while his Mahāprasāda (i.e. the human sacrifice) flamed up and spread all around an awful smell, which however to the initiate, seemed like the perfume of a million flowers." After his death Adityavarman was supposed to be identified with Avalokiteśvara.

In this connection may also be mentioned the Tantric practices ascribed to Kṛtanagara (the last King of Singasari) by Prapañcha—the author of the Nagarakṛtāgama—who was living at the court of Majapahit at this time. We have already mentioned that Kṛtanagara was supposed to be an incarnation of Śiva-Buddha. He also received consecration on a cremation ground and thus became identified with the Jina Akṣobhya. The Nagarakṛtāgama also refers to the Tantric Chakra rites diligently carried out by Kṛtanagara, who was also an adept in still darker practices.

The Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan, which belongs to this period and which calls itself a text of Mantrayāna Mahāyāna, also bears the impress of Tantrism. A passage in it refers to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva as the emanations of the Dhyañi Buddha Vairocana.

This digression on the prevalence of Tantric doctrines in Java and Sumatra would serve to show how the decadence of both Hinduism and Buddhism paved the way for the success of Islam in these islands.

To return to Queen Jaya-Viṣṇuvardhani, she withdrew from the affairs of state when her son Hyam Wuruk (a Javanese name meaning the "young cock") became of age in 1305 A. D. The reign of Hyam Wuruk (his royal title was Shri Rājasanagara) saw the great expansion of Majapahit. This was due mostly to the genius of Gajamada who, till his death in 1364, continued loyally to serve the king. Both the Nagarakṛtāgama and the Pararaton give us a list of the countries which, during this reign, belonged to Majapahit and this list is of a quite respectable length. According to it the empire of Majapahit included, at this time, all the islands between Java and New Guinea—the south Papua and western part (Irian) of the last mentioned island also acknowledging the sway of Majapahit. Moreover Borneo, South and West Celebes, Buton, Buru, Ceram (Ambon), Banda, Banggai, the W. Molucca Isles, Talaut, etc., are all included in this list of dependencies. Then we come to the petty islets between Borneo and the Malay Peninsula. On the Malay Peninsula itself Kedah, Kelang, Singapore, Pahang, Kelantan, etc., belonged to Majapahit. Finally the great island of Sumatra, including Palembang or Śhri Vijaya, formed part of this powerful empire. Thus was carried out the scheme of Gajamada on a larger scale than he had planned originally. A part at least of those extensive conquests was achieved by an *admiral* of the name of Nala during the reign of Hyam Wuruk's mother.

After enumerating the conquests, the Nagarakṛtāgama mentions the countries in alliance with Majapahit: Ayodhya and Rajapuri (both in Siam), Marutma (Martaban), Kambuja, Champa and Yavana (North Annam) were

steadfast allies (*mitra*) of Majapahit. Madura, it should be noted, was not regarded as foreign territory—it was reckoned as part of Java itself.

These islands brought their tribute regularly to the court of Majapahit. Owing to the desire of H. M. Hyam Wuruk to further the general welfare, Mantrins and Bhujaṅgas (learned priests) were sent out by royal command to look after state affairs in these distant possessions. Śaiva Bhujaṅgas, besides their political work, were allowed to introduce the Śaiva cult wherever they went, so that it might not dwindle away. But, for the Bhujaṅgas of the Buddhist faith the whole of the West of Java was a forbidden ground; as in ancient times there were no Buddhists there. But as regards Eastern Java and the islands to the east, the Buddhist Bhujaṅgas were permitted to visit them. Two eminent Buddhist monks, Bhārda and Kutaran, established a system of land tenure in Bali on the Majapahit model.

The efforts of the Bhujaṅgas, Prapañcha tells us, met with great success. Whatever regions dared transgress the royal ordinances were attacked and severely punished by the admirals (*Jaladhi-mantri*) of Majapahit—several of whom won great renown.

"Five is the number of the blameless ministers," to quote the *Nagarakṛtāgama*, "who protect the realm." Members of the royal family ruled over many of the different parts of the kingdom but they appeared very often at the court of Majapahit to pay homage to the king. The principal queen, with the title of *Shri Parameśvartī*, was *Suṣumnā Devi* who is described by the poet Prapañcha as an incarnation of *Rati*.

The *Nagarakṛtāgama* gives a detailed account of the capital Majapahit (*Bilva-tikṭa*) with its deep tanks, avenues of *Kesara* and *Champaka* trees, public squares, bazaars, palaces and royal pavillion (the *विमान* hall) where the prime-minister (the *pati*), the *Aryas* and the "trusted five" (the cabinet) approach the king of *Tikṭa-śrīphala* (Majapahit). In the eastern part of the capital dwelt the Śaiva Brahmins, of whom the very reverend *Brahmarāja* was the chief. In the Southern part lived the Buddhists—the head of the *Sangha* being the *Sthavira Rengkannadi*. In the western part there were the houses of the *Kṣatriyas*, ministers, etc.

As far as we can gather from contemporary sources Buddhism flourished in aristocratic circles. That would explain the large number of fine Buddhist shrines which rose during this period. But it did not enter so much into the life of the people. Javanese literature is overwhelmingly Brahmanic. Even Buddhist poets wrote on episodes of the Hindu epics during the Majapahit period.

Dr. Vogel states that at this time (13-14 Centuries) Javanese plastic art presents a type which is much more Polynesian than Indian. This is to be noted especially in the highly fantastic sculptured panels of *Chandi Panataran* in Eastern Java representing *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes. Here we find strange figures of warriors, demons and monkeys mingled with decorative clouds in the quaintest possible

way. But this Polynesian style is confined to the exterior decoration of the temples of this period. The images inside the shrines are still of the genuine Indian type of Central Java, and many of these images bear inscriptions denoting their names in North-Indian characters which, from the specimens I have seen, resemble Bengali more than Nagari.

After the death of the great Hyam Wuruk in 1389 A.D., a rapid decline set in. A civil war between the son-in-law and the son of the deceased monarch proved disastrous for Majapahit. North Borneo, Indragiri in Sumatra and Malaka took this opportunity of shaking off the Javanese yoke. A terrible famine wrought havoc in Majapahit itself.

Of the last rulers of Majapahit we know but little, as the Pararaton gives but the most meagre information. During the reign of Suhitā, the granddaughter of Hyam Wuruk, Kediri or Daha became independent under a rebel chief of the name of Bhre Daha. She was succeeded by her younger brother, Kṛtaviyaya, who married a Indo-Chinese princess of Champā. This queen favoured Islam which must have strengthened its foothold in Java during this reign. She died in 1448.

According to the tradition still current in Java, the generosity of the last monarch of Majapahit, Bra Vijaya V, towards the Mahomedans met with ingratitude. The last works of the dying king, after he had seen the overthrow of his kingdom in 1478, were that foreigners would come some day from far over the seas and avenge him; and the Dutch claimed to have fulfilled the prophecy.

But according to an inscription discovered by Dr. Krom, it was a Hindu prince, Ranavijaya, who dealt the death-blow to Mahapahit in 1478. Ranavijaya belonged to Kediri and was probably the son of Bhre Daha who revolted during the reign of Suhitā. The city was not however destroyed, as in the 1521 we find it still mentioned as an important place. But after 1478 Majapahit ceased to be the capital, and the more important families fled to Bali. Ranavijaya or his successors must have been swept away ere long by the rapidly rising tide of Islam. For the Muslim period of Java begins from the end of the 15th century.

A few words on Bali would probably be not out of place here. According to the Javanese accounts, a number of Śaiva Brahmans came (probably from India) to Majapahit just before its fall in 1478 and then fled to Bali. The Balinese Brahmans trace their descent from Padanda (Pandit) Vahu Ravuh—a name which means, "the newly arrived." The five existing subdivisions of Brahmans in Bali are supposed to be descended from him and his five wives. Buddhism still survives in Bali but Hinduism is in the ascendant. At great feasts a Buddhist priest is invited to join four Śaiva pandits. *Ida* is the title of Brahmans, *Deva* that of Kshatriyas, *Gusti* of Vaiśyas, while the Śudras are given a name of courtesy—*Bape* and *Meme* (बाबा मा). The Kshatriya princes of Bali trace their descent from Deva Tgung—a Majapahit prince who

settled down in Bali. For a long time the Balinese chiefs did not forget Java. Easternmost Java and Western Bali have been rendered desolate by continuous wars between Java and Bali. Unsuccessful in Java, the Balinese princes conquered some of the islands to the east, Lombok, etc.

Only certain portions of the Vedas have survived in Bali. The *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* is probably complete. Under the heading of *Tuturs* we have a miscellaneous collection of Sanscrit texts on Hindu law and polity, *Rājanīti*, etc. This is almost all the Sanscrit literature Bali still possesses.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* (which has not got the *Uttara Kāṇḍa*) exists in Bali in the Kavi language. The *Uttara Kāṇḍa* forms a separate work by itself. The name of the *Mahābhārata* is not known in Bali but six of its *parvas* exist in a complete form in Kavi. The rest are incomplete.

Then there are the chronicles or Ballads—e.g., the *Usana Java* and the *Usana Bali*. The last calls the island *Balianka*—the lap of the strong and valiant—thus fitly expressing the bold, warlike spirit of the Balinese.

ŚRIVIJAYA—THE EMPIRE OF THE ŚAILENDRA MONARCHS OF SUMATRA

The archaeological monuments of the Hindu period in Sumatra are of small importance compared with those of Java. Moreover, in the last two centuries of the Hindu period of Javanese history under the Majapahit dynasty (1294-1480.), Java acquired a pre-eminent position in the Archipelago. Thus the other islands were quite thrown into the shade by Java which alone was considered to be important. But we must remember that Majapahit rose into importance only at the end of the 13th century A. D. and that both Java and Sumatra had been Hinduised more than a thousand years before that period.

From Chinese sources we learn that a Hinduised kingdom of Palembang formerly known as Śrivijaya existed in Sumatra in the 5th century A. D. In the 10th century this kingdom of Sanfotsi or Che-li-fo-chi (the Chinese rendering of Śrivijaya) ruled over 15 subject states. In the 10th century the this Sumatran kingdom was conquered by Java but soon recovered its independence. Early in the 13th century we find again a list of the subject countries of Śrivijaya. In the 14th century it came under the sway of the Majapahit Kingdom of Java. But till very recently Sumatra was never considered to be very important in comparison with Java.

M. Georges Cordes has now given (in his *Royaume de Śrivijaya*, 1918) strong reasons for reconsidering this opinion. He was the first to identify Palembang with Śrivijaya. In the 7th century A. D., Śrivijaya included the isle of *Banga* (=Banga ?) between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. In the 8th century

it appears as a sovereign power as far north in the Malay Peninsula as the Bay of Bandon. In the 9th century it is mentioned in connection with a monastery at Nālandā in an inscription of Devapāla of Bengal. In the 10th century Chola inscriptions ascribe a Buddhist temple built at Negapatam (near Madras) to the Śailendra kings of Śrīvijaya. Shortly after that the Cholas of Southern India attacked Śrīvijaya and conquered it for a short time. But it soon recovered its power. *Chau Ju-Kua*, a Chinese author of the 13th century, mentions many places in Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, etc., as acknowledging its supremacy.

The Śailendra dynasty of the kingdom of Śrīvijaya in Sumatra professed Mahāyāna Buddhism. Now there is a temple in Central Java, the shrine of Kalasan erected in honour of the Mahāyāna divinity Tara, which was constructed in 778 A. D., by the order of a Buddhist King of the Śailendra dynasty of Śrīvijaya. As the Kalasan inscription mentions that the temple was in the King's own kingdom, we must conclude that Central Java was included in the empire of the Śailendra sovereigns in the second half of the 8th century. These Sumatran monarchs built on a grand scale in Java (Borobudur, etc.) and were represented in that island by their viceroys.*

It was probably also in the 8th century that the Śrīvijaya fleet ravaged the coast of Annam (Champā) and penetrated as far as the Cambodia. A Champa inscription of 787 A. D. states that armies of 'Java' (spelt Java not Yava) coming on board ships burnt the shrine of Śrī Bhadrādhīpatiśvara. Java here means Śrīvijaya and not Java as both Java and Sumatra were called Java alike by foreigners. Kamboja (Cambodia) also did not escape these inroads. It is from the narrative of an Arab traveller of the 9th century that we get a dramatic account of it. The Arab merchant Sulayman had travelled in India and China and his accounts, written in 851 A. D., were commented upon by Abu Zayd Hasan about 916 A. D. In his description of the kingdom of Zabaj (or Sribuza—the Arab name for Śrīvijaya) occurs the following passage:—† "The King (of Zabaj) is known by the title of Maharaja. He rules over numerous islands. The islands of Sribuza, Rami (Ramini is another name for Sumatra—obviously the Arab traveller does not know that Zabaj, Sribuza and Rami are all in Sumatra) belong to him...The maritime kingdom of Kalah (Kra) also acknowledges his sway...His own islands is as fertile as a land can possibly be, the population is very dense and continuous". Then he proceeds to describe a curious custom of the Maharajas. Every morning, we are told the treasure brought to the king an ingot of gold of the shape of a brick which in the king's presence he threw into a lake near the palace. During the life-time of the king no one would touch these golden bricks. When he would die his successor would have these ingots taken out. After being counted and weighed they

(* Prof Krom—*De Sumantransche periode der Javaansche Geschiedenis*—1919.)

† *Relations de voyages et textes Géographiques Arabes.....* par Gabriel Ferrand, 1922.

would be distributed among the members of the royal family, the generals, the servants and the poor. The number of these golden bricks and their total weight were then written in the official records and the prestige of a king would depend on the amount of gold he would leave behind. Then the Arab traveller proceeds to describe Khmer (the indigenous name of Cambodia):—"According to the annals of Zabaj there once upon a time a king of Khmer. Khmer is the country from which the *aloe* Khmer is exported. It is not an island and there is no kingdom which possesses a larger population than Khmer (Cambodia)...All fermented liquors and every kind of debauchery are forbidden there; in the cities and throughout the kingdom one would not be able to find a single person leading a dissolute life...Between Khmer and Zabaj the distance is from 10 to 20 days by sea according to the weather. It is narrated that there was once a king of Khmer who was young and rash. One day he was seated in his palace which holds a commanding position on the bank of a river resembling the Tigris (the distance between the palace and the sea being one day's journey) and he had his minister with him. He was discussing with his minister the magnificence of the kingdom of the Maharaja of Zabaj, the number of islands it comprised, etc., when the king said that he had a desire which he longed to satisfy. The minister, who was sincerely attached to him and who knew how rash the king was in his decisions, asked him about his desire. The king replied:—"I wish to see the head of the Maharaja of Zabaj before me on a plate". The minister understood that it was jealousy which had suggested the idea to his master and he replied:—"I do not like to hear my sovereign express such a desire....The kingdom of Zabaj is a distant island and is not in our neighbourhood. It had never shown any intention of attacking Khmer... No one should hear about this desire (expressed by the king) and the king should never mention it to anybody". The king became displeased with his minister and disregarding the advice of his loyal counsellor he repeated his statement to the generals and other courtiers who were present there. The news flew from mouth to mouth till it spread everywhere and it came to the knowledge of the Maharaja of Zabaj. He was an energetic sovereign, active and experienced. He called his minister, told him what he had heard and then added that he must take some steps in this matter after what the foolish king of Khmer had said in public. Then telling the minister to keep the matter secret he bade him prepare a thousand ships and to man them with as many troops as possible. It was given out to the public that the Maharaja intended to make a tour through the islands included in his kingdom...The king of Khmer did not suspect anything till the Maharaja had reached the river leading to the capital and had landed his troops. The capital was taken by surprise and the king of Khmer was captured. The people fled before the foreign conquerors. But the Maharaja had it proclaimed by public criers that nobody would be molested. Then he seated himself on the throne of Khmer and ordered the king of Khmer and his minister to be summoned before

him. The Maharaja asked the king of Khmer what had made him express such a desire. The king did not reply. Then the Maharaja said :—"You wished to see my head on a plate. If you had similarly desired to seize my kingdom or to ravage it, I would have done the same to your country. But as you only intended to see my head cut off, I would confine myself to subjecting you to the same treatment and then I would return to my country without touching anything else in the kingdom of Khmer...This would be a lesson to your successors so that no one would be tempted to undertake a task beyond his powers." So he had the king beheaded. Then he addressed the minister :—"I know well the good advice you gave your master. What a pity that he did not heed it ! Now seek somebody who can be a good king after this mad man and put him on the throne." Then the Maharaja returned to his own country without taking away himself or allowing any one else to take anything from Khmer. When he reached the capital he sat down on the throne which faces the lake into which the golden bricks are thrown and had the head of the king of Khmer placed before him on a plate. Then he summoned the high functionaries of his State and told them why he had undertaken this expedition...Then he had the head embalmed and sent it in a vase to the new king of Khmer along with a letter to the effect that the Maharaja had only been forced to act like that on account of the feelings of hatred which the late king of Khmer had expressed towards him and had this chastisement should serve as a lesson to any one who would imitate the deceased prince. When this news reached the ears of the kings of India and China, the Maharaja of Zabaj rose in esteem in their eyes."

That this is not merely an Arabian Nights tale is proved by the fact that the important Cambodian inscription of Sdok Kak Thom * mentions that on coming back from Java (early in the 9th century) Jayavarman II (one of the greatest of the Cambodian monarchs) built three capitals in succession. As these capitals were embellished with images of Avolokiteśvara, apparently Jayavarman II had caught the spirit of the great building activity which the Mahāyānist Kings of Śrīvijaya were at this time showing in Central Java. Another passage in this Sdok Kak Thom inscription suggests some close relation between the religion followed at first by Jayavarman II of Cambodia and that of Java or Śrīvijaya (which held Central Java under its sway at that time). In this passage Jayavarman asks the Brahmin Hiranyadāma, who came from Janapada, to draw up a ritual so that Kambuja-deśa might no longer be dependent on Java. It seems that Jayavarman II, at first a fervent Mahāyānist (like the Śrīvijaya kings of Sumātrā and Java), adopted a Tantric form of Śaivism, (for we hear of Hiranyadāma teaching Tantric texts) to cut off all connection with Śrīvijaya.

* Finot : *Notes d'Epigraphie*—p. 87-88—Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême Orient, tome XV, 1915.

The Śailendra monarchs of Śrīvijaya were zealous patrons of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Prof. Kern states that Dharmapāla, the famous *guru* of Nālandā, passed his last years in Sumātrā. As this island kingdom was in close touch with Magadha and Bengal, it must have derived its Mahāyāna Buddhism from these regions. Under the Pāla Kings the Mahāyāna doctrines flourished in Bengal and Magadha as they did nowhere else in India. And it was a Mahāyāna tinged with Tantrayāna. We find exactly the same blend of Buddhist and Tantric doctrines in Sumātra, Java and to some extent in Cambodia. The earliest Mahāyāna inscriptions of the Śrīvijaya Kings in Java are also written not in the South Indian Grantha characters—(as is the case with the earlier Javanese epigraphy) but in a North Indian script almost exactly like that of 9th century inscriptions discovered at Nālandā. Indications from other sources, which need not be specified here in detail, point also to the same conclusion; that if the early Śaiva cult in the Archipelago and Indo-China originated from South India, the later wave of Mahāyāna Buddhism should be traced to the influence of Magadha and Bengal.

To come back to our historical sketch, Central Java seems to have been recovered from Śrīvijaya domination early in the 10th century by the Hindu-Javanese princes from East Java. Antagonism between this Sumatran power and the Javanese rulers (who had shifted their headquarters to the eastern portion of the islands) continued well on to the 11th century. Indeed, Prof. Krom is of the opinion that the restoration of Java really took place only after Śrīvijaya had to yield to an invasion from South India by a Chola King (circa 1031 A.D.). After recovering her independence, Java which had learnt a lesson, took care not to attack Palembang (Śrīvijaya). The East Javanese monarchs turned their attention eastwards—to Bali, etc.. Meanwhile the great power of the West (Śrīvijaya) continued to flourish. Towards the end of the 12th century Java and Sonfotsi (Śrīvijaya) are mentioned by Chinese authors as two most important commercial countries. The two great monarchies stand side by side, independent of each other and of equal power—the one (Śrīvijaya) ruling the western and the other (Java) the eastern part of the Archipelago.*

Chau Ju Kua, a Chinese customs officer who—wrote on Chinese and Arab trade in the 13th century,* devotes a chapter to Sonfotsi (Śrīvijaya):—"Sonfotsi is situated between Cambodia and Java.....When the King goes out he sits in a boat and is sheltered by a silk umbrella and guarded by men bearing gold lances. The people live scattered about outside the city or on the water on rafts and these (later) are exempt from taxation. The people are skilled at fighting on land and water...In time of war they appoint the chiefs and commanders; each furnishes his own military equipment and the necessary provisions. For terrifying the enemy and defying death they have no equals.

* N. J. Krom—*De Sumatransche periode der Javaansche Geschiedenis*.

They use chopped-off lumps of silver in their business transactions..... In writing official documents they use foreign characters (the Chinese chronicle of the Sung dynasty quotes this paragraph but substitutes 'Sanskrit' for 'foreign character'). The laws of this country are very severe. Persons guilty of adultery are condemned to death. When the king dies the people observe mourning and shave their heads, while his personal followers choose voluntary death by leaping into the blazing pyre. This act is called 'living and dying together'. There is in Sonfotsi a golden image of Buddha called the 'Hill of Gold.' Every new king, before ascending the throne, has a statue made of gold representing his person. The people offer vases of gold to these statues. These statues and vases bear inscriptions forbidding future generations to melt them. When a person is seriously ill, he distributes among the poor a sum equivalent to his weight in silver . . . The king has the title of 'Long-tsing.' (M. Pelliot believes that 'Long-tsing' signifies the seed of the dragon or the Nāga. This is important as it would ascribe a Nāga origin to Śailendra rulers of Sumatra. In Cambodia also a Nāgī is the ancestress of the royal dynasty. M. Coeds thinks that these Nāga traditions are of Pallava (South Indian) origin. The king may not eat grain but is fed on sago. Should he do otherwise the year would be a dry one and grain dear. He bathes in rose-water—should he use ordinary water, there would be a great flood...Besides the natural products of the country which include tortoise-shell, camphor, different varieties of the aloe, cloves, sandal and cardamoms, one can find here foreign products such as pearls incense, rose-water, gardenia flowers, civet, myrrh, *assafoetida* (𑀓𑀮𑀺) ivory, coral, cotton cloth, sword blades, etc. Arabs and others settled in the country, and foreign merchants come to sell (their goods) exchanging them for gold, silver, silk stuffs, sugar, rice, camphor, etc. This country, controlling the straits through which the foreigners' traffic must pass, keeps the pirates of other countries in check by using an iron chain as a barrier which can be raised or lowered at will by an ingenious device...If a merchant ship passes by without halting (at the port of Sonfotsi)—the boats of this country attack that vessel. Therefore, this country is a great shipping centre."

Fifteen states are mentioned by Chau Ju-Kua as dependencies of Sonfotsi (Śrīvijaya) among which are Pahang, Keda, Kelantan and some other localities in the Malaya Peninsula and Sunda or Western Java; and curiously the last name in this list of dependencies is Ceylon. Three hundred years before this Chinese work was written the Arab Masudi wrote in his 'Prairies of Gold' about the Maharaja who was the king of the island of Zabaj (Śrīvijaya), of Kalah (Kra), of Sirandip (Ceylon), etc.†

When the list of Chau Ju Kua was being prepared (1225 A.D.), Java had just come under the Singasari dynasty which was going to make a breach in.

* Translation by Friedrich Hirth and W. Rockhill, 1912.

† *L'Empire Sumatransis de Śrīvijaya* par G. Ferrand, p. 14, note (6)

this balance of power maintained between the two powerful island kingdoms. In 1270 a Javanese expedition conquered Jambi (in Sumatra) and left traces of Javanese supremacy in the heart of the island. A counter-attack by Śrīvijaya followed. But the Majapahit heirs of the Singasaris undertook systematically the conquest of the Archipelago. In 1377 Palembang (Śrīvijaya) also fell—this time for good and all. A hundred years later the Majapahit power of Java also waned away. A period of seven centuries was thus closed which began with Palembang (Śrīvijaya) as the dominant power, which was then followed by a balance of power between Java and Sumatra and which ended in complete Javanese supremacy.

This subjection of Palembang (Śrīvijaya) by Majapahit was a sad end of Śrīvijaya's greatness. The Javanese deliberately neglected the country in order to destroy a rival. They did not come in sufficient numbers themselves to settle in Sumatra, and the local authority was put in the hands of the Chinese settlers. Palembang, being an important trade centre, attracted Chinese merchants who met here the Arab merchants from the west. The heads of this Chinese colony made *piracy* their chief business. The country, in spite of its fertility, lay uncultivated and really it was a time of general decay.

We should compare this sad picture of Palembang under Javanese supremacy with the condition of Central Java under Sumatran influence in the 8th and 9th centuries. The beautiful temple of Kalasan and many other noble shrines were constructed in Java, towards the end of the 8th century, by order of the Śailendra Kings of Śrīvijaya. A short time later arose Borobudur—the most wonderful Buddhist stūpa in the world. In the galleries of Borobudur, orthodox Mahāyāna legends (we have already seen that the rulers of Śrīvijaya were fervent Mahāyānists) are combined in a harmonious whole, having the evident object of giving the faithful, as they are ascending the monument, the impression that they are also ascending spiritually. The unadorned and plain character of the upper terraces is in striking contrast to the rich decorations so lavishly applied to the lower stories of the edifice.* The bas reliefs of Mahāyānist Borobudur are based on the *Lalita Vistara*, though the artists have given a local touch to the reliefs, for the back-ground is not Indian but Javanese. According to Prof. Krom the stūpa form of architecture was introduced into Java by Sumatran architects. For, though Java is rich in antiquities, the stūpa form is represented in Java only by Borobudur, whereas in Sumatra several stūpas occur even in ancient monuments.

Finally Prof. Krom states that the strikingly harmonious character of the distribution of the decorative parts, the wonderful care shown by the artists as to the fitting in of the details to the whole, which we find in Borobudur, do not survive in later Javanese architecture. In Sumatra these characteristics survived longer. Therefore, Sumatran artists must have introduced these features in the

* N. J. Krom—*De Sumatransche periode der Javaansche geschiedenis*. The first and the last part of this paper are based mainly on this work.

Buddhist temples of this Sumatran period in Central Java. Thus the view of the absolute superiority of Java in political power, art, and culture will now have to be given up.

JAVA AND SUMATRA IN INDIAN LITERATURE

The fourth Canto of the *Rāmāyaṇa* contains considerable geographical details. *Sitā* has been stolen away by *Rāvaṇa*. *Sugrīva*, the monkey-king, who has become the ally of Rama, sends searching parties to the four cardinal points and for each of them describes the itinerary to be followed. He begins with the eastern route. After describing the regions through which the *Jumna*, the *Ganges* and the *Brahmaputra* flow—he passes on to Indo-China. After the description of the isle with the wall of gold (*Suvarṇadvīpa* or *Sumatra*?) we come to the well-known passage:—“With all your efforts reach *Yavadvīpa* (the island of Java), adorned with seven kingdoms, the isle of gold and silver, adorned with mines of gold; then beyond the isle of *Yava* is the mountain *Śishira* whose peak touches the sky and which is the abode of gods and demons.”

Is this passage a later interpolation? Prof. Sylvain Levi in his paper “*Pour L’histoire du Rāmāyaṇa*” (1918) gives reasons for ascribing an early date to it. The Buddhist Sanskrit work *Saddharma-smṛityupasthāna sūtra* (सद्धर्मस्मृत्युपस्थान सूत्र) contains a passage which gives a description of *Jambudvīpa*. This passage follows closely the *Digvarṇanā* (दिग्वर्णना) in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Countries, rivers, seas, etc. are mentioned in the same order. But Java is not mentioned here, though the isle with the wall of gold is to be found here too. Now this work was translated into Chinese in 539 A. D. by a Brahman coming from Benares. According to Sarat Chandra Das, *Aśvaghōṣa* wrote a commentary on this *sūtra*. This would take us to the period of Kaniska i. e. the end of the 1st Century A. D., or the beginning of the second century.

Ptolemy refers to Java as *Jabadieu* (*Yavadvīpa*). We do not know the exact date of the geography of Ptolemy. He was an astronomer of Alexandria who wrote his Greek geography mainly with the object of drawing a map of the world with latitudes and longitudes; and incidentally he has briefly described the countries referred to in his work. He himself admits that he relies on descriptions given by travellers such as Marin of Tyre. His work can be assigned approximately to the middle of the 2nd century A. D.

Ptolemy thus describes Java:—“*Jabadieu*, which means the isle of barley (so Ptolemy knew the meaning of the Sanskrit name *Yavadvīpa* of the island), is said to be of extraordinary fertility and produces plenty of gold. The capital is *Argyra* (the city of silver) situated at its western extremity.” Between India and Java Ptolemy places a series of islands inhabited by cannibals (the *piṇṣāḍaka* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*).

Oderic de Pordenone (in 1316) follows the Rāmāyaṇa more closely than Ptolemy in his description of Java. "Near Sumatra there is a large island. The king of this island has seven kingdoms under him." Oderic then mentions the walls of the king's palace as being of gold. Is this a reminiscence (as Prof. Levi suggests) of the isle with the wall of gold?

In the *Etudes Asiatiques* published in 1925, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, Prof. Levi has contributed an article 'Ptoleme, Le Niddesa et Bṛhatkathā.' From the Niddesa, a commentary on the Pali Buddhist Canon, Prof. Levi cites a passage in which different kinds of torments are enumerated:—"Again, under the sway of passions which dominate the soul, in quest of enjoyments, he embarks on the great sea which is sometimes icy cold, sometimes burning hot, troubled with mosquitoes, etc., suffering from hunger and thirst: he goes to Gumba, Takkola, Takkaśīla, Kālamukha, Maraṇapāra, Vesunga, Verapatha, Java, Tamāli, Vāṅga, Elavaddhana, Subaṇṇakūṭa, Suvannabhūmi, Tāmbapannī, Suppāra, Bhārukaccha, Suratttha, Anganeka, Gangāna, Parama-gangāna, Yona, Parama-yona, Alasanda, Marukāntāra, Jannu-patha, Aja-patha, Mendha-patha, Śanku-patha, Dari-patha, Vettachara; and thus again he is tormented, very much tormented." The same series of places reappears, in an identical form, in another passage of the same work. By comparing it with similar lists in the Milinda Pañho and in the Śloka Saṃgraha (which is based on the much older Bṛhatkathā), Prof. Levi comes to the conclusion that it is a stereotyped series giving the names of places a navigator might visit, while sailing along the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal, i. e. the sea-side localities in Burma, the Malay Peninsula, Java and Sumatra and then making for India via Ceylon (Tāmbapannī). We come then to the ports on the western coast of India:—Suppāra (Sopara), Bhārukaccha (Broach), Suratttha (Surat) and, after some stages, difficult to identify, we pass on to the Greek country (Yona), to Greater Greece (Parama Yona), to Alexandria (Alasanda). Takkola (the second name in the list) was situated on the western coast of the isthmus of Kra. Takkasīla, which comes just after Takkola, is not Taxila but the 'Tokosonna' (near Kra) of Ptolemy's map of Trans-Gangetic India. Vāṅga, which is mentioned soon after Java, is not Bengal but the island of Banka between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. Subaṇṇa-bhūmi corresponds to the Chryse of the Greek and Roman writers. It is a comprehensive term for the countries situated to the east of the Bay of Bengal. This region was the El Dorado of Indian adventurers. Suvāṇṇakūṭa is probably identical with the Suvāṇṇakūṭa in Kauṭilya's *Artha-Shāstra*. In the chapter where Kauṭilya deals with valuable objects Suvāṇṇakūṭa is described as a country of rare and precious products such as white sandal (the best variety of which is to be found in the Archipelago), dukūla, etc. Probably it is to be located somewhere in Sumatra. The list of 'pathas' or paths is to be found also in the *Sloka-Saṃgraha* (which must have taken it from the Bṛhatkathā). Thus the Ajapatha means "the path of goats" (where goats only can be used for carrying

merchandise), 'Mendha-patha'—the path of rams, Śan u-patha—the path of spikes, the steep ascents being climbed with the help of spikes), Chatta-patha—the path of umbrellas (where big umbrellas were to be used as parachutes for getting down) and so on.

In the *Supriyāvadāna*, Prof. Levi points out, how before Supriya reaches the land of gold he has to scale mountains by driving iron spikes into the rock and sometimes he has to use a ladder of canes (the *vettachara* of our list,)*

So these extraordinary 'pathas' were familiar to the adventurers who went to Suvarṇa-bhūmī in quest of gold.

To sum up, Prof. Levi is of the opinion that the passage referred to in the *Niddesa* (which cannot be later than the 3rd century A. D.), corresponds closely with Ptolemy's map as regards this series of places which were all on the sea route from the Burmese coast, via Java to Ceylon; and then by the western coast of India, to Alexandria. Probably Suppara (Surpāraka or Sopara) in the neighbourhood of Bombay was the great emporium from which the merchant vessels sailed, both east and west along this route.

Another mention of Java has been found by Prof. Sylvain Levi in the "Sūtra of the twelve stages of Buddhahood," translated into Chinese, in 392 A. D. by the monk Kālodaka:—"In the ocean there are 2500 kingdoms of which 180 subsist on cereals and the rest on fish and turtles. The kingdom of the ruler of the first island is Sseu-li, this kingdom serves only the Buddha;...The fourth (island) Cho-ye. It produces the long pepper (*pipa*) as well as ordinary pepper." Sseu-li, Prof. Levi is sure, is Ceylon, devotion to Buddha being one of the old traditions of the island. Cho-ye, he thinks, is *Jaya* which is meant for Java. The '*pipa*' is *pippalī* in Sanscrit. The *Chou Fan Che* (a Chinese work of the 13th century) mentions pepper as one of the chief products of Java.

In 423 A. D. Buddhism was preached in Java by the famous Guṇavarman. He was a Kṣatriya prince belonging to the royal family of Kashmir.† When only 14 he convinced his mother that hunting wild animals was improper. When he was 30 years of age the King of Kashmir died without issue; and the ministers, knowing him to be the ablest member of the royal family, begged him to come out of his secluded religious life and accept the throne. To avoid their importunities Guṇavarman left Kashmir. He reached Ceylon and was acknowledged there as one who had attained the highest stage of spiritual life. Then he went to Java. The night before his arrival the mother of the king of Java dreamt that a holy man, mounted on a flying cloud, was coming to her country. When Guṇavarman arrived the next morning, the king's mother was converted

* The episode of the 'ākunapatha' or the path of birds in the *Bṛhatkathā* may be the source from which the story of Sindbad and his adventure with the rockbirds may have been derived. The adventures of Sindbad the sailor have probably their basis in ancient Indian travellers' tales.

† Guṇavarman—translated from the Chinese into French by Edouard Chavannes. *T'oung-Pao*, 1904.

by him to Buddhism. At her bidding, her son, the king of Java, also accepted the tenets of Buddhism. Shortly afterwards the kingdom was invaded by the army of a neighbouring prince. Guṇavarman, on being asked by the king whether he should resist the enemy by force of arms, replied that it was the king's duty to defend his realm but at the same time he should not harbour in his mind any cruel thoughts. The enemy fled in disorder without any fighting. A monastery was erected by the king in honour of Guṇavarman who, however, in his ardent desire to propagate the true faith left for China, soon afterwards, in a ship belonging to a Hindu merchant of the name of Nandī.

Towards the end of the 5th century A. D., Aryabhatta, the astronomer of Ujjain, wrote—When the sun rises in Ceylon it is midday in Yava-koti and midnight in the land of the Romans."

In the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* (an astronomical work which can be dated back to the 5th century A. D., though the work in its present form dates from the 11th century), we find the passage :—"At quarter of the circumference of the earth, eastwards, in the land of Bhadrashva (the Eastern Division of the earth), is the famous nagari Yava-koti with golden walls and gates."

I-tsing, who stayed in Śrīvijaya (modern Palembang in Sumatra) for seven years (688-695), states that the king of Śrīvijaya possessed ships sailing between India and his own kingdom. It was in a ship belonging to this king that the Chinese pilgrim left Sumatra for Tāmlalīpti in India. He also describes Śrīvijaya as a great centre of Sanscrit learning. I-tsing mentions many other Chinese monks as halting in this kingdom to learn Sanscrit before visiting India*.

From the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* (written about the 8th century), Prof. Sylvain Lévi cites a passage† in which the islands of Karmaranga (near Ligor from which we have got the fruit *Kamranga*), the isle of cocoanuts, Varusaka (Baros in Sumatra), and the isles of the Nude (Nicobar), Bali and Java are mentioned as places where the language is indistinct, rude and too full of the letter 'r'.

Apart from Sanscrit works, Tamil texts also mention Java. The Tamil poem *Manimegalai* mentions a town Nāgapuram in Savaka-nadu which is the Tamil name for Yavadwīpa. Two kings of Nāgapuram are mentioned—Bhūmi-chandra and Punyarāja who claimed descent from Indra.

The name of Śrīvijaya (in Sumatra) occurs several times in the inscriptions of the Chola dynasty of South India. In the reign of Rājārāja I. (985-1012 A. D.), a Sanskrit inscription commemorates the donation of a village to a Buddhist temple of Negapatam commenced by Chudāmani-varman and finished by his son Māra-vijayottunga-varman—the last being described as King of Kātāha (Kedah in the Malay Peninsula) and Shrivijaya.

* *Voyages des pèlerins Buddhistes*, E. Chavannes.

† *Pre-Aryen et Pre-Dravidien dans L'Inde 1923*, Prof. S. Lévi.

Again in an inscription of Rajendra Chola I. (1012-1042 A. D.), we have the following account of the Chola King's naval successes :—"Having sent numerous ships into the midst of the moving ocean, and having seized Sangrāma-vijayottunga-varman King of Kadaram, together with his elephants—he took also the treasures which that king had accumulated...the prosperous Śrīvijaya...the ancient Malayur (Jambi in Sumatra) with a fort situated on a high hill...."

The conquest by the Chola king must have been a very temporary one. In 1068 another Chola King Virarājendra I, says that after having conquered Kadaram (one of the feudatory states under Śrīvijaya), he had to restore it to the vanquished King, "as it was too far off beyond the moving sea." A few years later, it is Śrīvijaya which claims suzerainty over the Cholas. At least its ambassadors say so at the Chinese Court.

Coming to North Indian epigraphy, we find Sumatra and Java mentioned in the 9th century copper-plate of Devapāla of the Pala dynasty of Bengal. This inscription which was discovered at Nalanda in 1921, states that Devapāla, being requested by the illustrious Mahārāja Balaputradeva, King of Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra), granted five villages for the upkeep of the monastery built at Nalanda at the instance of the King of Suvarṇadvīpa. The mother of Mahārāja Balaputradeva, the inscription tells us, was Tārā, the daughter of a King Dharmasetu of the lunar race and the queen of the mighty King who was the son of the renowned ruler of "Yavabhūmi"—the ornament of the Śailendra dynasty (of Śrīvijaya) "With the mind attracted by the manifold excellences of Nalanda, and through devotion to the son of Śuddhodana—he (the King of Suvarṇadvīpa) built there (at Nalanda) a monastery which was the abode of the assembly of monks of various good qualities and was white with the series of stuccoed and lofty buildings...."

The Tibetan work of Kalyāna Mitra, *Phyag-sorpa* (written about the middle of the 13th century) mentions the visit to Suvarṇadvīpa of the great Bengali Monk Dīpaṅkara (Aṭṭa—980-1053 A. D.), who established Buddhism on a firm footing in Tibet. The following extract is from the life of Aṭṭa in the "Indian Pandits in Tibet" by Sarat Chandra Das :—"There is a country filled with precious minerals and stones called Suvarṇadvīpa in the neighbourhood of Jambu-dvīpa. Lama Gser glin-pa was born in the royal families of that country. With a view to acquire a through knowledge of the Dharma, he obtained leave from his father to go to Jambu-dvīpa (India) for a pilgrimage to Vajrāsana (the Bodh Gaya temple). The great Achārya Mahā Śrī Ratna was at Vajrāsana and the prince became attached to him. But the Achārya consented to instruct him in Dharma only when the prince vowed to give up imperial power and become a hermit. The Achārya gave him the name of Dharma-kīrti of Suvarṇadvīpa. Then returning to Suvarṇadvīpa he converted all who had been devoted to the *Tīrthika*

religion to Buddhism. Though he resided in Suvarṇadvīpa his name became known everywhere abroad."

"In the company of some merchants Dīpaṅkara (Attīsa) embarked for Suvarṇadvīpa in a large vessel. The voyage was long and tedious, extending over several months, during which the travellers were overtaken by terrible storms. At this time Suvarṇadvīpa was the headquarters of Buddhism in the East; and High Priest Dharmakīrti was considered to be the greatest scholar of his age. Dīpaṅkara (Attīsa) resided there for a period of 12 years in order to master completely the pure teachings of Buddha of which the key was possessed by Dharmakīrti alone. He returned to India accompanied by some merchants in a sailing vessel visiting Tāmra-dvīpa (Ceylon) and the island of forests on his way."

In a Nepalese manuscript with miniatures* dating from about the 11th century, the first miniature has the explanatory note, "Dīpaṅkara in Yavadvīpa." Yavadvīpa often meant Sumatra as well as Java. Another miniature in this manuscript bears the title of "Lokaṇātha at Śrīvijayapura in Suvarṇapura." So Śrīvijaya in Sumatra was known to the Nepalese artists of the 11th century.

In the Kathā-saritsāgara of Somadeva, which, though belonging to the 12th century, is based on the much older Bṛhatkathā by Guṇādhyā, Indian merchants are represented as trading with Suvarṇadvīpa and other islands of the name of Narikela, Karpūra and Kaṭāha or Kedah.

In the *Ras Mala*, the Hindu annals of Guzrat, there is mentioned a common saying of that part of the country:—"He who leaves for Java never comes back. If he comes back by chance, he brings silver enough for two generations."

Such is the literary evidence we possess of the intercourse between India and the island of the Malay Archipelago for about a thousand years.

THE RAMAYANA IN JAVA

There exist several recensions—early, mediaeval and comparatively recent—of the Rāmāyaṇa in Java, both in verse and in prose. Episodes of the Rāmāyaṇa survive to this day in Javanese shadow-plays (the *Wayang*) and stories which are still very popular with the people. The Rāma literature in the Archipelago displays however such marked divergences from the epic Vālmiki that until lately it was assumed that the Javanese had taken great liberties with the Rāmāyaṇa. But scholars are beginning to think that the Javanese may have got their traditions of Rama from other Indian versions of the hero's exploits besides Vālmiki's poem.†

* Foucher—*Etude sur l'icongraphie boudhique de l'Inde*, p. 79, 189 and 193.

† Willem Stutterheim—*Rāma Legenden und Rāma Reliefs in Indonesien*. This paper is mainly based on Stutterheim's scholarly work.

European scholars believe that the main distinction between the older and the later versions of Rama's career is that in the former, Rama is the great hero whereas in the latter he is an incarnation of Viṣṇu. In the third and latest stage, through which the Rāma tradition has passed, Rāma becomes the Supreme Divinity who has become man only for his love of Humanity. When the Hindus reached Java the Rāma tradition had not yet reached the third stage.

The Rāma tradition has followed in the wake of Indian colonising activities and has spread all over South-eastern Asia. The deeds of the Indian hero are still represented in the puppet shows of Burma. In Siam the King is an incarnation of Rāma. The last King was Rāma VI. Rāma's capital is localised as the old capital Ayuthia (Ayodhya) of Siam. Lopburi (Lavapuri) is one of the most ancient towns in Siam. The oldest Siamese inscription is that of Rāma Khamheng who founded the Siamese kingdom on the ruins of the Khmer empire. The writer has seen representations of scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa worked in silver on the gates of the principal Buddhist temple (Vat Chetu Pon) of Bangkok.

In a 6th Century inscription of Cambodia we find the following passages :—"With the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇa he (the Brahman Somaśarman) gave the complete Mahābhārata and arranged for a daily recitation without interruption. Whoever participates in this reading—may a portion of the fruit of this great and virtuous act go to his credit."

The princes of Kambuja (Cambodia as distinguished from the older Kingdom of Funan) traced their descent from the Solar dynasty.

In an inscription^{*} of Yaśovarman (889-909 A. D.), the construction of the new capital Yaśodharapura (Angkor Thom) is thus referred to in words having a double meaning :—"He who defended Kambupuri (the capital of Kambuja), impregnable (Ayodhya), of terrifying aspect (Vibhīṣaṇa), with the aid of good counsellors (with Sumantra as his friend) and with prosperity (Śrī) as its ornament, like the descendant of Raghu."

The 'Hema-śringa-giri,' at present known as Ba Puon, was constructed by Jayavarman V. of Kambuja (968-1001 A. D.) and is one of the finest pyramidal Vaiṣṇava temples of Cambodia. Among the Rāma reliefs, found on the walls of the highest gallery, may be mentioned the interview between Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with Sugrīva, the duel between Sugrīva, and Bālī, Sītā in the grove of Aśoka trees handing the jewel to Hanumān, battle scenes in which Hanumān plays the chief part, the ten-headed Rāvaṇa in a chariot drawn by lions facing Rāma who is carried by Hanuman, the ordeal of Sītā and Rāmā and Sītā enthroned.

Angkor Vat, the most famous Vaiṣṇava temple of Cambodia, was built in the first half of the 12th century. Among the innumerable bas reliefs,

* Inscription of Veal Kantel—Inscriptions Sanscrites de Champā et du Cambodge—p. 30.

† Op. cit. stanza 21, p. 505.

which adorn its galleries, are several scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa such as Rāma pursuing Mārīcha, the death of Kabandha, the alliance of Rāma with Sugriva, the duel between Sugriva and Bālī, Hanumān finding Sitā in Lankā, battle-field etc., ending with the return of Rāma and Sitā in the aerial chariot Puṣpaka.

The old chronicles of the Annamites describe the people of Champā (South Annam), who were their mortal enemies, as descendants of monkeys and cite the following tradition to corroborate this* :—"In ancient times, beyond the frontiers of Annam, there was a kingdom the king of which was known as the king of demons or as Daśanana. To the north of this realm was the country of Ho Ton Tinh where reigned the king Daśaratha. The son of this king, of the name of Chu'ng-Tu, had a wife—the princess Bach Tinh. She was a peerless beauty. The king of the demons became enamoured of her, invaded the kingdom of Ho Ton Tinh, seized the princess and carried her away. The prince Ch'ung-Tu, whose anger was roused, put himself at the head of an army of monkeys. The monkeys made a passage for themselves by bridging the sea with mountains which they tore off (from their positions). The kingdom of Dieunghiem was conquered and the king of demons slain. The princess Bach Tinh was taken back to her country. The people of Ho To Tinh were of monkey race and the Chams (the people of Champā) are their descendants.

M. Hubert, commenting on this passage cited, says :—"The Annamite writer supposes that the events (of the Rāmāyaṇa) took place in Champā and this is a reason for believing that the story need not be traced back to the *Daśaratha Jātaka* in the Chinese Buddhist canon ; it is probably the distant echo of that which was once the national epic of Champā and which is now lost"† So he thinks that there was a Rāmāyaṇa also in the Cham language.

Hanumān is mentioned in Tibetan books. The Tibetans suppose themselves to be descended from monkeys and they say that they had tails for a long time.

The story of Rāma has penetrated into China with the *Lankāvatāra sūtra* and the *Daśaratha Jātaka* was incorporated in the Buddhist scriptures.

To come back to Java—it was in 1889 that the monkey scenes in the Prambanan (temple in Central Java) bas reliefs led to the identification of these representations with episodes of the Rāmāyaṇa. Dr. Vogel who was busy with these reliefs in 1921, came to the conclusion that a *traditional* story might have been the source of those representations rather than any definite text. Prof. Krom says that these reliefs have been satisfactorily explained. The small deviations from the Sanscrit epic led Dr. Stutterheim to look for some other text which had yet to be discovered. Often these deviations have been explained as deformations of the text but Dr. Stutterheim is no believer in this theory.

* G. Maspero—Le Royaume de Champā, p. 63.

† Hubert—Le Légende du Rāmāyaṇa en Annam, Bulletin de L'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, Tome, V.

These divergences in the Prambanan reliefs, however, are mostly in trifling details. The question now arises whether there had appeared in India similar divergences by the end of the 9th century—the period to which the Prambanan group of temples is assigned. The account of Rāma's career in the Mahābhārata also differs in some respects from the version of the Rāmāyaṇa. The Mahābhārata account does not concern itself with what happened *after* the return of Rāma from Ceylon. There is also some differences in Rāvaṇa's genealogy in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata versions. Again in the Mahābhārata there is nothing of Rāma's journey to Mithilā, breaking Hara's bow and Sītā's *Svayamvara*. Dr. Stutterheim does not agree with Prof. Jacobi that the account in the Mahābhārata is a hasty copy of Vālmiki's epic. He thinks that it is independent of the Rāmāyaṇa and probably should be traced to some oral tradition. From other versions of Rāma's life (e. g. Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīracarita*, some of the Purāṇas, etc.) sufficient divergences can be shown even in the classical period of Sanscrit literature.

In the old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa *Kakavin*, the divergences are neither numerous nor important. Moreover the *Kakavin* is not complete. There is no definite information as to the date of this work. We can only judge from the language. Prof. Kern would ascribe it to the Kediri period which was the golden age of *Kavi* literature. The author probably did not know Sanscrit. It has a Vaiṣṇava character and the Kediri dynasty was also Vaiṣṇava. It was probably written about the same time as the *Bharat Yuddha*—i. e., about 1100 A. D. In the *Serat Rāma* by Jashadhipura, a work much appreciated in Javanese literary circles, the early history of Rāvaṇa is found which is not given in the *Kakavin*. Here too, there are not many divergences and the book is free from the distortions introduced later on, as we shall see, in the later Javanese works on this subject and in the Malay Rāmāyaṇa. The Javanese *Uttarakāṇḍa* (the 7th canto of the Rāmāyaṇa does not exist in the *Kakavin*), is a prose paraphrase of the Sanscrit *Uttarakāṇḍa*. This *first group* (consisting of the *Kakavin*, the *Serat Rāma* and the *Uttarakāṇḍa*), without following Vālmiki verbatim, give on the whole the orthodox Indian version.

The *second group* is represented by the Rāma Kling, the *Serat Kandas* and other less known works such as the Rāmāyaṇa Sasak, Rāma Nitis, etc. This group closely approaches the *Malay version* of the Rāmāyaṇa. The *Malay Hikayat Seri Rāma** is probably based on this second group of Javanese texts. In popular dramas, still staged for the entertainment of the people, it is this second group and not the first which serves as the basis. These pieces for the theatre have been worked up on episodes of the Javanese Rāmāyaṇa such as the birth of Daśamukha (Rāvaṇa), Daśamukha's abduction of a Vidyādhari (Indrajit is represented as the son of this Vidyādhari), Rāma's marriage, etc.

* Translated in No. 70 of the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Singapore April, 1917.

The old Javanese Rāmāyaṇas (the Kakavin, etc.) are sometimes quoted in these dramatical representations but nobody understands them. The influence of the first group has been superficial on the growth of the Rāma tradition in Java.

The Serat Kandas begins with Adam in Mecca with his sons Abil and Satan. We get then a curious association of Noah and Umā (उमा). We come next to the account of the births of Viṣṇu and Vāsuki and Muslim figures then disappear. The genealogy of early Javanese kings is worked into the story. The Rāmāyaṇa begins with Canto 22 and only in Canto 46 is the birth of Rāmā given. In the Cantos 23 to 45 the ancestors of Rāma and Rāvaṇa are discussed—some of whom are ancestors of Javanese princes.

In this work Rāma is called *Bhārgava*, *Lakṣmaṇa Mirdhaka* and *Sitā Sinta*; Janaka is *Kala* and *Jatāyu Jintaya*, Hanumān (*Anuman*), who is the son of Rāma and Sitā when both of them were temporarily metamorphosed into apes and he loses his tail which he recovers in the sea of sand.

Just at the point when the invasion of Lanka is going to begin, the author digresses into the story of the Pāṇḍavas. In Canto 70 the story of Rāma is again taken up. Then the sequel after Rāvaṇa's death is related. Rāvaṇa is buried under a mountain. Then follows the episode of the fan (with Rāvaṇa's picture on it) which Sitā unwittingly handles. This leads to estrangement between Rāma and Sitā. The couple are however reconciled at the hermitage of Kala (Janaka). Towards the end we have the marriage of the daughter of Indrajit with But-Lava (Lava). Dinjayapura is mentioned as the capital of Lava. Finally Sitā consents to be cremated with Rāma on condition that in the next life she would be his sister.

The difference between the conclusion of the Serat Kandas and Vālmiki's Uttarakāṇḍa is so great that the former must be ascribed to a different source altogether. Dr. Stutterheim believes that other versions besides that of Vālmiki may have been the basis for these Javanese divergences. The fame of Vālmiki has made us forget that there were also other (formerly well-known) accounts of the life of Rāma.

In the Serat Kandas there is firstly a combination of Muhammadan tales and of the deeds of Rāma. In the third canto, Śiva is mentioned as a descendant of Adam! In the Malay version, as we shall see, the Muslim element is more conspicuous. Secondly, in the Serat Kandas, the story of Rāma forms an organic whole with early legends of Javanese dynasties. These Javanese texts of the second group may be taken as Javanese Purāṇas working up local legends with the orthodox Indian traditions.

As regards the Malay Rāmāyaṇa, Dr. Brandes believes that a great part of it consists of old native legends which have nothing to do with the story of Rāma. The best known manuscript of this work was written late in the 16th century. It came into the possession of Archbishop Laud and was passed on to the Bodleian (Oxford) Library in 1633.* It is evidently based on the

* See No. 70. Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1917.

Javanese Rāma legends of the second group. Rāvaṇa is banished by his father, put on board a ship and finds himself at last in Serandip (Ceylon). He leads the rigorous life of an ascetic for twelve years, at the end of which period Adam appears before him. Rāvaṇa requests Adam to intercede for him. Such is the beginning and then we go through what seems to us a strangely distorted account of the familiar story of Rāma.

The question arises how far these differences are local in origin or whether they can be traced to different versions of the Rāma tradition in India itself. In the Malay version Daśaratha's first wife is found in a bamboo thicket and according to the Serat Kandas the second wife is also found in a bamboo grove. But in Indian folk-lore also there are some instances like this and it may not be Indonesian in origin. The part which Balī Dari (Kaikeyī) plays is different from that which she plays in the Rāmāyaṇa. She held up with her hand Daśaratha's litter when it is breaking. In the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa there is also a mention of the breaking of the litter in addition to Kaikeyī's healing the wounds of Daśaratha. In the Malay version Rāma, when quite young, teases a hunch-backed woman (Mantharā). In Kṣemendra's Rāmāyaṇa Kathā Mañjarī, Rāma's rough treatment of Mantharā led to her action against him.

Again in the Malay version and in the Serat Kandas Sitā is apparently Rāvaṇa's daughter by Mandodarī (really in both of these works she is the daughter of Daśaratha and Mandodarī). As soon as she is born she is put in a box and thrown into the sea. Janaka (Kala in Javanese) finds the box while performing his morning ablutions, takes out Sitā and brings her up. In the Adbhūta Rāmāyaṇa, Nārada curses Lakṣmī that she is to be born as a Rākṣasī. In the Siamese version also Sitā is the daughter of Rāvaṇa. In a Ceylonese tale Sitā is born of the blood of ascetics collected by Rāvaṇa.* In the Uttarapurāṇa of the Jaiṇas, Sitā is also the daughter of Rāvaṇa. Nearest to the Malay version is a folk-tale from Gujrat (*Indian Antiquary*, XXII, p. 315) in which a man's daughter is put in a box and floats down the sea to a fisherman's hut and, later on, the father comes to win her hand in marriage.

In the Malay version (the manuscript of Eysinga—not that of Laud) we find Lakṣmaṇa leading an ascetic life (without sleeping or partaking of any food) for twelve years just as in the Bengali version of Kṛtibāsa.

In the Malay version Lakṣmaṇa draws a line (a charmed circle) round Sitā's dwelling place before he leaves to help Rāma who is supposed to be in distress. Kṛtibāsa also describes the same procedure in his popular poem.

The abduction of Rāma into Pātala (पाताल, the underground world) occurs in the Malay version as well as in the Bengali and Gujrati popular Rāmāyaṇas. In a Punjab story Macchandanaṭh is the son of Hanumān by a fish-queen whom the monkey chief weds on his visit to Pātala in quest of Rāma.

* *Indian Antiquary*, XLV, p. 84. This tale has been heard by the writer in the hills of the Kangra District.

A son of Hanumān by a princess of the subterranean regions is mentioned also in the Malay version.

Most of the divergences in the Javanese and Malay accounts of the Lankā Kāṇḍa can probably be deduced from *Indian sources*. In the Malay version Rāvaṇa falls when Rāma shoots off his small heads (he had ten heads) behind his right ear. Then again Rāvaṇa is immortal and cannot die. We find this also in popular Bengali accounts.

The episode of Sītā and the fan with Ravana's picture, which we have already referred to in the Serat Kandas, occurs in the Bengali tale of Chandrāvali where the same story is told of Kaikeyī's daughter Kukua (Dinesh Chandra Sen's *Lectures on The Bengali Rāmāyaṇa*—p. 197 and seq.)

Kusha is, in the Ceylonese as well as in the Malay version, created out of Kusha-grass by Vālmiki when the real child is found to be missing. The account of the fighting which takes place between Rāma and his sons (without their knowing each other) is to be found in Bengal as well as in the Malay Archipelago.

In what relation do these variations (most of which can be traced to India) stand to Vālmiki's epic? Some of these stories may be older than the epic itself and certainly they are cruder;* E.g. in some of the earlier versions Sītā is Rāvaṇa's real daughter. In the Malay Hikayat Seri Rama and the Serat Kandas she is only apparently Rāvaṇa's daughter. In Vālmiki's epic there is no relationship between Rāvaṇa and Sītā. Sītā's story has been adapted, according to Dr. Stutterheim, to the stage of civilisation of the period to which the story belongs. Therefore, he thinks that instead of accusing the Javanese of having tampered with the Rāma tradition to suit their own outlook on life—the same charge may be levelled against Vālmiki himself for having given us a refined version of earlier and cruder accounts.

At first it was supposed by some of the Dutch scholars that the Tamil Rāmāyaṇa might be the basis of the Javanese and Malay versions. But the Tamil Rāmāyaṇa of Kambar follows Vālmiki closely. The popular tales in the Indonesian (Javanese, Malay, etc.) versions approach closely some of those popular editions current in Gujrat, Punjab and Bengal. A tradition still existing in Java ascribes the colonisation of the island by emigrants from Gujrat. This was probably due to the fact that from the 13th century the Gujratis were in Java as merchants, mullahs and sailors. Epigraphical evidence does not support the tradition of any Gujrati influence in earlier times. Nor, as regards the divergences in the Indonesian Rāmāyaṇa can any monopoly be attributed to the influence of the Gujrati versions.

Dr. Stutterheim thus sums up the question. No single definite recension has as yet been found in India from which the Indonesian (Javanese and Malay) versions could have been derived. There has been a very mixed influence—

* Cp. D. C. Sen. op. cit

principally of oral traditions some of which have come down from very ancient times. Vālmiki's work, according to Dr. Sutterheim, represents a later and more refined civilisation. The Javanese and Malay versions, having preserved some of the more primitive traditions, should be more interesting from the anthropological point of view than the literary and polished Rāmāyaṇa of the orthodox School.

The Rāma tradition is still a living force in the Java of to-day. The Javanese have so completely assimilated the famous legends that even their foreign origin has been forgotten. For the great mass of the population, Rāma and the Pāṇḍavas are truly national heroes, born and bred in the Isle of Java ! The extreme favour which those Indian stories have found and retained until now among all classes of society, is not so much due to their having being sung in famous old Javanese poems, as to that most popular of visual entertainments—the Wayang or shadow-show. Indians familiar with their Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa would be surprised to see Arjuna, Kṛiṣṇa and Rāma appear here in the quaint garb of Wayang puppets, which in their strangely fantastical, yet unmistakably artistic character, are the true children of Indonesian art. Stranger still are the clowns who invariably accompany the hero, be it Arjuna or Rāma, and who contribute not a little to the delight of the audience by their good-humoured, though not always delicate, jokes. These clowns or 'panakawans'—Semar, the father, and his two sons. Petruk and Nalagareng—are undoubtedly as Indonesian in origin as they are in name."*

The principal river of Central Java is still known as the Serayu (i. e. Sarayu on the bank of which was situated the capital of Rāma)

Next to the Borobudur the most striking ancient monument in Java is the Prambanan and part of a still bigger group of dilapidated shrines known as Chandi (Javanese word for temple) Laura Jonggrong. The princess Laura Jonggrong is well-known in Javanese folk-lore. It was to win her hand, so says the popular story, that the thousand temples of Chandi Sewu (in the vicinity of Prambanan) were built in a single night by a suitor according to a wager ; he was however frustrated in his purpose by an unusually early dawn. These Hindu shrines are situated in the plain dominated by the volcano Merapi. The archaeological society of Jogjakarta (the nearest important town) commenced in 1885 the task of clearing up the tropical vegetation and the lava deposits under which the shrines had been buried for centuries. This work of restoration had an unexpected result. The Javanese, converted to Islam three centuries ago, thronged to visit the temple with offerings of incense and flowers. The French traveller Jules Leclercq, who saw (*L'île de Java*, p. 147) even Hajis joining in the worship of the ancient Hindu images, remarks that the advent of the Muslim faith has not yet alienated the minds of the Javanese from their old beliefs.

* Dr. Vogel—The Relation between the art of India and Java : *The Influences of Indian Art* p. 40).

The Loura Jonggrong group of temples is surrounded on all sides by Buddhist shrines. There are eight main temples in this group and those dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā are in the middle. The general plan is grand in its simplicity. The eight large main shrines are built on a square terrace in the centre, round which are 160 small shrines arranged in three successive squares. The small shrines are now in an advanced state of decay. The main temples have resisted better the ravages of time.

Inscriptions of the Buddhist Śailendra Kings cease to appear in Central Java after the middle of the 9th century. After 915 A. D. we do not hear any more of Central Javanese rulers (this region being abandoned at that time). So the Prambanan group must have been constructed in the second half of the 9th century by a prince of the name of Dakṣa. An inscription of Prambanan mentions this name.

On the inner side of the balustrade of the Śiva temple are the famous Rāmāyaṇa reliefs. From the outside, one cannot see anything of these splendid representations. The reliefs in the Śiva temples stop abruptly with the scene of bridging the sea. Probably the story was continued along the balustrade of the adjoining Brahmā temple, some scattered remnants of which have been discovered. There are Kṛṣṇa reliefs on the parapet of the Viṣṇu temple.

The first relief of the Rāmāyaṇa series begins at the starting point of the *pradakṣiṇa* round Śiva's shrine. Here we have Garuḍa with the blue lotus, Viṣṇu reclining on the Śeṣa Nāga and drifting on the sea which is full of crabs and fishes, and to the right a group of seated figures headed by an ascetic who offers something to Viṣṇu. Dr. Vogel says about this first relief. "It is interesting that this opening scene of the Rāma story differs from the version both of Sanskrit and the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa (the Kakavin), but agrees in a remarkable way with the corresponding passage in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*. In the 10th canto of *Raghuvamśa*, the gods led by the rishi Bhrigu, invoke Viṣṇu in the midst of the waters of the ocean."

In the following scenes are depicted the visit of Viśvāmitra to the court of Daśaratha, Tāṇakā and another giantess being shot down with arrows by Rāma, the interview with Janaka, Sita's *Swayamvara*, the breaking of the bow, Paraśurāma wearing अक्षमाला, facing Rāma and Sita, Kaikeyi talking to Daśaratha about the festive preparations (there are green cocoanuts डार and मङ्गल कलस in the back ground), a woman dancing a war dance, with a sword and a shield in her hands, before two princes, and Daśaratha in a melancholy attitude with Kauśalyā behind him.

Then we have a forest scene with three crowned figures in a four-wheeled chariot drawn by a pair of horses (Rāma Sita and Lakṣmaṇa leaving for the forest). In the next we find a group of workmen. One of them is putting a richly ornamented chest on an altar. Other servants (all with wooly hair like negroes) are apparently busy with some preparations. A lady is sitting with

three money-bags in front of her. Is this the Śrādha ceremony after Daśaratha's death?

Then we have Rāma handing over his sandals to Bhārata, his combat with Virādha and another Rākṣasa (with a house on a wooden pile in the back-ground), Rāma punishing the crow for vexing Sītā, the visit of Śūrpanakhā, Rāma shooting the golden deer, Sītā being abducted by Rāvana disguised as

Brahman, Rāvana's struggle with Jatāyu (Rāvana and Sītā are here carried on a platform which a winged demon bears on his head), Sītā giving a ring to the wounded Jatāyu, Jatāyu handing over the ring to Lakṣmaṇa, Rāma shooting Kabandha (who has got a head on his shoulders besides a second head in his belly), and Kabandha going to heaven seated on a lotus.

The next relief represents a prince shooting an arrow at a crocodile in a tank and a lady on the bank in the attitude of prayer. Is this the Śabarī episode on the bank of the Pāmpā lake?

After that takes place the meeting with Hanumān. This was the first relief discovered and led to the whole series being identified with the Rāmāyaṇa.

In the next Sugrīva is soon weeping on a tree. His tears are flowing into Lakṣmaṇa's quiver. In the Malay version Lakṣmaṇa brings water for Rāma in his quiver. The water tastes like tears and this leads to the discovery of Sugrīva.

Then we have the interview with Sugrīva, Rāma shooting his arrow through seven trees to show his prowess to Sugrīva, the first fight between Bālī and Sugrīva, with Rāma standing in a hesitating attitude (a cockatoo on a tree in the back-ground), the second fight and death of Bālī (Sugrīva with a wreath of leaves round his waist), the wedding of Tārā and Sugrīva, Rāma, Sugrīva, etc, holding a consultation, the chief monkey warriors being presented to Rāma, Hanumān jumping over to Lankā and Hanumān discovering Sītā (a servant with wooly air in the back-ground). It should be noted that the servants in all the scenes in which they appear have wooly hair. Negro slaves must already have been familiar figures in the Javanese courts.

The concluding scenes are : the burning of Lankā by Hanumān with his flaming tail (here the artist has with a fine sense of humour introduced into this scene of confusion, the figure of an ascetic taking away treasures from a burning house), Hanumān reporting his exploits to Rāma, Rāma on the sea-shore, bow in hand, and the sea-god rising from the waters, the building of the bridge and fishes swallowing up the stones. This last episode (of the swallowing of stones is to be met with in the Malay Hikayat Seri Rāma.

There are minor details where the Prambanan reliefs differ from the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki such as for example :—the introduction of a second Rākṣas in the Baraka episode and a second Rākṣasa in the combat with Virādha, the punishment of the crow, Sītā's giving a ring to Jatāyu and Jatāyu handing over the ring to Lakṣmaṇa, Rāvaṇa being carried by a flying demon,

the two hands of Kabandha, the different versions of the first meeting with Sugrīva, Rāma desisting from shooting his arrow into the sea, the fishes swallowing up the stones used for making the bridge, etc. It is curious, as Dr. Stutterheim points out, that as regards these variations, the reliefs, instead of following the contemporary Old Javanese *Kakavin*, seem to approach more closely the second (later) group of Javanese Rāma stories and the Malay version.

We may now leave Prambanan with the remark that nowhere else, whether in India, Cambodia or Siam, are the exploits of Rāma carved in stone in such a detailed and, at the same time, truly artistic way.

Four hundred years passed after the construction of Prambanan, before there, arose in East Java the temple of Panataran with its Rāma reliefs in an Indonesian style far removed from the orthodox Indian style of the earlier shrines (Prambanan). There is another point of difference as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa reliefs are both found in Panataran in the same temple, as there is only one shrine here.

Several dated inscriptions have been discovered in Panataran. The last date, corresponding to 1347 A. D., would bring us to the reign of the great queen of Majapahit, Jaya-viṣṇu-vardhani, the mother of Hyam Wuruk. Probably the temple, which was begun by her predecessors, was finished during her reign. Panataran was also known as Pāla in the Majapahit period. In the *Nagarkṛtagama* Hyam Wuruk, the most famous of the Javanese monarchs, is mentioned as visiting Panataran several times to worship Śiva. So it is a Śaiva temple and it is also the largest ancient building in East Java.

Hanumān's exploits in the Lankā Kāṇḍa are represented in the Panataran reliefs. We may note among them,—Hanumān reaching Lankā, Rāvaṇa and two of his queens seated in his treasury (which looks like a three-storeyed pagoda), Rāvaṇa in the *Ashoka* grove, Sītā with Trijaṭā and Hanumān coming down from a tree to meet Sītā. Then we have spirited battle scenes between Hanumān and Rākṣasas, trees uprooted, detachments of *Bhūtas* marching in martial array to meet Hanumān, heaps of dead and dying Rākṣasas, etc. We are then introduced to Rāvaṇa's court; we see messengers kneeling before the King and we get a glimpse of a Rākṣasa plucking out the hairs of his beard with pincers. In the following scenes we find Hanumān breaking the arm of Akṣa, (Ravana's son), the monkey warrior taking a sea-bath after all this toil and trouble and then hurrying back to the fight in the garden of celestial trees. Indrajit then appears mounted on a horse (with Nāga heads) with a snake arrow in his bow, Hanuman is bound in the coils of the nāga-pāśa (नागपाश) and is led a captive to Rāvaṇa's presence. After that Hanuman bursts the bonds and with his flaming tails sets the palace on fire. We see women fleeing and Rāvaṇa with his queen seeking refuge in his water-palace. Hanumn then leaves Lankā after again visiting Sītā. In the final scenes are represented the construction of the bridge, monkeys bearing elaborate standards, reconnoitering the battle-

field, the beginning of the great fight, Hanumān killing a Rākṣasa with a *vajra* and the death of Kumbha-karṇa.

The human faces are done badly in this series but the monkeys and demons are quite artistic.

The story, as depicted in the Panataran reliefs, follows very closely the Old Javanese version of the Rāmāyāṇa—the *Kakavin*. It is very strange, as Dr. Stutterheim points out, that the 9th century Prambanan reliefs should be best explained by the much later Javanese Rāmāyāṇas of the second group (the *Serat Kandas*, etc.) and the Malay version based on them; while the 14th century Panataran scenes should agree closely with the earlier *Kakavin* (of the first group) which follows Vālmiki pretty accurately. Is it because that in the later Javanese versions some of the older (and cruder) Indian traditions have been preserved which do not find a place in the *Kakavin* which follows the literary and polished text of Vālmiki? Some of these unorthodox traditions are of the pre-Vālmiki period which the great sage rejected as too crude for his own immortal version of the story (cp. D.C. Sen's *Rāmāyāṇa*).

Finally the technique of the Panataran reliefs is pure Javanese (or Indonesian) as distinguished from the purely Indian style of Prambanan. Here too there is a revival of older indigenous traditions. The background in the Panataran pictures is full of *magical* symbols which must be survivals of very old Malayo-Polynesian superstitions.

It is the art of Panataran which leads to the *Wayang* (the popular puppet shows of modern Java) and which still survives in the style of art which we find to-day in the Hindu island of Bali.

INDIA AND CHINA

BY

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In concluding one of his very thought-provoking essays entitled *L' Inde et le Monde*, Professor Sylvain Levi says ; "In the great movement of exchange, which constitutes, from time immemorial, the organic life of the whole of mankind, India has largely given as she has largely received. We may, being carried away by our prejudice, exalt or deprecate her role ; but her role she has played, like the rest of the world, with the rest of the world. If nature and laws have tried their best to isolate her, thereby her part has only become a specially important one ; each group, race or nation in its acts, as in its thoughts, in its conscience as in its instincts, is related to the whole of humanity."

But we Indians, ignore too much that India has played her role *like* the rest of the world and *with* the rest of the world. The isolation in which India is living to-day, shut up from the rest of Asia and her general movements, is a *forced isolation* of her evil days. She has got to break once more the colossal barriers around her and to come in close touch with the outside world on a basis of equality. It is necessary to resuscitate that glorious period of her history, when the missionaries of her civilisation went, from one end of Asia to the other, to lay the foundation of a *cultural unity* amongst diverse peoples, very different from each other ethnically and linguistically. If religious faith fails to appeal to them any more, reason will more advantageously take its place.

"Greater India" was an achievement of the glorious days of India's history and forms one of its most beautiful chapters. Unlike the rest of the world, India extended her spiritual dominion and founded her cultural colonies through *peaceful* methods. She had given largely to others without imposing herself on them ; she had also received largely from others without having recourse to *violence*.

If it be necessary at all to go back to the past for inspiration or for determining the course which one must choose, with due regard to all that is best in one's civilisation, if we agree that the

past is of no small importance in the formation of a wider outlook of the youths of the country, and if, after all, a true interpretation of the past history of a nation is necessary for vindicating its *amour-propre*, the *Greater India Society* will have a justification for its coming into existence.

I take this opportunity of thanking my friend and colleague Dr. Kalidas Nag, at whose invitation, I delivered the following popular lectures on "India and China". The subject is a vast one and requires the life-long study of devotion. The work, which I have begun by starting a series of publication entitled *Sino-Indica*, under the auspices of the University of Calcutta, can be realised only by the earnest collaboration of many. Even then we can propose to do only a part of the vast work before us.

If the following lectures, which only give a general survey of a part of the subject, interest our readers, I will avail of the earliest opportunity to undertake a more comprehensive work in English.

For bibliography we refer to the following works:—P. C. Bagchi—*Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine*, (Sino-Indica); and *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois* (Sino-Indica).

Sylvain Lévi—*L'Itineraire d' Ou-K'ong*; *Les Missions de Wang Huan-ts'e*; *Tokharien Bla langue de Koutcha*.

Paul Pelliot—*Deux Itinéraires de Chine en Inde*; *Le Fou-nan*.

E. Chavannes—*Les Voyageurs Chinois*; *Voyage de Song-yun*; *Les Religieux Eminents* (Yi-tsing); *Les cinq cents Contes et Apologues*.

E. Huber—*Le Voyage de Ki-ye*, (Supplementary note by E. Chavannes); *Une ambassade Chinoise en Birmanie en 1406*.

I should note that in transcribing Chinese names, I have followed the system adopted by the French School of Hanoi—"Ecole Francaise d' Extreme-Orient"—with two alterations, necessary in an English composition; thus for *ch* I have written *sh* and for *tch*, simply *ch*.

P. B.

INDIA AND CHINA

I

THE BEGINNING OF THE HISTORICAL RELATION CHINA AND INDIA

The history of India is inseparable from the history of the whole of Asia. From the most ancient times, the migration of races and the cultural movements of one country have affected the other. India has never been an exception to the law and her apparently insurmountable natural barriers have never succeeded in shutting her up from the rest of Asia. The problem of India therefore is an Asiatic one and she has got to look up to her neighbours with greater interest than ever. China with her vast population of over 438 millions, with the great resources at her command and with the increasing promises she is making everyday, draws our attention more than any other country.

It is not a mere accident that China is still known to the outside world by a name by which India was the first to know her (*China*=skt. *Cina*) and that the Chinese nobility is called by a name derived from Sanskrit *Mandarin*=*Mantrin*). Though these two great countries of Asia have lost, since last few hundred years, all consciousness of their former relations, the archives of the historian still cherish the reminiscences of a glorious collaboration in the past; still in the solitary corners of the far eastern countries the monasteries zealously guard the sacred memories of India; still the pious monks bow towards the Western land of *Tien ch'ou* (India), the land of Śākyamuni, the paradise of *Fa-hien* and *Hsuan-tsang*.

Science, of late, has come to the help of a rising national consciousness and the patient labour of scholars is being utilised to lay the foundation of international amity. It is high time for us Indians, not to remain contented with our lot but to try to understand what our forefathers achieved towards the diffusion of Indian culture abroad. This study will no doubt contribute a good deal to the establishment of a better understanding between ourselves and our neighbours, the Chinese. We will therefore try to trace the history of this ancient cultural movement in its briefest outline.

In the middle of the 3rd century before Christ, China was still divided amongst nine feudal chiefs. A Central Government, that of the Cheou existed but it was more or less ephemeral. Chong Siang, the chief of the principality of Ts'in destroyed successively a number of other feudal states and grew up sufficiently powerful to attack and defeat the central authority. During three years of his reign he constantly fought against the princes which disputed his supreme authority. This fight was successfully continued by his son Cheng, a

man of uncontested genius. He pursued energetically the destruction of feudalism and became the true founder of the Chinese empire and its national unity. He assumed the title of Shé Houang-ti i. e. the first sovereign emperor. But the work of unification and organisation which he had commenced was not completed during his life-time. It was continued by the Han dynasty which succeeded the Ts'in. They founded the Chinese nation on a definite basis by giving to the intelligentsia the "droit de cité" in the government. "Shé Houang-ti demolished the feudal citadels and suppressed the nobility, but the Hans founded on the devastated soil a new civilisation where the power did not belong to the noblest but to the wisest."

FOREIGN POLICY OF CHINA

Of the Han dynasty, the epoch of the Emperor Wou (140-80 B. C.) was the most remarkable on account of its external policy which opened up routes to the foreign countries and laid the foundation of international relations. And it was in this period that China came into touch with India. In the year 138 B. C. in order to fortify better his position against the *Hiong-nou* (the Huns), the hereditary enemies of China, Han Wou-ti entrusted a certain Chang Kien with a mission to search for an ally amongst the Great Yue-che (*Ta Yue che*) people, who occupied at that time the north-western valley of the Oxus. Chang Kien returned to China in 126 B. C. after an absence of 12 years. Although his mission was not successful, his expedition had a considerable effect in opening up to China an entirely new world. The report which he submitted to Han Wou-ti, contained precise information about different occidental states : *Ta yuan* (Ferganah), *Ngan-si* (Parthia), *Ta-hia* (Bactria) etc. He made another important discovery ; while he was in the country of *Ta-hia* (Bactria), he found to his great surprise the bamboos, and cotton stuff of the southern provinces of China, Yun-nan and Sse-chouan. He came to know from the natives of the country that there was a rich and powerful kingdom called *Shen-tou* (Sindhu, India) and the caravans which brought the product of south China passed across that country up to Afghanistan (*Kao-fou*).

Henceforth Han Wou-ti turned his attention to two directions. He wanted on the one hand to take away from the *Hiong-nou* the small states which they occupied to the west of the province of Kan-sou and in the eastern part of Turkestan and on the other hand, to open in the south the route of India. In 115 B. C. Han Wou-ti succeeded in annexing the Western territories now known as Leang cheou Kan cheou, Seu cheou and Touen hoang, and driving the Huns towards the north.

Henceforth embassies were frequently sent by the Chinese Court to the foreign countries. Intimate relation was established with the country of *Ta Yuan* (Ferganah), which possessed the most beautiful horses. Friendly relation

continued till 102 B. C. when a rupture took place and a Chinese army was sent to besiege the capital of Ferganah (Ouratape) which was soon reduced. The people of Ferganah submitted and promised to send tribute to the Chinese Court.

In order to command well the routes of Eastern Turkestan which had established commerce with the West, the Chinese resolved to annex the Western territory to China, in the first century A. D. In 73 A. D., the general Pan Chao was entrusted with the mission; after 16 years of continual war he succeeded in submitting most of the states of the Tarim region, either by diplomacy or by force. He fixed the seat of his administration, at Kucha in 91 A. D. Military posts were founded along the great routes and henceforth safe and regular communication with India and the Western countries was established.

UNOFFICIAL RELATION

But even before the beginning of this official communication, we have historical data to prove that unofficial relation existed between India and China. We will leave aside the pious legends about the arrival of 18 Indian missionaries of Asoka to the Chinese capital in 218 B. C.—a legend certainly forged at a later date. We will leave aside also the much disputed question of Indian influence on the philosophy of Lao-tseu, the founder of Taoism.

It is at present an established fact that the name China (Ctina) given to the country has been current amongst foreigners through its Indian form. The form *Sinae* (*Thinae*) which Ptolemy mentions is no doubt based on the Sanskrit form *Cina*, which was derived from the name of the Ts'in dynasty which rose to the prominence under Shih Houang-ti. From the middle of the XVIIth century Father Martini proposed to derive the name of China from the name of the Ts'in dynasty (249—207 B. C.). The opinion was accepted for a long time till Von Richtofen and Terrien de Lacuperie started new theories based on imperfect knowledge of Chinese philology. All these theories were at last definitely discussed by Professor Paul Pelliot who established that the explanation of Father Martini satisfies all exigencies of philology. The report of Chang Kien proves without doubt that commercial relation was already existing between India and China in the 2nd century before Christ, by some land route which connected South-Western China and India. So there is nothing impossible if a century earlier the name of the conquering dynasty of Ts'in had penetrated the South-Western provinces of China (Sse chuan, and Yun-nan) and reached the ears of the Indians through these countries. It was certainly at the time that the name *China* appeared in India. During the advance of the Indo-Scythians towards Bactria in the 2nd and 1st centuries B. C., that the Indians heard about the Chinese north-west. Later on in the first century A. D., when

regular commercial relation had been established between India on one side and Indo-China and Insulinidia on the other, Indian sailors followed the coast line and reached Tonkin, where they met the Chinese. Already used to call the Chinese *Cina* the Indian navigators continued to call them by the same name. The Chinese also had no difficulty to recognise themselves under that historical name.

The Roman Orient was called Ta Ts'in on account of the fact that men of those countries were similar to the people of China. In the Chinese version of the *Lalitavistara* prepared during the later Han period (25-220 A. D.), the language of China is translated, as the language of Ts'in. Even in later translations of Buddhist texts, China is mentioned as the land of the Ts'in, the Chinese character is the same as the name of the Ts'in dynasty.

It will be therefore idle to dispute all these evidences and try to take back the name *Cina* to an earlier date than the 3rd century B. C. For us it is sufficient to point out that the mention of *Cina* in Indian literature already presuppose an intercourse between India and China long before the introduction of Buddhism into China.

Besides, it has been shown now that Indian stories migrated to China at an early date; we find traces of them in the writings of some Chinese authors of the second century B. C. The prince Lieou-ngan, otherwise known as Houai nan-tseu (died in 122 B. C.) is an well known author of the 2nd century B. C. His writing contains reminiscences of an Indian story. Houai nan-tseu speaks of the great Yu who, "while going to the country of the naked people, left his clothes before entering and put them on when coming out, thus showing that wisdom can adapt itself to circumstances." The story is the reminiscence of the *avadāna* of a Bodhisattva who did the same thing when he went to the country of the *naked people* for doing commerce. "From this indication" concludes Professor Chavannes, "it can be ascertained that, long before the introduction of Buddhism in China, the Indian stories must have penetrated the country and the Far East. It is still to be known however, if these stories really came from India or were derived from some common source".

INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM

The introduction of Buddhism in China took place before the beginning of the Christian-era. There is however a class of traditions which would have us believe that the missionaries of Asoka went to China in 218 B. C. to preach Buddhism. They were imprisoned at the order of the Emperor, but were soon released when they worked some miracles. In the end of the second century B. C. (121 B. C.) the Chinese general Ho Kiu-ping, after his war with the Huns, returned to the capital with a golden man. This was, the tradition says, an image of the Buddha. There is, however, another set of traditions which

would place the first arrival of Buddhism in the year 68 A. D., when Ming-ti of the Han dynasty dreamt of the *golden man*, and came to know from his courtiers that it was Buddha. He sent two ambassadors in search of the followers of Buddha. The two ambassadors, says the tradition, soon returned to the capital with two Indian monks, Kāśyapa Mātanga and Dharmaratna, who translated the first Indian Buddhist texts into Chinese.

None of these traditions, however, is trustworthy. The political condition of Central Asia in the time of Ts'in Shē Houang-ti, when the 18 missionaries are supposed to have come to the Chinese Court, do not permit us to dream of any relation of China with the west. The dream of Ming-ti is also false. It was towards the close of the 1st century B. C. (2 B. C.) that the first Buddhist text was brought by a Chinese ambassador (Tsiang King) from the Indo-Scythian court. Besides, in the middle of the first century A. D. we hear of the existences of monks and laymen in the court of a prince of the imperial family ruling in the valley of the Yang-tse-kiang. The story of the dream of Ming-ti, only shows that the courtiers of Ming-ti were already familiar with Buddhism. But there is no reason to disbelieve the arrival of the two monks Kāśyapa Mātanga and Dharmaratna as some of their translations, are still preserved in the Chinese Tripitaka and bears a very ancient stamp. The first Buddhist monastery which was built for them in the capital of China (Si-ngan fu), viz. Po-ma-sse, "the white horse monastery", played a great role for long centuries in the history of the Buddhist church in China.

II

ANCIENT ROUTES OF COMMUNICATION

To understand exactly the role of India in the history of her relation with China it is necessary to say a few words on the means of communication between these two vast countries of Asia. Though India, at present, touches the south-western limits of China it did not do so in ancient times. The trans-Gangetic regions of India, Assam and Upper Burma, were not so much Indianised as they may appear to-day. The Chinese control on the different barbarian tribes on the south-western borderland of the Empire was not an established fact for a long time. Besides, the earlier centres of cultural and political activities were confined to the north of the Yang-tse-kiang, the cradle-land of the Chinese civilisation.

How could these two countries, wide apart from one another, come to meet each other on a common platform and work together for a common cause? The problem is not a simple one. If India became known to the Chinese people and if Indian Buddhism influenced and gave a new turn to the Chinese

life, the whole credit does not thereby go to India. Many other countries of Asia worked for the cause of India and India owes a deep debt of gratitude to them. The question of these countries, many of which do not exist any longer, is involved with that of the routes of communication between India and China. We will therefore begin with a description of these routes.

(1) *The Routes of Eastern Turkestan*

The Tarim basin is surrounded, on the north and the south, by lofty mountains (Altai and Kouen-louen). In the middle, the Tarim river traverses the plain. Rising on the east near the Chinese posts of Yu-men and Yang-koan, the Tarim river extends towards the west up to Pamir-Bolor. It receives the waters of two principal rivers, that of the Yarkand and of the Khotan. This region was divided into 36 small kingdoms in the time of the Han dynasty and was situated along the two great routes of communication between China and the West. The two principal routes parted from Touen-hoang, in the province of Kan-sou; the one passed by the gate of Yu-men-koan towards North-West, and the other by that of Yang-koan directly westward.

Touen-hoang, we know, played a great part in the history of China's relation with the West. Like Puruṣapura, situated on the highways leading to the undefined west, Touen-hoang came to be a meeting centre of foreigners, from the beginning of the Christian era. Already in the middle of the second century, the Buddhist pilgrims found a place of shelter there on their way towards the capital of China. In the third century A. D. we hear of Indian families settled down in the Touen-hoang. It had already become a great centre of Buddhist missionaries at that time. During the centuries following, the dynasty of Wei, the great patron of Buddhism and Buddhist art, determined to bring about a transformation of the place, so important for the diffusion of Buddhistic culture. It was at this time that the construction of Buddhist temples began and grottos were cooped out in the surrounding hills. The number of grottos were multiplied and a thousand of them in number contained many works of art and statues of Buddha. It is these grottos of *Ts'ien fo t'ong*, long fallen in oblivion, that cherished silently for about a thousand years a wonderful library of the middle ages. The vast number of manuscripts it contained, discovered mostly by the French archaeological mission of Pelliot and preserved partly in Peking partly in Paris, show amply what a great centre of learning Touen-hoang was in the glorious time of the T'ang dynasty. The diversity of the languages, in which these Manuscripts exist, Kuchean, Khotanese, Syriac, Tibetan, Sanskrit, etc. show that Touen-hoang was really a great meeting place of China and the West.

The southern route starting from Touen-hoang passed by the gate of Yang-koan and proceeding westward reached the country of Shan-shan (to the

south of Lob-nor). From Shan-shan it went along the course of the river Tarim up to Sou-kiue (Yarkand) and crossing the Pamir (Kizil rabat) reached the country of the Yue-chi (Balkh) and Parthia (Ngan-si). The route of the north, passed by Kiue-she (Tour-fan), the ancient capital of the kingdom of Leou-lan ; it followed the Tarim right up to the west to Shou-lei (Kashgar) and continued across the Pamir (Kizil rabat) up to the country of Ta-wan (Sogdia), K'ang kiu (Samarkand) and other countries in the valley of Oxus.

But the route to India followed a little different course. Fa-hien, the first Chinese pilgrim to India, notices in detail the way he followed from China to India. Starting from Si-ngan-fou in 399 A. D. with other monks, he passed by the principal localities of the province of Kan-sou viz. *Lau cheou*, *Leang cheou*, *Kan cheou*, *Sou cheou* and *Touen hoang* and arrived at Shan-shan to the south of Lob-nor. They visited the countries of Yen-Ki (Karashar), Yu-tien (Khotan), Tseu ho (Karghalik), Kiuan yu-mo (Tash-kourghan) and Kie ch'a (Kashgar). They passed by To-li (Darel, in Dardistan) ; and then crossing the mountains, they reached the valley of Gilgit which leads to the region of the Indus.

A century later Song Yun visited India. He has left us a fairly detailed account to the route he followed on his way to India. It is also the southern route which he followed. But from Tash-kourghan (*Tsiu-mo*) he went to *Pa-ho* (Wakhan) and passed by *Po-che* (the mountainous region to the north of Chitral) to *She-mi* (Chitral). But instead of following the route of Gilgit to Kashmir he directed his course southward to Udyāna, in the valley of the Swat and then to Gāndhāra (Peshawar).

Hiuan-tsang in 629 followed the northern route. From Kan-sou he went to Kao-chang (Yarkhoto, near Tourfan), then he visited the countries of A-ki-ni (Karashar), Kiue che (Kucha), *Pa-lou-kia* (Yaka-aryk), to the south of the T'ien shan ; he crossed the T'ien Shan by the Bedal pass, passed by the north bank of *Issyk-kul* where he met the Tokmak Turks. Shortly before the arrival of Hiuan-tsang, the country had been visited by an Indian monk of Nalanda, Prabhākara-mitra who went to China later on to receive the highest honour from the Emperor of China. Hiuan-tsang then passed by Sogdia, crossed "the Iron Gates" to the south of *Keseh* (Sahahr i-sabz) and reached the country of Tokharestan. The capital of the country was at that time *Houo* (Kunduz) to the south of the Oxus. Hiuan-tsang descended by the pass of Bamian to the valley of Kapiśā. Twenty years later, on his back to China he followed the southern route : From Kapiśā he crossed the Hindu Kush by the valley of Panjshir, and reached Kunduz. He then passed by Badakshan (*Pa-to.ch'ouana-na*), *Ying-po-kien* (Yamgan the valley of the Koksha), and *Houen-t'o-lo* (Kandut). Then crossing the Pamir, he visited the countries of Tash-kourghan (*Kie-pan-t'o*) *Kia-she* (Kashgar), *Che-kiu kia* (Karghalik), *Kiu-sa-tan-na* (Khotan). From Khotan, he followed the usual route by the south of Lob-nor to Si ngan fou, the T'ang capital.

The last Chinese pilgrim who has left a somewhat detailed notice of the route he followed for going to India by Eastern Turkestan, is Wou-k'ong. He left China in 751 A. D. at the head of an official embassy sent to the kingdom of Kapiśā in order to bring a Chinese ambassador. Wou-k'ong passed by Kucha, which was at that time the seat of the protectorate of Ngan-si, Sou-lei (Kashgar), the five Ch'e-ni (Shighnan) of the Po-mi (Pamir) and the Hou-mi (Wakhan) and reached the Indus region by the valley of Yasin and Gilgit, known as Po-lu-lo (Bolor), the most frequented route for entering India. Wou-k'ong visited Udyāna (Valley of the Swat) and Kapiśā. He followed a little different route on his way back to China. He passed by Kou-tou (Khottul), Kiu-mi-che (Kumedh, now Karategin), Ch'e-ni (Shighnan), and reached Sou-loi (Kashgar), and then Yu t'ien (Khotan). He passed by Wei-jong (Yaka-aryak) Kiue tseu (Kucha), Yen-k'i (Karashar) and Pei t'ing (Tsi-mou-sa, near Ku-ch'eng) and returned to Ch'ang-ngan in 790 A. D.

It is unnecessary to mention other unimportant details on these routes, which were frequented for a few centuries more. The itineraries which we have just mentioned are sufficient to give a rough idea of the routes of Eastern Turkestan followed by the Chinese travellers, who came to India and the Indian monks who visited China. On account of the growing difficulties in the political situation of Central Asia, the land-routes were gradually given up and with the progress in the technic of navigation, the sea-route began to be more and more frequented till they were left to be the only way of communication with China.

(2) *The Route of Assam*

Another route of communication existed, from very early times, by Assam, and Upper Burma. The difficulty of the route did not encourage very much this connection and it was thus frequented only by the barbarians of the south-western provinces of China, viz, Sse-chouan and Yun-nan and by the hill tribes of Assam and Upper Burma. In the middle of the 7th cen. (642 A.D.) when Hiuan-tsang was invited by Bhāṣkara-varman, the king of Kāmarūpa, he started from Magadha, passed by Champā (Bhagalpur), Kajangala (Kankjol—Rajmahal) and Puṇḍravardhana (Rangpur) and going eastward reached Kāmarūpa. This was the most usual route from the capital of Magadha to Kāmarūpa at that time. But though Hiuan-tsang did not visit any country on the other side of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa, he heard from the natives of the place about the existence of a route leading to south-west China. "To the east of Kāmarūpa," he says, "the country is a series of hills and hillocks without any principal city, and one can reach the south-west barbarians (of China); hence the inhabitants were akin to the Man and the Lao". The pilgrim learnt from the people of Kāmarūpa that the southwest borders of Sse-chouan were distant by about two

months journey ; "but the mountains were hard to pass, there were pestilential vapours and poisonous snakes and herbs." When Bhāṣkara-varman came to know from the pilgrim that the latter's country was Mahā-China, he enquired about a song which came from China but was very popular in Assam at that time. "At present in various states of India a song has been heard from some time called the music of the conquests of Ts'in wang of Mahā Cina." He then related how he had heard of the Devaputra, prince of Ts'in of Mahā-China who had brought that country out of anarchy and ruin into prosperity ; and made it supreme over distant regions to which his good influences extended. All his subjects the king continued, having their moral and material wants cared for by this ruler, sing the song of Ts'in wang's conquest ; and this fine song has long been known there (i. e. Kāmarūpa). The song referred to was the song of the victory of the second son of the T'ang Emperor Kao-tsou, Prince of Ts'in, over the rebel general Liu Wou-cheou in 619 A. D. This points out the intimate intercourse that existed between China and the eastern countries of India ; and it is even more surprising when we take into consideration the fact that a Chinese musical piece, composed after 619 A.D., had penetrated the region of Kāmarūpa in 638 A. D. when Hiuan-tsang visited the country.

But the existence of this route is attested even at an early date. The Chinese of Sse-chouan knew since long that India was accessible from the south west of Yun-nan. The evidence of Chang k'ien that he found in the markets of Bactria merchandises of Sse-chouan and Yun-nan, brought by caravans that passed along the country of Shen-tou (India), points out without doubt to the existence of this route. Coming to later times in 97 A.D., Yong Yeou ti'ao, king of the Shan state (situated in upper valley of the Salouen, accepted the suzerainty of the Chinese Emperor, received a sort of imperial investiture and sent in 120 A.D., as present to the Chinese court, musicians and jugglers, all natives of Ta-ts'in. A tradition current in the province of Yun-nan would have us believe that the first Indian missionaries, Kāśyapa-mātanga and Dharmaratna went to the capital of China by this route. The history of the Wei dynasty (*Wei li*) speaks of a route from Ta ts'in (Roman orient) to China by way of Yong tch'ang and Yunnan. Yi-tsing in his biography of eminent monks who visited India in the middle of the 7th century, records a tradition which would have us believe that Sri Gupta the king of the Gupta dynasty, built a "temple of China," near the Mahabodhi, in the end of the 3rd Century A.D. for twenty Chinese monks who came to India by Yunnan and Burma, during his reign. But when the route of Central Asia and the sea route were well established, commerce received a new impetus and the comparatively difficult way of Upper Burma was given up. It was only in the 7th century, under the great T'ang dynasty, that there were proposals of reopening the eastern route. In 627-649 Lien Po-ying, the governor of the upper valley of Kien-chang, proposed that the barbarians should be put down and that the route of the Si-eul-ho (Tali) and India should be opened. The

constant fight with the Tibetans, the danger of the Southern route of Central Asia, compelled the governor of Cheng-tou to make the same proposal in 698. But nothing important was done towards it. It was at this time that the kingdom of Nan-chao, came to be founded and it kept the route in its control for a long time.

An itinerary preserved in Kia-tan of the end of the 8th century A. D. describes in detail the route in question. Starting from Tonkin, the southern centre of all commercial activities of China, the route passed by Yunan-sen, Yunan-fou and Ta-li-fou. Going westward it reached the town of Chou-ko-leang (to the east of Momein, between the Shweli and the Salouen). The route bifurcated there, the principal one descending by the valley of the Shweli to join the Irawaddy on the south west, and the other continuing directly to the west. Starting from Chou-ko-leang, the principal route crossed the frontier of P'iao (Burma), near Lo, the frontier town of Nan-chao; and passing through the country of mountain tribes, it reached Si-li midway between Ta-gaung and Mandalay. Si-li (or Si-li-yi), though it cannot be exactly identified now, was an important town at that time as in 802. Su-nan-to (Sunanda) the brother of the Burmese king, sent to the Chinese Court with musicians, was the Prince of Si-li-yi. The route then passed by Tou-min (Pagan?) and reached the Capital of Burma, Sriksheṭra (Prome). Starting from Prome and crossing on the west a range of black mountains (the modern Arakan range) the route crossed Kāmarūpa (Assam). Here it rejoined the second route.

Starting from Chou-ko-leang, the second route went right westwards to Teng ch'ong (Momein); then crossing at Mi the mountains, it reached Li-shauei, on the Irawaddy (Bhamo or near about to the north). Then crossing the river Long-tsiuan (Mo-hnyin or Mogaung) it passed the town of Ngan-si near which lived the small Brahmins of Ta-ts'in; and going westwards crossing the river Min-no (Chindwin) reached the country of the great Brahmin of Ta-ts'in. Then crossing the mountains it reached Kāmarūpa. Going northwest from Kāmarūpa and crossing the river Karatoyā it reached the country of (Pen-na-fa-t'an-no) Puṇḍravardhana (modern Rangpur). Proceeding south-west, it reached Kajangala (Kie-chou-wou-lo?) on the right bank of the river Ganges and further to the west it reached Magadha. This is exactly the route which Hiuan-tsang followed when going from Magadha to Kāmarūpa.

This is the route which the Chinese knew even in the XII century, although the kingdom of Ta-li had cut off all communications of China across Yun-nan. Even in the time of the Mongols, Rashid-ed-din studied the two routes from India to China one by the straits, Canton, Zaitoun, Hang cheou, and the other by Burma and the country o' Zardandan and Karajang.

In 1406 we hear of a Chinese political mission sent to Burma by this route. When in 1406 the King Annuruddha (Na-lo-t'a) conquered the small state of Mong yang (modern Mo-hnyin to the north west of Bhamo and to the south of the lake Indo-gyi) dependant on China, the Emperor of the Ming dynasty

despatched a mission guided by Chang-hong to the Burmese king asking him to evacuate Mong yang. The route followed by the mission is the same as that described by the itinerary of Kia tan.

Last of all, when in 1652 Mir Jumla conquered Assam he boasted of opening that way, the route to China.

Almost all the accounts mention particularly the dangers and difficulties of this route. Thus the report of the political mission of 1406 says, "The climate of this country (the region of Upper Burma) is extremely bad. When a mission arrives there, even in the first night, half of the people falls ill; on the morrow almost every body is ill and from the third day onwards the cases of death increase without interruption." In spite of all these difficulties the way was frequented now and then, as it was the only short route connecting south-western China with Upper Burma and Assam. Indian influences were exerted in early times, in Upper Burma, Yun-nan and Sse-chouan; and some factors in the early Indian colonization of Indo-China, can only be explained by this eastern way of communication, the sole connecting land-link between eastern India and this unexplored region.

(3) *The Route of Tibet.*

Lastly, a third route of communication between China and India was opened in the beginning of the 7th century A. D., when the Tibetan Empire was founded; and its Charlemagne, the famous Srong-tsan Sgam-po contracted marriage alliance with China and Nepal. Though the occasional hostile attitude of Tibet towards China did not permit the Chinese travellers to follow this route for a long time, yet during the 7th century, when Tibet remained a faithful ally of China, Chinese ambassadors and pilgrims found this road an easy one. The first Buddhist pilgrim who seems to have gone to China by this way is a famous monk of Nalanda—Prabhākaramitra. The date of his departure from India is not known but his presence in Tibet and in the country of the Western Turks was attested in the year 625 A. D. He was taken to China in 627 A. D. by a Chinese embassy, was greatly honoured there and asked to organise the work of the translation of sacred texts. At about the same time, in 627 A. D., Hiuan-chao a pious Śramana followed this route to India. Leaving the frontiers of China he crossed the desert, passed by the Iron Gates (Derbend, modern Buzgola-khana), traversed the country of Tou-ho-lo (Tokharestan), passed by the country of the barbarians (*Hou*) and at last reached Tou-fan (Tibet). Here he met the Chinese Princess Wen-ch'eng the queen of Srong-tsan Sgam po and, according to her orders, Hiuan-chao was safely conducted to India and reached Jālandhara (*She-lan-t'ouo*). A few years later on his way back, in the company of Wang Hiun-ts'o he passed by Nepal (*Ni-po-lo*), payed another visit to the queen Wen ch'eng and followed the direct route to the capital of China.

The mission of Wang Hiun ts'o in 647-648 to the court of Emperor Harsha, followed the route of Tibet and Nepal. It is now a well-known fact of

Indian history that the Chinese ambassador, at the head of Tibetan and Nepalese army, won a decisive victory over the successor of king Harshavardhan. It shows what an intimate relation China was entertaining with Tibet in this period. In 657 A.D., he was sent again to India with an official mission and this time too he passed by Tibet and Nepal. So, in this period of friendly relation between Tibet and China, this route of Tibet was much more frequented than the northern routes, which were in the hands of alien peoples.

But after the death of Srong-tsan Sgam po (650 A. D.), there was again a rupture and continual war was carried on between the two countries. Tibet found an ally in the Turks who occupied at that time a great part of the eastern Turkestan region. The most convenient route from China to India, therefore, was the sea-route.

Towards the end of the 10th century a Chinese monk seems to have followed this route on his way back to China, but his itinerary is not very clear. Ki ye came to India in 966 by the route of eastern Turkestan ; but a few years later, on his way back to China, he passed by Nepal and a place which he names *Mo-yu-li* (probably Mayurato near Tibet ?) and visited the temple of *San-yue* (Samye in Lhasa ?).

Lastly with the foundation of the great Mongol empire of Kublai Khan, in the 13th century, regular relation was re-established between Tibet, Burma and China. We will speak later on of the great role played by India in this period in the history of Sino-Tibetan Buddhism, just before the advent of a dark age which witnessed the cessation of all relations between India and China.

(4) *The Sea-Route.*

It is possible that a sea-route was already traced out, long before the Christian era, by the hardy Polynesian people who occupied and still occupy the countries of Further India and Insulindia ; and it is possible also that this was the route which was later on followed by the Indian colonisers. But we have historical evidence of the existence of this route only from the 1st century A.D., when the Hindu settlers reached the countries of Indo-China. Chinese records would have us believe that the Kingdom of Fou-nan (Bhnom preserved in the name, Phnom Penh), on which was built up later on the Cambodian empire, was Hinduised by a Brahman named Houen-tien (Kaundinya) as early as the 1st century A. D. "The original ruler of Fou-nan" says the tradition, "was a woman named Ye-lieou. There was a foreigner named Houen tien (Kaundinya) who practised a mystic cult. He was given in dream a bow and an arrow and received the order of embarking on a junk of commerce and to take to sea. He discovered the bow in the temple and decided to follow the merchants across the sea. He reached Fou-nan, and subjugated and married the ruling queen. The earlier kings of Fou-nan were descendants of this Hindu." The genealogy

of the dynasty, as given by these Chinese records would place this first Hinduisation of Fou-nan—Kamboja in the first century A. D.

Towards the end of the first century A.D. the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* mentions the existence of a sea-route to China. "Beyond the country of Chryse (Indo-China) the ocean (navigation ?) extends up to the country of Thin. In this country, in the north, there is a great inland city called Thinae. From that city, by the land-route, the silk passes by Bactria towards Barygaza (Broach) and by the Ganges up to Limuria. (Damirica = Tamilaka), But the land is not easy of access, because there are very few men who come back from there." Ptolemy, when mentioning Kattigara (identified by some with Tonkin), the port of Sinai, speaks of the existence of navigation between Kattigara and the West. In 166 A.D. the king of *Ta-ts'in* Ngan-touan (Marcus Aurelius Antonius) sent an embassy to the Chinese Court. It landed in Je-nan (Tonkin) which was the port of China at that time.

The foundation of the Indian colony of Champā, which occupied almost the whole of modern Annam, is placed unanimously in the 2nd century A. D. The Sanskrit inscription of Vohcan (near Khan hoa), the oldest Sanskrit inscription discovered in Further India, cannot be dated later than the end of our Amarāvati the 2nd century A. D. It presupposes an already well established settlement of Indians on the coast of Annam (now known as Viet Nam).

In the Wou period (222-280), the *Fan chan* king of Fou-nan sent one of his relatives, Sou-wou as ambassador to India. He left Fou-nan and embarked at the port of *Toou-kiu-li* (Takkola, Talai-takkola of the *Tirumalai* inscription of Rajendra Cola I, 1030 A.D., which was situated near the Isthmus of Kra). The vessel followed the course of a big bay of the vast Ocean and reached the mouth of the river of India, the Ganges, after a long sailing. They went up the river for over 7000 li and reached the capital of the Murundas. The Murunda king was very pleased to receive the envoy of the king of Fou-nan, and sent in return one Che-song, as ambassador to the court of Fou-nan with the horses of the Yue-che country as presents. At this time the Chinese emperor sent two envoys, Kang-t'ai and Chou-ying to Fou-nan. They met the Indian envoy Che Song there and collected detailed information from them on India.

All these point to the existence of a sea-route in the 2nd, and 3rd, century A. D. which connected India with the Far East. It is not improbable that the port of Takkola which is mentioned by Ptolemy too, was at the first the port beyond which the vessels from the West did not go.

The Indian colonisers of Fou-nan and Champā probably proceeded to the inland region by the land-routes from Takkola. But the vessels soon sailed farther and, following the coast line, reached Tonkin.

At the time when the sea route was opened, Tonkin became the distributing centre. Tonkin (Kiao-che) was annexed to the Chinese empire in the second century B. C. during the rule of former Han dynasty but became a real Chinese province in the end of the 2nd century A. D. The embassy of Marcus

Aurelius disembarked at Kiao-che in 166 A. D. Shortly after, the trouble of the "Yellow Bonnets" which desolated China towards end of 2nd century A. D., compelled many peace-loving Chinese to take refuge in Tonkin which was comparatively calm. Amongst them we find Meou-tseu, author of a famous text, called "The Dissipation of Doubts." Meou-tseu belonged to the nobility and filled up some high rank in the state, and as such was a devout Confucianist. But Buddhism fascinated him more and during his stay in Tonkin he wrote his treatise in defence of Buddhism. In the beginning of the 3rd century A. D. the parents of a famous monk Seng-houei came to Tonkin. They were of Sogdian family, long settled in India. The father of Seng-houei came to Tonkin for his commerce and was established there with his family. Song-houei was born there. The official mission of K'and-tai and Chou-ying to Fou-nan started from Tonkin. When in 226 a merchant coming from the confines of the Mediterranean Orient, Ts'in-louen, arrived in Tonkin, the governor of Tonkin sent him to Nanking. The Chinese governor Lu-tai sent some officials to propagate Chinese civilisation to the south, to Lin-yi (Champā) and Fou-nan (Kamboja) ; the mission started from Tonkin.

Thus from the time of the latter Han dynasty, all the kingdoms of the South-Sea followed the way of Tonkin and did not go up to Canton.

However the navigators began to take little by little to the more direct route for China and Canton prevailed on Tonkin. It is at Canton that Yi-ting disembarked in the 7th century. But the displacement was not without a fight. Canton really was a Chinese province whereas Tonkin was a sort of protectorate ; and the people of Canton pretended to monopolise to their profit the benefits of the foreign trade. In 792 the governor of Ling-ngan (i.e. of the two Kouang, Kouang-tong and Kouang-si) sent a report to the Emperor complaining that the foreign vessel had begun to go to Ngan-nam (Tonkin) and requested him to issue orders forbidding commerce in Tonkin. The demand was rejected. But the geographical situation of Canton did what the administration failed to do. From the 8th century Canton became the principal port of disembarkation of the Arab merchants of the 9th century. Independence of Annam in 968 spoiled all possibilities of the external commerce of Tonkin. Canton went on prospering till the arrival of the Europeans, during the last century.

In the beginning of the 5th Century A. D. (413-414) when Fa-hien was returning to China, the sea route was an well-established one. At the time the port of Tāmralipti, which was already a port of considerable importance in the time of Ptolemy (Tamalitis), appears as a great emporium of import and export trade. Starting from Pātaliputra Fa-hien followed the course of the Ganges and descending eastwards he found on the southern bank, the great Kingdom of Champā (Bhagalpur). Continuing his journey eastwards, he came to the country Tāmralipti (*Ta-mo-li-ti*), the capital of which was a great sea-port. He embarked there in a large merchant vessel and went floating over the sea to the south-west. It was the beginning of winter and the wind was favourable. After

fourteen days' sailing day and night, he reached the country of *Sinhala* (She-tseu=Ceylon). Sailing from Ceylon he reached in 90 days *Javadvipa* (Java) where Brahmanical religion was flourishing. The ship took a course to the north-east from Java, intending to reach *Kouang-tcheou*. The wind of a stormy sea drifted them far away. More than seventy days passed and the provisions and water were nearly exhausted. They used the salt water for cooking and carefully conserved the fresh water. The merchants took counsel and found out they had taken a wrong course. After twelve days' sailing they reached *Shan Tong*.

Such was an itinerary of the sailors of the 5th Century A. D.—full of adventure and of great courage. Soon after *Fa-hien*, an Indian Prince of Kashmir, *Gunavarman*, sailed from Ceylon and reached Canton (*Kouang-tcheou*) in 433 A. D. via Java. The famous *Paramārtha* of *Ujjayinī* went to Nanking in 548 A. D. by the sea route via *Fou-nan* where he passed sometime. Numerous monks came from China to India and returned home by the sea-route in the 7th and 8th centuries. The intensive Buddhist activities in the great centres of the "South Sea islands", (*Śrīvijaya*, *Java*, *Champā* etc.) are perceptible in this period.

As it is not the place to speak about the routes connecting India and China in detail, I shall content myself with pointing out that, since the time of the great *T'ang* dynasty (618-907 A. D.), the commercial relation of China with the foreign countries was greatly intensified and the sea-route proved to be more convenient than the routes of Central Asia, which were not always under full Chinese control. The Arab sailors began to play a very important part in the sea-borne trade of this period.

SER-INDIAN INTERMEDIARIES

(1) The Indo-Scythians (the *Yue-tche*).

The Indo-Scythians probably contributed the most to the foundation of Sino-Indian relation. We have already seen that the first Chinese political mission under *Chang Kien* was sent to the Scythian court, established at that time in the valley of the *Oxus*. The continual *Hsiung-nu* (Hun) menace to the Chinese Empire compelled the Emperor to search for an ally amongst the Western peoples, and the powerful *Yue-tche*, the old enemies of the Huns, became the first objective of political negotiation. Though the political mission did not at once succeed, a trade relation and a cultural exchange was soon established. It was towards the end of the 1st century before Christ (2 B. C.) that the Chinese ambassador *Tsing Kiang* received the first Buddhist text from the *Yue-tche* prince and brought it to the Chinese court and it was probably the first direct knowledge of Buddhism which the Chinese ever had.

The Scythian conquest of north-western India, at about the same time, brought them into direct contact with India and led to the foundation of a great empire which soon extended from the Punjab to the valley of the Oxus ; it included Kasghar and Khotan and came into conflict with the Chinese supremacy in Central Asia in the middle of the first century after Christ. It had far-reaching consequences. Apart from the political and commercial consideration it greatly helped the infiltration of Indian religion and literature into *Khotan* in the south and *Kucha* and other kingdoms in the north.

The Scythians began to play a very important role in the history of Middle Asia. Their centre of activity was transferred to the region of Gāndhāra and the new capital was founded at Puruṣapura (Peshawar) which was already international from the times of the Greek conquest. The Scythians soon embraced Buddhism and brought a new contribution to the development of Mahāyāna and to its expansion outside India. Kanishka who adopted the Chinese imperial title of *Devaputra* (*Tien-tseu*) became the patron of a new form of Buddhism, the Mahāyāna which was soon destined to be an *universal* religion and to have a prosperous career in the greater part of Asia. Kanishka sat at the feet of Indian teachers like Aśvaghoṣa who promulgated this new faith. It is not impossible that this new faith, first propagated on the borderlands of India, the meeting place of different civilisations and patronised by the Indo-Scythian kings, was inspired to some extent by the Indo-Scythian and other foreign peoples living side by side with the Indians.

It seems that during her first relation with China, India was naturally represented by the Indo-Scythians. The tradition would have us believe that the first Indian missionaries : Kāśyapa Mātanga and Dharmaratna, who went to China in 68 A. D., were found in the country of the Indo-Scythians when the Chinese ambassadors came to meet them. The texts which these missionaries transmitted to China were not translations of the original works of the Canon, but brief *expositions* of the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism meant for pure propaganda in foreign countries.

From this time onwards we hear of continual arrivals of Buddhist missionaries and it is not without importance that many of them were Indo-Scythian by nationality. Thus Lokakṣema (for more accurately *Lokachema*), a monk of rare learning came to Lo-yang (Ho-nan-fu) in 147 A. D. and translated there some of the most important texts of the Buddhist canon into Chinese. May it be noted that most of these texts formed a part of the Mahāyāna literature. Lokakṣema worked there till 188 A. D., a very long period of work indeed, and some of his translations which are still extant testify to the amount of work which he did for the propagation of Buddhism in China. Towards the end of the same century (190-220 A. D.), one of his young disciples, named Tche K'ien who was also an Indo-Scythian by nationality, was compelled to leave North-China on account of political troubles and to migrate to the south of Yang-tse-kiang. He worked in Nanking till the middle of the 3rd century A. D.

(252-253 A. D.) and translated over a hundred Buddhist texts, 49 of which are still extant. It is again to be noted that he emphasised on the new form of the religion, I mean, the Mahāyāna. Though he translated texts from the Buddhist Agamas he did not fail to translate Mahāyāna texts like *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, a scripture of capital interest to the new Church.

Tche K'ien was the first translator in South-China and was thus the first to have imparted a first-hand knowledge of Buddhism in that region.

Without confining our attention to other Indo-Scythian monks of less importance who followed them, I pass over to a great name, that of Dharmarakṣa known to the Chinese as Tchou Fa-hou. Dharmarakṣa was born, toward the middle of the 3rd century A. D., of an Indo-Scythian family settled in Touen-hoang. He received his education from an Indian teacher, travelled with him in different parts of Central Asia, and undoubtedly visited some countries on the border-land of India. He then learnt 36 different languages and came into touch with different peoples and possessed a direct knowledge of Buddhism. A monk of rare genius, he was not contented with his lot at Touen-hoang. So he left for China in 284 A. D. and worked there for the cause of Buddhism till 313 A. D. As a man of Touen-hoang he possessed a thorough knowledge of the Chinese language and translated more than two hundred Sanskrit texts into Chinese, of which 90 works still exist. Besides he organised a regular school of translators where, Chinese, Indo-Scythian, Indians and others worked side by side for a common cause, viz., the propagation of Buddhism in China.

With the disappearance of the Indo-Scythian people from the face of history, or rather their assimilation into the vast population that spread from India to the border-lands of China, the Indo-Scythian monks ceased to play any part in the history of Buddhism. But their work was commemorated by China and we can still trace their stamp on the early evangelical activities of India. We can say without exaggeration that they were the first bearers of the torch of Indian Buddhism to China.

(2) The Parthians

Mithradates I, a very able monarch who reigned between 171-136 B. C. succeeded in so extending his dominions that his power was felt as far as the Indus and probably even to the east of that river. He annexed to his dominions the territory of all the nations between the Indus and the Hydaspes or the Jhelum. The chiefs of Taxilā and Mathurā assumed Persian titles of *satrap*; and a close relation between Parthian monarchy and the Indian border-land is demonstrated by the appearance of a long line of princes of Parthian origin who now enter on the scene, and continue to play some role in the history of India till the 2nd century A. D. So we have no reason to be surprised, if Parthia (*Pārada-rājya*) had already possessed a direct knowledge of Buddhism in the beginning of the Christian era.

It was in the year 148 A. D., at the commencement of the war that ultimately caused the downfall of the Arsacidan dynasty, that a Parthian prince appears in the western frontier country of China with a treasure of Buddhist texts. He is known to the Chinese historian as Ngan-Che-Kao or Lokottama (?) the Parthian. He was a true prince of royal descent but abdicated the throne in favour of his uncle, left the family and turned out a Buddhist monk at an early age. He was a scholar of profound intelligence and gave himself up to Buddhist studies. He left for China and reached Lo-yang (Ho-nan-fu) in 144 A. D. He settled down there in the monastery of *Po-ma-sse* "the White Horse monastery", built for the first two Indian monks Dharmaratna and Kāśyapamā-taṅga. He soon succeeded in founding a school of translators which came to be known as "Unrivalled". Really it was such. Ngan-The-Kao himself translated into Chinese more than a hundred Buddhist texts of which 55 are still extant. Most of these texts are extracts from the Buddhist *āgamas*, generally illustrating the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism. Another Parthian named Ngan Hiuan who belonged to this school came to Lo-yang as a merchant. He received the imperial favour for rendering some valuable service to the public and obtained the title of the "Chief Officer of the cavalry." But he soon gave up all official distinctions and embraced the Buddhist religion. As a scholar, he collaborated with the monks of the White Horse monastery and translated some important Buddhist texts : *The Ugraparipricchā*, *Dvādaśanidāna sūtra*, etc.

Amongst the workers of the school of Nagan-che-Kao, we find some Sogdian monks and, what is more interesting, a Chinese priest of the end of the 2nd century A.D., the first we have ever heard, named Yen-Fo-T'iao (Buddhadeva). He was a patient collaborator of Ngan Hiuan, learnt Sanskrit (the original language of the sacred texts brought from Central Asia) and was able to recite the whole of the *Prātimokṣa*. He was given the title of *Achārya* and a Sanskrit name, *Buddhadeva* (*Fo Tiao*). To the same school of Ngan-che-Kao belonged also the famous Indo-Scythian monk Lokakṣema.

It is not without significance that the first organised effort made to translate the Buddhist Canon into Chinese was made by Nagan-Che-Kao a Parthian by nationality. Buddhism was introduced into China by Indo-Scythians and it was through them that China first came to know of India. It was also left to this great Parthian to lay the foundation of a school for a systematic interpretation of Buddhism to the Chinese and it was in that school that the first Chinese *Acharya* and Sanskrit scholar received his training.

We should not mention here other Parthian monks of minor importance who went to China during the 3rd and the 4th centuries A. D. But they contributed not only to the spread of Buddhism in China but also to the work of translation of the Buddhist texts, which was only possible for those who possessed an intimate knowledge of the Indian languages in which they were originally written down.

(3) The Sogdians.

Next comes Sogdia,—another Iranian country. The Sogdians like their brethren of Parthia contributed a good deal to the spread of Buddhism towards the Far East. In the period which we have just mentioned, we find a number of Sogdian monks, and amongst them some famous scholars, who undertook the work of translation of the Buddhist texts into Chinese.

The Sogdians were a very ancient people. Their existence as nomads is known during the Achæmenian period of the history of Persia. The *Avesta* mentions the country and the people as *Sughda*. The Sogdians were tenacious agriculturists and clever merchants. Civilised and audacious, they had occupied all the cultivable zones between the lofty mountains and the steppes to the north of the Tien-Shan. They advanced gradually towards the eastern Turkestan and had numerous settlements in different parts of Central Asia towards the beginning of the Christian era. There was almost a Sogdian route at this time from the Great Wall of China up to Samarkand. The Sogdian, a purely Iranian language played the role of a sort of *Lingua franca* in Central Asia for some centuries.

Without speaking of the numerous traces of Sogdian translations of Buddhist texts discovered in Central Asia, I pass over the great Sogdian personalities who have left their stamp on the Chinese Buddhist Canon. The school of Ngan-Che-Kao in the end of 2nd century, had already some Sogdian translators. But the most important of the Sogdian monks who worked in China is perhaps K'ang Seng-houei.

Seng-houei was born of a Sogdian family. His ancestors at first settled down in India. His father was a merchant and had to stay in Tonkin (*K'ioa tche*). Seng-houei was born there in the first quarter of the 3rd century A.D. On the death of his father he left the world and became a monk. He soon proceeded to Nanking where he built a monastery and founded a Buddhist school. He was the first to introduce Buddhism in Southern China. There is some truth in it. Tche Kien, the Indo-Scythian, who was translating Buddhist texts in Nanking, at about the same time, was only an *Upāsaka*, a layman. So he had no right to give ordination to the novice. Seng-houei was a perfect monk and had exercised his full rights by converting many Chinese to the new faith which he had brought to them. Seng-houei translated about a dozen Buddhist texts into Chinese and some of them have come down to us.

It is sufficient to show the great efforts which the Sogdian monks made for the spread of the Buddhist culture in China. It is not necessary here to take notice of numerous other Sogdian monks living in the Buddhist monasteries of China, for several hundred years, though their contribution to the common cause should not be underestimated.

(4) The Kucheans.

Kucha lying on the great northern route that penetrated far into the west, served for long centuries as an intermediary through which the infiltration of the Western Civilisation took place. The Kucheans were an *Indo-European* people, as is evident from their language, more akin to the European branch of the Aryan stock than to its Indo-Iranian one. They settled down in the northern part of the Tarim basin, in the region of modern Karasahar, at an unknown date, several centuries before the Christian era. Kucha appears in the dynastic history of China, in the second century before Christ, as a powerful and independent kingdom, not ready to submit to the suzerainty of China. When other states of Central Asia did not venture to resist the attack of the Chinese general, Kucha almost every time would remain obstinate and accept the vassalage of the Chinese Emperor only after a long war. It was after the military campaign of General Pan-chao, in the first century of the Christian era, that Kucha submitted to be an ally of China.

Already before this time Kucha had become a great centre of commerce through which the caravans from the West passed over to China. The economic movement of exchange between China and the West, favoured by the *Pax Sinica*, received a special impetus at Kucha. The two routes which lead to the west, under the former Hans, the northern route bifurcated at Yu-men Koan (Touen hoang), reached Turfan (Kiu-she) and turned from there towards the west to attain Kucha, from where it extended towards Sou-le (Khashgar) and the Pamir. In the year 2 B.C., still another new route was opened, leading to the countries further to the north. It joined the main route at Kucha. Kucha thus became doubly important for the trade of China.

But the Indian missionaries soon followed the caravans by these trade-routes and reached Kucha, where they found a people of the same family, friendly in attitude and ready to welcome them. During the Western T'sin dynasty (265-315) we find mention of Buddhism as an established religion of Kucha. At that time the city of Kucha "was enclosed by a triple wall and contained a thousand stūpas and numerous Buddhist temples." [Po Yen (256-268) and Fa-tsou (290-316).]

From the end of the fourth century A.D., Kucha takes a leading part in the interpretation of Indian Buddhism to the Chinese. It began with the great Kumārajīva who was brought to China by General Lee Koang who led an expedition against China and conquered it. Kumārajīva starts a new era in the history of Chinese Buddhism.

His father Kumārayāna was an Indian and his family fulfilled by hereditary rights, the ministerial function of an Indian State. He abdicated his relatives and embraced Buddhism and left for the foreign countries. After crossing the Pamir he reached Kucha and was warmly received by the King who soon made him the *rājaguru*. The Kuchean princess fell in love with

Kamārayāna and consequently they were married. The issue of this union is our famous Kumārajīva. After the birth of Kumārajīva, the mother embraced Buddhism and became a nun. She left for India with Kumārajīva, reached Kashmir and remained there three years for the educations of the boy and she subsequently returned to Kuncha, after having passed one year in this way at Kashghar, which was also a great centre of learning.

Kumārajīva, though born in Kucha thus received his education in Kashmir and was as much an Indian as Kuchean. Kumārajīva came to Ch'ang-ngn in 401 and worked there for full thirteen years till his death in 413 A. D. He learnt Chinese very well and, to believe the words of the Chinese historian, the translation of Kumārajīva marks a new epoch in the history of the Chinese Buddhist Canon. He made a remarkable improvement on previous translations.

Kumārajīva was a scholar of rare genius. In 12 years he achieved a colossal work. He was the first to introduce Mahāyāna in China and that is why he translated some of the most important philosophical treatises of Mahāyāna. He made a very judicious selection. *Sūtrālaṃkāra Śāstra* of Aśvaghōṣa, *Daśabhūmibhāṣa Śāstra* of Nāgārjuna, *Śatasāstra* of Vasubandhu and *Satyasiddhi Śāstra* of Harivarman. In order to interpret these philosophical systems well, he translated also the biographies of those Indian philosophers. Amongst the 98 works which are attributed to him there is a text of special importance. It is the *Brahmajāla Sūtra*, a text of Mahāyāna Vinaya destined to the use of those who wanted to follow the way of Bodhisattva. The text had a considerable fortune in China for long centuries. Thus Kumārajīva was the first to bring to China a profound knowledge of Indian Buddhism.

The human side of his character is not wholly unknown to us. On his death-bed he asked his disciples not to make him their ideal. He said: "Accept my work, but do not take my life to be a model. The lotus originates from the mud. The lotus is to be loved and not the mud." Buddhābhadrā the Kashmirian, asked him once why he was so much respected by all people, Kumārajīva replied. "Because my hairs have grown grey." But Kumārajīva, an Indian as much as a Kuchean, was not the only interpreter of the Buddhist culture to China. We hear of a number of Kuchean monks who contributed much to the work of translation. We have texts in the Chinese Tripitaka translated from the Kuchean. Numerous fragments of Buddhist literature, translated from Sanskrit into Kuchean, have been discovered from Central Asia. A number of Chinese transcriptions of Buddhist terms in early translations show definitely that they were based not on Sanskrit original forms but on Kuchean ones. There is no doubt that the Kuchean dialect served for some time as a vehicle of the Buddhist doctrine when it penetrated into China.

(5) *Khotan Kustana (Yu T'ien), in Sanskrit*

Khotan, situated on the southern route generally followed by the Chinese pilgrims on their way back from India, played the same role as Kucha in the north in the diffusion of the Buddhist religion. The Buddhist texts discovered from Khotan show that the ancient Khotanese was an eastern Iranian language and was a highly developed vehicle of Buddhism. Being situated in the vicinity of India and accessible both from Kashmir and Afghanistan, the Khotanese population contained a large element of Indian population and the language consequently underwent a great Sanskritic influence.

According to tradition we are lead to believe that Khotan was colonised by the Indians at the time of Asoka. Whatever the value of the tradition may be, the numismatic evidences prove without doubt that Khotan received two streams of colonisation, one from India and the other from China, already before the middle of the 1st century A. D. The connection with India is confirmed by the discovery of numerous documents written in Kharoṣṭhi characters and in a *Prākṛit* dialect, which was certainly the language of common life. Side by side we have Chinese documents of the 2nd-3rd centuries of the Christian era.

Khotan came into direct contact with China from the time of Tchang Kien's mission. As a consequence of this mission Khotan sent an embassy to China during the reign of Wou-ti of the Han dynasty in 140 B. C. After a temporary silence Khotan was compelled by the invasion of Pan-tchao in the beginning of 2nd century to accept the suzerainty of China and to remain a faithful ally for a long time.

Buddhism was introduced into Khotan from Kashmir. But Khotan received Buddhism through other channels too—from Khasghar and Yarkand. Though we do not know definitely the time when it was introduced, we have some record of its later history in Khotan. Already in the year 259 A. D. a Chinese monk named Tchou She-hing comes to Khotan for the study of Buddhism. Tchou-She-hing is a fairly well-known figure in the early history of Chinese Buddhism. It was he who compiled a catalogue of the Buddhist texts, translated into Chinese. On account of the difficulties in the interpretation of Buddhist texts, he wanted to study with good teachers who, he heard, were to be found in Khotan. He died there at the age of eighty but succeeded in sending a collection of sacred texts to China through his disciple Punyadhana (*Fou Jin Tan*), most probably a monk of Khotanese origin. Shortly after in 291 A. D., another Khotanese monk named Moksala (*Wou-lo-tch'a*) went over to China and translated a Mahāyāna text, the famous *Pañchavimsati Śāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. In the beginning of the 5th century, (401-433 A. D.) a Chinese prince of Leang-tcheu, named Ngan Yang came to Khotan for the study of Mahāyāna. He settled down there in the *Gomati-Mahāvihāra* and studied the Mahāyāna Buddhism with an Indian teacher named Buddhasena (*Fo-to-se-na*) who was a zealous adept of Mahāyāna and "in all the countries of the West was known as

She-tseu (Si-p'ha) for all his attainments." Ngan Yang, on his return to China, translated some of the most important Mahāyāna texts. At about the same time Dharmakṣema an Indian monk proceeded from Kashmir to Khotan as he heard that it was the best place for the study of Mahāyāna. Subsequently when in China he undertook the work of translating the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* into Chinese he came to Khotan several times in search of a complete manuscript of this important text of Mahāyāna.

A few years later in 436 A. D. eight Chinese monks started from Lean-tcheu in search of Buddhist texts. They came to Khotan where the Quinquennial assembly (*Pañchavārṣika*) was being held at that time. They wrote down some texts from the mouth of the Khotanese and returned to China.

Evidences can be multiplied for proving the great role of Khotan in the history of the transmission of Buddhism to China. Analysis of several texts translated into Chinese have shown beyond the shadow of a doubt that Khotanese monks were actually fabricating scriptures in the 4th and 5th centuries A. D. They show indirectly what power the Khotanese Buddhist Church was commanding for several countries.

THE TIBETO-MONGOL INTERMEDIARIES

Tibet

We have already seen that Chinese and Indian monks passed for some centuries through Tibet across which lay the third land-route of communication between India and China. Tibet was not merely hospitable towards these monks but also gave them every facility in their missions. Her contribution towards the expansion of Indian culture to China by that way was not an insignificant one.

Towards the end of 6th century and the beginning of the 7th (581-600 A.D.), a chief named *Srong tsan* (*Loun-tsan-so-loung-tsan*), who occupied the Western part of Sset-chouan and Kouchi-tcheon, unified the dispersed Tibetan clans, laid the foundation of a stable kingdom and gave his subjects the name *Tou-p'o* (*Tou-fan* of later times). The country was called in the native language *Bod* which gave rise to the Sanskrit form *Bhota* (*Bhotta*). In the beginning of the 7th century (620 A.D.) the country extended up to the border-land of India. During the reign of his son and successor, *Srong-btsan-Sgam-po*, Tibet entered into direct relation with India. Towards the beginning of his reign *Srong-btsau* sent a mission of 16 persons, under the leadership of one *Thon-mi Sambhota* to India for study. They went to Kashmir and studied there with a Brahmin and returned to Tibet with a complete alphabet, based on Indian script which could be suitably adopted for the Tibetan language. *Thon-mi Sambhota* also composed a grammar for the Tibetan language counting in 30 Slokas, based on the principles of the Sanskrit Grammar. Later Tibetan grammarians also

follow the work of Thon-mi. Sanskrit Grammars, like that of *Pāṇini* and *Chandragomin* were translated later on into Tibetan evidently for a better knowledge of the principles of grammar.

These epoch-making changes in the outlook of the Tibetan people were soon followed by great political achievements. Countries after countries were annexed to Tibet and the empire of *Srong btsan* included not only the whole of Tibet but also the basin of *Koukou-nor*, the western districts of China, and parts of Assam and Nepal. In 641 A. D. *Srong-btsan-Sgam-po* married a Chinese and a Nepalese princess who introduced Buddhism into Tibet. The influence which they exercised on the emperor facilitated the spread of the new faith in Tibet. The two princesses, after their death, occupied important places in the Buddhist Pantheon of Tibet as *Tārās*.

Though the Chinese influence was exerted to a great extent specially on her politics, Tibet looked more up to India for her cultural development. Good relations ceased to exist with China after the death of *Srong-btsan* (650) when his successor *Ki-li-pa-pa* (656-679) conquered Khotan and Kashghar, the tribes of the region of Issyk-koul and Kou-kou-nor, pillaged Kan-sou and allied himself with the Western Turks. To the south his dominion extended up to Central India (Polo-men) : "Since the time of the Han and the Wei", says the Chinese historian, "no people amongst the western nations had been so powerful." The activities of the Buddhists continued as vigorously as before in this period. King *Khri gtsug lde btsan* took a leading part in the propagation of the new faith. The Edict of 783 preserved in Lhasa mentions his zeal for religion. He invited monks from Khotan, built monasteries and encouraged scholars to translate texts into Tibetan. He prepared the way for his successor *Khri Srong lde btsan* who turned the course of the new faith by inviting *Padmasambhava* of Uddiyana, the real founder of Lamaism in Tibet. The King brought the famous Buddhist scholar *Śāntarakṣita* to Tibet and appointed him his personal teacher in 757 A. D. It was on his advice that the King sent for the celebrated *Padmasambhava* the great exponent of *Tāntric Buddhism*. The monastery of *Sam-ye* (*Bsam yas*) was built after the model of *Odantapuri* of Bengal and *Śāntarakṣita* was appointed its abbot. The foundation of the *Order of Lamas* dates from this period. *Sam-ye* soon became a famous centre of literary activities where monks from different parts of India assembled and worked at translation of Sanskrit texts into Tibetan. Buddhism was in royal disfavour during the 9th and the 10th centuries and there was prosecution. But the work of the monastery of *Sam-ye* continued slowly on and many translations of this period have been preserved. The revival which took place in the 11th century marks a new era in the history of Tibetan Buddhism. Tibetan monks were sent to different parts of India, to Kashmir and Nepal, *Vikramaśīla* and *Odantapuri* for their religious education. The famous *Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna* appeared in Tibet in this period (1038 A. D.). He was a great exponent of the *Kālachakrayāna* and introduced a new calendar in Tibet. It is with him that the second period of Tibetan

Buddhism opens. It is more glorious than ever and is full of intense creative activities. The Mahomedan conquest brought about the disintegration of Buddhism in India. Monasteries after monasteries were burnt down and the only safe refuges left for the Buddhist monks and their sacred literature were Nepal and Tibet. From this period onwards, Nepal and Tibet joined hands in their meritorious work for the cause of Indian Buddhism. Tibetan monks filled the monasteries of Nepal and translated there numerous texts into Tibetan with the help of the Nepalese and Indian scholars. Nepalese artists were invited to Lhasa for helping in the work of constructing monasteries and moulding statues : Henceforth Nepal and Tibet, the shelter of Indian Buddhist scholars in the period of disaster, became the sole repositories of Indian Buddhism and worked for the diffusion of that faith in some parts of Central Asia and in China till the advent of the Mongolian power (in 1227 A. D.) which brought a new force and infused a new enthusiasm.

Mongolian Power

The military campaigns of Chinghiz Khan towards the end of the 12th century A.D., brought a new force into action and the Mongols began to play an important role in the history of Asia. The different Mongolian tribes, the Merkites, the Keraites and the Naimans were united in 1206 under the leadership of Chinghiz who then carried his victorious army almost to every part of Asia. The empire, which he soon succeeded in founding extended, in the west up to Bulgaria, Servia, Hungary and Russia, in the east up to the coasts of the Pacific, and in the south it touched the border-land of China, Tibet and India. The capital of this great empire was Karakorum (Chinese *Ho-lin*) in the neighbourhood of Orkhon. On the death of Chinghiz in 1227 A.D. his son and successor Ogotai succeeded in conquering northern China. Ogotai died in 1241 and Mankou Khan was elected the Great Khan ; and it was during his reign that his younger brother Kublai extended the Mongol supremacy over Southern China as far as Yun-nan (1253 A.D.). The ascendancy of the great Kublai to power in 1259 marks a new era in the history of Buddhism,—a short period of glorious activities just before the commencement of the declining days.

From the beginning of his reign, Mankou Khan tried to be tolerant. In 1251 he conferred on Li Tche-tchiang, the title of the head of Taoism and on Hai-Yun, that of Buddhism. The following year, in 1252, he honoured a certain Na-mo, called *Rajaguru* of some Western country and entrusted to him the work of general administration of Buddhism in the empire.

But the Chinese Buddhism was already on its decline. The Taoists were growing to be dangerous adversaries of the Buddhist monks ; they were misappropriating the properties of monastic organisations and were turning their temples into sanctuaries of Taoist sages. The Buddhist at first did not

succeed in sending a good representation of their grievances to Chinghiz Khan who was mostly moving from place to place on his campaigns. The Taoists took advantage of this helpless state of the Buddhists for sometime. But the situation was changed during the reign of Mankou Khan. On the 30th May, 1254 a great religious discussion was organised at Karakorum, under the presidency of three representatives of Mankou Khan; one a *Christian*, the other a *Mahomedan* and the third a *Buddhist*. The famous Friar William of Rubruck took part in this discussion and took the side of the Nestorians and the Mahomedans: succeeded in *establishing the existence of One God*. The Buddhist were silenced for the time being but they did not give up their hopes at once. In 1255 a new discussion was held at Karakorum, inside the walls of the Khan's palace. Mankou Khan himself, along with some high officials, attended the discussion. The abbot of the temple of *Shaolin* (near Shang-tou, to the north-west of Dolon-nor), named Fou-you represented the Buddhists. The Taoists were defeated and were ordered, by an imperial decree, to return the Buddhist establishments occupied by them. But the Taoists did not surrender.

Therefore the very next year (1256) another assembly had to be called by Mankou Khan at Sira Ordo to the south of Karakorum. The most famous Buddhist monks came there in numbers to take part in the discussion. But the Taoists did not turn up. Mankou Khan took it to be a sign of their incapability and recognised the superiority of Buddhism in these terms:—"Just as the fingers come out of the palm of the hand, the Buddhist doctrine is likewise the palm, the other religions are like the fingers". Mankou Khan, however, did not take any serious steps against the sinister activities of the Taoists.

Tired of these theological discussions, Mankou Khan in 1258 entrusted his younger brother Kublai with the right of a final decision in the matter. Kublai was staying then at Shang-tou (to the N. W. of Dolon-nor). He called there a great religious assembly in 1258 which was attended by about 300 Buddhist monks and about 200 Taoists; 200 Confucian scholars served as arbiters. Amongst the Buddhists there was the abbot of the temple of *Shao-lin*, there was Na-mo, the *Raja-Guru* of western countries, and the famous Tibetan monk Phags-pa (1239-1280), the nephew of Saskya Pandita, who was summoned to the Mongol court in 1246-48, and cured the illness of the Emperor. Phags-pa, though he was only of 19 years of age, played a decisive role in the discussion. A Buddhist monk came even from the far-off Ta-li (in Yun-nan) to attend this great *Congress of Religions*. In the discussion which took place, the Buddhists came out victorious through the eloquent exposition of Phags-pa. The Taoists were defeated and 17 of their leaders had to shave their heads and become Buddhist monks according to the engagement entered into. The Buddhists got back 237 religious establishments which they had lost. Kublai recognised the superiority of Buddhism and ordered the Taoists texts disparaging Buddhism to be burnt.

Phags-pa was appointed the *Kous che* (rāja-guru) by Kubilai in 1260 and as such became the recognised head of the Buddhist Church ; Kubilai established a special relation between Tibet and his dynasty through the Lamaist hierarchy and from this time Tibetan monks began to take lead in the Buddhist activities in China and Mongolia. Phags-pa devised an *alphabetic* system for the Mongol language, on purely *phonetic* basis and destined for official purposes all through the empire of Kubilai Khan. Though it did not become popular and had to give way to the Turkī Uigur alphabet ; yet it was used for sometime in *bilingual* documents. Phagspa attempted the work of organising the work of translating Buddhist texts into Chinese and translated himself the *Mūla Sarvāstivāda Karmavācā*. He died young at the age of 42, in 1280 A. D., having been greatly honoured by the Mongol Emperor who gave him the title of *Ta-pao-fa-wang* "Prince of the great and precious Law."

It was in this period (1280-1282) that, under the order of Kubilai, a *comparative catalogue* of the Chinese and the Tibetan Buddhist Canons was compiled by a committee composed of Tibetan, Chinese, and Indian monks. Several editions of the Chinese Tripitaka were prepared in this period and some popular Buddhist texts in Chinese were translated into Tibetan. Other Tibetan monks undertook the work of translations. Sha-lo-pa, disciple of Phags-pa, translated, shortly before 1313, a Buddhist text into Chinese, most probably from Tibetan.

INDO-CHINA AND INSULINDIA

While the countries of Central Asia or to give a more general and significant designation, *Ser-India*, had played a very important role in the history of the diffusion of Indian culture in China, the countries of Further India now known under an equally significant name, *Indo-China*, had also a considerable share as a torch-bearer of Indian civilisation. *Ser-India* has been a name of the past, made known only by patient labours of the historian and the painstaking explorations of the archaeologists ; but *Indo-China* is a living factor, though greatly transformed, in the cultural expansion of India. Indo-China, as its name aptly shows, has been an intermediate step between China and India. Her civilisation is also a mixed one ; the more ancient element was Indian. China exercised a great influence in its development in later times ; the substratum always being *Malayo-Polynesian* a race which are spread from Eastern India, and who occupied the whole of Further India and the islands of the Indian Archipelago as far as Australasia. The sea-route was the easiest way of communication between the different branches of this people ; and in every probability they were the first to open the route of maritime communication between India and Indo-China and Insulindia. It was through them that the Indian settlers and merchants were initiated to this route. They seem to have proceeded by this route towards the Eastern countries at the beginning of the Christian era,

when they appear in these countries as colonisers. They formed the nucleuses of later Hindu colonies, which soon grew up to be mighty empires and kingdoms. Amongst these, Champā, Kambuja, Siam, Laos, Śrīvijaya and afterwards Java, the latter two being in Insulinidia, took the lead in the history of the Far East for over one millennium and a half.

(1) Kambuja (Cambodia)

We have already seen that Cambodia received the first stream of Hindu colonisation at the dawn of the Christian era. The second Indian immigration took place towards the end of the 4th century A. D. The Hindu kingdom of Cambodia was then definitely constituted. The supremacy was snatched away by a dynasty of rulers from the hands of the existing kings, in the beginning of the 7th century A. D. The old name of the country, most probably indigenous, Fu-nan (Bhnom-Pnom) was overshadowed by the new one i. e. *Kambuja* (Kamboja). The dynasty reigned in all prosperity till the beginning of the 13th century when the Thai peoples of Siam came down from the north and upset the old order yielding place to new. Those six centuries are the glories of the history of the Hindu kingdom of Kambuja. The most famous Hindu edifices of Kambuja, which have struck the whole world with surprise, were built in this period. The *Indian alphabet* was adapted to the Cambodian (Khmer) language and the sacred language of India—Sanskrit, was highly cultivated. Though we have no permanent records, except the epigraphic ones, the early inscriptions show, what a degree of refinement was attained by the *Sanskrit culture* in Kambuja. Mahāyāna Buddhism flourished peacefully by the side of *Brahmanism* which was preeminently the state religion of Kambuja in this period.

Cambodia was in constant relation with the Chinese Court since the mission of K'ang t'ai to Fu-nan (245-250 A. D.) Embassies were exchanged between Fu-nan and China regularly. Fu-nan accepted formally the vassalage of China and occasionally sent tributes to the Emperor. The Chinese history has recorded a detailed account of one of the missions of Fu-nan which went to China towards the end of the 5th century A. D. In this period Kauṇḍinya Jayavarman, the king of Fu-nan, sent an Indian monk, Nāgasena with a memorial to the Chinese Emperor along with the merchants of Fu-nan. The merchant vessel was sacked by the pirates of Champā, off the coast of Annam; and only Nāgasena escaped and returned to Fu-nan by the land route. Śākya Nāgasena was again sent in 484 A. D. He succeeded in reaching the capital of China and fulfilled his mission. Nāgasena knew Chinese well and served as interpreter to the frontier peoples for a long time. Shortly after, two monks of Fu-nan went to China and translated some Sanskrit texts in Chinese. The first is Mandrasena (*Man-to-lo-sien*) who reached Nanking in 503 A.D. and translated three Buddhist texts into Chinese in collaboration with another monk of Fu-nan, named Sanghabhara. Sanghabhara was a polyglot and knew many languages of

the countries of the South Sea. He left his family at an early age and gave himself up to Buddhist studies. He specialised in the *Abhidharma* and made himself soon famous in the neighbouring countries. He also studied the *Vinaya*. When he heard that Buddhism was honoured in China, he embarked on a merchant vessel and reached Nanking. He had to wait till the advent of the new dynasty in 502 A. D., which took keener interest in Buddhism than the previous one. Sanghabhara was invited by the Chinese emperor in 506 A. D., to begin the work of translation, which he did with great success till his death in 524 A. D. From the biography of Sanghabhara, incorporated in the Chinese texts, we came to know that in the capital of China in this period there was a special pavilion, assigned to Fu-nan. This shows that Fu-nan was one of the most important allies of China at this time. The disappearance of Fu-nan from history towards the beginning of the 7th century and the rise of Kambuja (Chen-la) marks a new epoch in the history of Cambodia. The exact role of the great empire of Kambuja, as a torch-bearer of Indian civilisation till her downfall towards the end of the 13th century, is still to be determined. We will content ourselves with the scanty but weighty indications which we have just given to point out the contribution which Fu-nan—Kambuja made to the spread of Indian Culture in China and Indo-China.

(2) Champa

We now pass over to another Hindu Colony, viz., Champā which was founded on the Annamite (Viet Nam) coast at about the same time as Fu-nan. In its most prosperous days, the boundary of the kingdom of Champā reached the confines of the great Chinese Empire of which Tonkin (Kiao-che) was a province for a long time; and the two powers communicated with each other directly. The Chinese records mention 182 A. D., as the date of the foundation of the kingdom of Champā (*Lin-yi*). The Sanskrit inscription of king Śrī Māra, discovered at Vo-can near Khan-hoa on the Annamite coast, is placed in the same period. But the Hindu colonisers were settled in that region at least a century ago. The inscriptions of Champā—the early ones written in Sanskrit and the later ones in *Cham*, the indigenous language—covering a period of over 1200 years, record the political events that passed in this region. A series of reliable Chinese documents throw considerable light on the history of Champā. Champā was divided into several administrative divisions—Pāndu-ranga (region of modern Phan-rang), Vijaya (the region of modern Bin-dinh), Kauṭhāra (the region of Nha-trang) and Amarāvati. It seems that each of these divisions was a kingdom by itself and submitted to a central power from time to time. As the Chinese empire was contiguous to Champā, the latter had to send occasional tributes to the Emperor in order to maintain peaceful relations.

Though we have no means of forming an exact idea of the role of Champā in interpreting India to China, we know to what degree Champā was impregnated with Indian civilisation. The Sanskrit culture was in high esteem. Besides

the Sanskrit inscriptions, we have reference to a series of texts studied in Champā. During the reign of king Harivarman (803-817) a chronicle entitled *Piṇḍārtha* or *Arthapūṇya-śāstra* was composed in Sanskrit sloka. The grammar of Pāṇini, the *Kāśikāvr̥tti*, *Horāśāstra* (astronomy), the six systems of Hindu philosophy, beginning with the *Mīmāṃsā*, the Buddhist literature, the *Dharmaśāstra*, specially the *Nāradya* and the *Bhārgavya*, the *Śaiva* literature—the *Uttarakalpa*, and the sixty-four fine arts,—*Catuh-śaṣṭhi Kalā-vidyā*, were all studied in Champā. Though these words of the inscriptions are not to be taken too literally, yet it is evident that the most important part of the Sanskrit literature including the Great Epics, was known to the *hinduised* people of Champā. About the Buddhist literature of Champā we know even more. When Champā was invaded by the Chinese general Lieou Fang in the beginning of the 7th century (605 A. D.), the King Śambhu-varman was thoroughly defeated and the Chinese returned with a rich booty amongst which there were 1350 Buddhist works in 564 bands, all written in Cham alphabet, of Indian origin. A Chinese priest, Yen-tsong (557—610) was entrusted with the work of translating these works into Chinese; but we do not know what happened to them. A series of Hindu temples, mostly *Śaivite*, constructed at different times are to be found all over Annam. They still commemorate the indelible stamp of the Hindu civilisation in Champā.

The constant war with the Annamites resulted in the downfall of Champā towards the beginning of the 14th century. The power of Champā was already weakened and now she easily succumbed to the attack of the Mongoloid Annamites who came down from the north. The old order was again changed and a new one was established, a very aggressive one indeed! Even the ancient name of the country, Champā, was effaced from history,—only the past records, the dead temples and inscriptions, and a handful of the descendants of the ancient people, the *Chams*, stricken by poverty and misery, pushed back to a humble corner of their motherland, destined to die out in course of a few decades, were left to perpetuate the sad end of the glories of Champā. But analyse the history of the conquerors, the Annamites, and you will find how much they have taken from the culture of this conquered race and its Hindu culture.

(3) Srivijaya and Yavadvipa

These two names emerge as the most important of the Hindu colonies in Insulindia. Śrīvijaya has been identified with Palembang and Yavadvipa with Java. In the first period of their history it is difficult to separate them, as all literary references to them may be applied to one or the other. Thus it has been argued that the kingdom of Yavadvipa, mentioned in the *Rāmāyana* as *Suvarṇa-rūpyakadvīpam*—*Suvarṇākara-maṇḍitam*, can only refer to Sumatra (Śrīvijaya), as there are no mines of gold in Java. It has been pointed out by M. Gabriel Ferrand (*L'empire Sumatranais de Śrīvijaya*) that *Ye tiao* (Yapdiv = Yavadvipa) which sent tribute to the Chinese Court in 132 A. D., *Ibadiu* of

Ptolemy and *Yavadvipa* of the *Rāmāyana* of about the same period, and *Chou-po* (*Cu-bak* for *So-bak* Javaka) of the Chinese ambassador K'ang t'ai who visited Fu-nan in 245-250 A. D., all refer to the same region i.e. to the kingdom of Śrīvijaya which lay on the high way from India to China by the sea. So the same scholar thinks that *Ye-p'o-ti* (*Yavadvipa*) which Fa-hien touched in the beginning of the fifth century A. D., and *Sho-p'o* (Java) which was converted to Buddhism a century later (519 A. D.), by Guṇavarman, the Kashmirian prince, both on their way from Ceylon to Canton, should be taken to mean Śrīvijaya, which was the most natural step between China and India. Though it is difficult to follow M. Ferrand literally in all these identifications, it seems quite probable that the earliest colonial activities of the Hindus began in different parts of Sumatra, easily accessible to the Hindu merchants from India, and then spread to Java. The colonisation began most probably in the same period as in Indo-China i.e. towards the beginning of the Christian era.

However inseparable the two kingdoms Java-Śrīvijaya may be in the first period, they appear as two mighty powers, independent of each other, towards the end of the 7th century A. D. The kingdom of *She-li-fo-she* (Śrīvijaya, wrongly considered to be *Sribhoja* for a longtime, sent several embassies to the Chinese court between 640-741 A. D. and we know definitely from the Sanskrit inscription of Kota Kapur in the island of Banka (on the South-east coast of Sumatra) that in 686 A. D. Śrīvijaya sent an expedition to Java (Central Java which no longer submitted to the suzerainty of Śrīvijaya at that period. At about this time (671-672 A. D.) Yi-tsing halted at Śrīvijaya for six months on his way to India. When returning from India, he stopped again at Śrīvijaya and stayed there for four years (685-689) A. D. He returned to Canton in 689 but soon came back to Śrīvijaya to make there another long sojourn. Two of his famous works the *Nan hai ki kouei nei fa chouan*, "A round of the practices of the Law in the countries of the Southern Sea" (translated into English by Takakusu—A record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and Malay archipelago) and the *Ta t'ang si yu k'ieou fu Kao seng chouan*, the *Biography of Eminent Monks who went in search of the Law in the Western countries* (translated into French by Edward Chavannes : "Les Religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la Loi etc.) were composed at Śrīvijaya. From the accounts of Yi-tsing we come to know that Śrīvijaya was in this period not only a great centre of Buddhist studies but also of Sanskrit learning. "In the fortified city of Śrīvijaya," says he, "Buddhist priests number more than 1,000, whose minds are bent on learning and good practices. They investigate and study all the subjects that exist just as in the middle Kingdom (*Madhyadeśa*, India) ; the rules and ceremonies are not at all different. If a Chinese priest wants to go to the west in order to hear (lectures) and read (the original) he had better stay here, one or two years, and practise the proper rules and then proceed to central India." The Indian monk Vajrabodhi visited Śrīvijaya on his way to China in 717 A. D. Śrīvijaya continued to be a great centre till the 13th century. The mention of

Śrīvijayapura in the colophon of a Nepalese manuscript, of the 10th-11th century A. D., shows that the fame of this Hindu Kingdom had even reached the north of India. Suvarṇadvīpa, where Dipaṅkara Śrījñāna (Atiśa), the famous Buddhist teacher of Bengal, went to meet Achārya Chandrakīrti, has been identified with Śrīvijaya. Atiśa visited the country towards the beginning of the 11th century and mentions the place as the headquarter of Buddhism in the East and the high priest was considered as the greatest scholar of his age. In the beginning of the 13th century Śrīvijaya was still powerful. In 1225 *Chao Ju-kua* mentions fifteen dependencies of San-fo-tsi, (Śrīvijaya) of which eight were situated in the Malay peninsula. The conquest of the lower valley of the Menam by the Thai peoples, and the foundation of the kingdom of Siam, towards the middle of the 13th century destroyed the power of Śrīvijaya in the peninsula. The constant war with Java, towards the end of the same century, weakened the power of Śrīvijaya and she was annexed to the empire of Majapahit, founded in 1294 A. D. by Śrī Kertarajasa. This event marks a new epoch in the history of Java. Java had already been playing an important role in the history of Insulinidia since the 9th century A.D. The colossal monuments of art like the temples of Borobudur and the Prambanan had been executed in this period and the indigenous literature had grown up, enriched by Sanskrit culture. The new conquests laid the foundation of a political hegemony which Java held in the whole of Insulinidia till the end of the 15th century when the advent of the Islamic power not only destroyed the Majapahit kingdom but dealt a death-blow to the decadent Indian culture.

But though India was ousted by Islam, her work could not be undone. The colossal works of art which she had left behind, defied all attacks of the aggressors and still stands proudly to astound the pilgrims of arts from different parts of the world. The indelible mark which she had left on the language of the country, the alphabet which she had given to it, the contributions which she had made to the creation of a rich literature, and, in short, all that she had given to the people of Java to enrich their civilisation, could not be effaced by the stroke of a sword. Java in fact Indonesia, still bears testimony to that deep debt she owed to India.

SINO-INDIAN COLLABORATION

In the last few pages I have given the outlines of the problems that arise in connection with the Sino-Indian relation. I have shown the ancient routes of communication and pointed out to the active agents and go-betweens in the history of this relation. The whole of Asia marches, with China and India, in the great movement of exchange that begins in the 2nd century *before* Christ and continues till the end of the 13th century *after* Christ. It is impossible to leave aside the intermediaries and deal with the history of Sino-Indian relation as an isolated event. I hope I have made it clear that during the early period

of communication between India and China, India was represented not by her own people but by her neighbours and her cultural colonies. These people, while interpreting India to China, had surely given something of their own. If we analyse all that pass as *Indian* in China, we will find that at least a part of it is extra-Indian in origin.

I have not as yet dealt with the main problem in view, namely the nature of Sino-Indian collaboration. As the limited scope of this bulletin does not permit me to indicate here even the most important features of this problem, I will reserve it for a future bulletin, while mentioning here a few of the outstanding events of the history of this relation.

The Chinese mind is neither speculative nor sentimental but seems to be thoroughly calculative. It is after a long deliberation that they arrived at a right appreciation of the Indian Buddhism. Till then the Chinese intelligentsia remained almost indifferent to this foreign faith. Though it was treated with toleration from the first, yet it took a long time to have enthusiastic votaries in the capital of China. Buddhism was introduced in the end of the first century before Christ; but we do not hear of the initiation of a single Chinese to real monastic life till the middle of the 3rd century. A treatise was written, towards the end of the same century, by a Chinese, whose pseudonym was Meou-tseu; and it stands as a model of the minute discussion and controversies which took place in that period to establish the superiority of Buddhism over other Chinese religions. It seems that the attempt did not succeed very much in the official circles till the advent of the *foreign* dynasties of rulers viz., the Pseudo-Ts'in (350-394 A.D.) and the Northern Wei-Toba, both of *foreign* origin (386-534 A.D.) Buddhism became firmly established on the Chinese soil in this period. Great teachers like Tao-ngan, a Chinese scholar of great fame (313-385 A.D.), Kumārajīva, the Indo-Kuchean (401-413 A.D.), and Bodhi-ruchi, the Indian (505-535 A.D.), who received ample encouragement from the Emperors, gave a new turn to the course of Buddhism which was till then at the mercy of one or the other emperor. Great interest in India, from purely cultural stand-point, was created amongst the Chinese Buddhist scholars and there was a real hankering for knowing India directly. The achievements of the pilgrims like Fa-hien, Pao-yun and others, who travelled all through India in the beginning of the 5th century, are not isolated from the general movement in China. We know, that India was visited systematically by the Chinese pilgrims from this time onwards till the 11th century A.D.

The period of the great T'ang dynasty (618-907 A.D.) is the most glorious period in the history of Chinese Buddhism. This may be called the period of assimilation. A number of Indian scholars, Prabhākara-mitra, Śikṣānanda, Śubhakarasiṃha, Amoghavajra and others went to China and worked in collaboration with the Chinese. But the Chinese scholars also took the lead. To name only two, Hsuan tsang and Yi-tsing—are not only glories of China but also of Buddhism as a whole. The enormous number of translations which

they made from the Buddhist literature into Chinese was a service not only to the cause of Buddhism but also to India. It was in this period that Buddhist schools were founded by Chinese teachers who were inspired by the different systems of Buddhist philosophy. Buddhism also had a great influence on the secular life of the Chinese, and it was through Buddhism that India brought new models to the Chinese artists, *littérateurs* and philologists. In short Buddhism affected almost every domain of Chinese life.

But these glorious days of Buddhism were only limited; and after the intense works of the school of Yi-tsing there was a decline. The pure form of Buddhism became almost extinct and Tāntrikism introduced by Amoghavajra began to prevail. During the reign of the Song dynasty (960-1127) there was a short-lived revival, but other forces were working for its downfall. Islam had already overthrown Buddhism in different parts of Central Asia and she was now on her way to India. Though Islam could not do much in China, yet the transformation brought about by Lamaism, introduced during the Mongol rule (1280-1368 A. D.), was no less cataclysmic to the cause of Buddhism in China and Mongolia :—

"Before her entire eclipse by the doctrines of the Chinese *literati* and her total extinction in India, Buddhism once again inspired the two greatest agglomerations of people on earth with the same pious zeal. In spite of the latent germs which were already working for her dissolution, Buddhism had once again illuminated the banks of the *Hoang-ho* and the *Ganges* and made the sacred flower of enthusiasm blossom. Although at her decline, she seemed to have regained life for a moment, but it is with this supreme moment of glory that there began the *sunset of her gods*. The Buddhist inscriptions of Bodh-Gaya (engraved by the last Chinese pilgrims to India in 1022 and 1033 A. D.), are the vestiges of this final splendour; erected for celebrating the glory and majesty of Buddhism, they really became her tombstones under which was buried the religion, once believed to be eternal." (*Chavannes—Inscriptions de Bodh-Gaya.*) These inscription marked also the end of early Sino-Indian relation.

I stop here, for want of space, with the hope of soon coming back to these questions of vital importance to the history of India. We have no right to neglect them. If we want to reconstruct the history of Buddhism in its right perspective, we have got to go to the richest source of information—I mean, the Chinese Tripitaka. Whereas the Pali literature represents the canon of only one school—the Theravāda (the Sthaviravāda), the Chinese Tripitaka preserves the Canons of eight different schools of Buddhism. The vast Chinese Tripitaka is not only the work of China, but that of India also. It contains not only all the texts of the *Āgamas* (corresponding to the five *Nikāyas* in Pali, the discourses attributed to Buddha himself), and the texts of discipline (the *Vinaya*), but also that of all the schools of Buddhist philosophy, very few of which exist now in their Sanskrit originals. The Chinese Tripitaka contains, besides, some Brahmanical texts like the *Suvarṇasaptati* of the Sāṅkhya system and the *Daśapadārtha-sūtra* of

the *Vaiśeṣika*. These two Chinese texts have been thoroughly studied by the Japanese Buddhist scholars, Dr. Takakusu and Prof. Ui, and they show that the Brahmanical philosophical texts were not dead letters to the Chinese students of Buddhist philosophy ; on the contrary they were studied by them for a better comprehension of some connected Buddhist schools of thought. The Chinese Tripitaka contains besides, works of *lexicography*, some of the originals of which are lost in India. Two of these works, taken to Japan in the 8th century, have now been brought to light. The edition which has been published by me in France, will show that these two works are of great interest to us. One is attributed to a monk of Kucha named Li-yen and was composed towards the end of the 6th century or the beginning of the 7th century A. D. ; and the other was composed by Yi-tsing towards the end of the 7th century. They are perfect models of *manuals* used by the Indians in China or Central Asia or by the Chinese in India.

The famous catalogue of Buddhist Tripitaka compiled by Buniyo Nanjio, more than half a century ago, is still of capital interest to the students of Buddhism, and enumerates texts which came to light at that time through one edition only (the Ming edition), and there are about 1500 of them. But the explorations of the last half a century have brought to light many more Chinese texts bearing on Buddhism. The work which I have undertaken (the first volume is already published) will give, I hope, a more comprehensive survey of the activities of the Buddhist scholars in China. It enumerates all texts, either lost or extant, and texts which have come to light from Japan and Central Asia, since Nanjio's publication. The supplementary edition of the Chinese Tripitaka, published from Kyoto, mentions many new texts and numerous works of Chinese scholars representing the different schools of Buddhism which evolved during the T'ang period. I hope to publish some day a catalogue of these works (which is almost ready). But by this I only want to point out to the enormous amount of work we have before us. We are only at the beginning and our survey is only a preliminary one. But we have got to proceed further if we want to make an exact idea of the vast wealth of India preserved in the Buddhist collections of the Far East. Last of all, if we want to throw more light on what India did in China, we have got to take into account all places in China of *archæological* interest. The ancient cities like Si-ngan-fu, Ho-nan-fu, Long-men, Ta-tong-fu, Lu-shon, Nanking, Canton and others, where scholars from different parts of India and Central Asia flocked and worked in harmonious collaboration with the Chinese monks, for over a thousand years, for the growth of Buddhism, are to be again visited by the Indians, if they want to be faithful pilgrims to the sacred memories of their selfless forefathers. They have got to take into account the traces which these worthy sons of India might have left on the soil of China, because their memories will occupy an unique place in the history of India.

INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA

BY

DR. NIRANJAN PRASAD CHAKRAVARTI

M. A. (CAL.), PH.D. (CANTAB)

Our learned friend Dr. N. P. Chakravarti gave us the second rude shock when he died prematurely, like Dr. P. C. Bagchi who gave us the briefest and best *resume* of the history of *India and China*.

I induced Dr. Chakravarti to compose a similar bulletin on *India and Central Asia*. A master in deciphering the *Brahmi* and the *Kharosthi* texts and inscriptions, Dr. Chakravarti gave us a model monograph for which also, I (while reprinting) cannot offer personally my best thanks ! Dr. Chakravarti served India, for years, as the Government Epigraphist and, after India attained freedom, (1947) filled creditably the post of the Director-General of Archaeology, when I greeted him in Simla and Delhi. He gave us also, in collaboration with Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterjee, a very useful volume on the "Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java" etc.

May the noble examples set by Dr. Bagchi and Dr. Chakravarti inspire the rising generation of Indian and Asian antiquarians.

KALIDAS NAG

INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA

I

HISTORICAL LANDMARKS

The region under our survey is popularly known as the Chinese Turkestan. It may be termed "the innermost heart of Asia" and it covers a wide area. This part is surrounded almost completely by high mountains. On the north it is bounded by the lordly T'ien Shan, 'the celestial mountains' and on the south by the snowy Kun Lun range, dividing Tibet from Central Asia. On the west we have the mountain mass of the Pamirs, the *Imaos* of the ancients, joining the T'ien Shan to the Hindu Kush and giving rise to the head-waters of the Oxus on its western flank. To the east we may place the Nan Shan, itself a continuation of the Kun Lun, and the marshes of Lob, the border land of the desert Gobi. The area covered within this boundary is about 1500 miles from east to west and 600 miles from north to south where it is widest. But within this vast area, sites for human habitation are strictly limited. Such places are only the oases found scattered throughout the area ; and of these again only a few to the extreme west and east, offer some arable land suited to support a comparatively small population. The greater part is filled up by the dune-covered Taklamakan and the Lop deserts, extending over 800 miles from west to east.

It was this barren tract, devoid of all the beauties of Nature, which was the meeting place for centuries of the cross-currents of different cultures, trades and conquests, uniting the Far East with the West on one side and with India on the other. There were lines of communication across the Oxus region, joining the Tarim basin which served as the main channels for conveying the trade and cultural relations. This region, on the Oxus valley, comprised the ancient Sogdiana and Bactria, occupied by an Iranian people, highly influenced by the culture of the Hellenistic world and that of India. Of these lines of communications there were two main routes connecting the Western world with the East. The Southern route, leading from Badakshan up the valley of Wakhan ; and then, crossing either by the Wakhjir Pass or the Passes in the North, reaches Sargol ; and passing through the difficult mountain tracks, leads down to the barren foot-hills of the Tarim basin and thence to the oases of Kashgar and Yarkand. This *Southern route* was followed in 644 A.D. by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuan Tsang on his return journey to China from India ; and in 1273 by the Venetian Marco Polo in his journey to Cathay (i.e. China). At a much later time in 1603 the Jesuit Benedict Goes also pursued the same course in coming out of India in search of Cathay. But he was never destined to reach his goal as he died soon after he reached Su-chow on the borders of

China, after spending years on his way. The Northern route, which was much more important for trade, led from Balkh and passing along Qizil-su and the big Pamir valley reached Kashgar. This was the route, as we know from Ptolemy, used by the traders in silk, the Seres of China, down to the Oxus basin and the city of Bactria. This is probably the route which is indicated in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. (Sir Aurel Stein also followed a greater part of this route in 1915).

There were also two routes connecting Kashgar with the Chinese Empire. One going north of the Taklamakan desert and the other going south of it. Both the routes were already known to Hiuan Tsang who has given us a vivid picture of the conditions or things existing in these parts in the 7th century. Starting from his homeland in 619 in quest of the Law, he chose the Northern route. After an adventurous journey through the Western part of Gobi he reached Kao-ch'ang, i. e. Qocho, the capital of modern Turfan. The king of the place received him with great honours and, when all entreaties to retain him had failed, dismissed him with presents, and letters of introduction to other sovereigns. From there he passed through A-k't-ni (or Yen-ki) in the vicinity of the modern Kara-Sahar, Ku-chih the present Kucho and *Po-lu-ka* (—Sanskrit *Bāluka*)* corresponding to the modern district of Aksu. On his way home he passed through the kingdoms of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan. He gives a detailed description of the differences in character, dress, languages, scripts, customs and usages of the people. Buddhism was a flourishing religion everywhere. There were numerous monasteries and monks, mostly the followers of the Sarvāstivāda School of Buddhism; but in Yarkand and Khotan there were also the followers of the Mahāyāna. The scripts were mostly Indian. The language of Yarkand and Kashgar differed from that of Khotan and the language of *Po-lu-ka* was slightly different from that of Ku-chih in its neighbourhood. We are now in a position to appreciate, from the finds made in these places, with what a critical acumen the traveller must have observed these things. Even before the time of Hiuan Tsang, in the beginning of the 5th century, we find an account of the land given by another Chinese pilgrim Fa-hian, who followed in part the same route on his way to India. But the history of the earlier period is shrouded in darkness. Only a few facts, though very meagre, about the political relations of China with this region, have been made accessible from the annals of the earlier Chinese dynasties during the first few centuries before and after the Christian era. But these furnish only scraps of information and no continued history. The Chinese first penetrated into the Tarim basin in the reign of the emperor Wu-ti (140-87 B.C.) of the early Han dynasty. The Chinese people had heard of the growing power of the Hiong-nus (Huns) who had already driven the Yue-chi to the West and thus became a menace to the empire. Therefore, the emperor sent Chang-kien at about 135 B.C. as an envoy to the Yue-chi with a hope to form an alliance

* The correct form is *Bharuka*; cf. Pelliot, *Toung Pao*, 1923, 128-129.

with them against the Hiong-nu. On his way he was captured for 10 years ; and on his way back for another year by the Hiong-nu, thus reaching China about B.C. 122. He met the Yue-chi somewhere in the Oxus valley ; and though his mission failed politically, it had gained indirectly very important results in obtaining a certain knowledge of Parthia, Sogdiana and Bactria on the one hand and of India on the other. Henceforward it was the aim of China to keep the route open for trade and other purposes. There arose in the soul of the Chinese people a longing to keep connections with the Western world and it gave a permanent turn to the Chinese foreign policy which became regular and systematic in sending out envoys, commercial agents and military forces for permanent occupations.

Already in 214 B. C., during the reign of the emperor Huang-ti of the Ts'in dynasty the famous 'Great Wall' of China was constructed in order to protect the country from the inroads of the Hiong-nu. In his time it extended from Shan-hai-kuan as far as Lin-t'ao to the west, which is situated in the extreme south of Kan-su. A century later, in the time of Wu-ti, this wall was extended to the N. W. by about a thousand miles, almost to the eastern edge of the Tarim basin by means of a construction of lime. The wall was at first created with a defensive policy ; but this extension was made for taking an offensive with a view to an expansion into Central Asia. These lines were built of fascines or stamped clay and gravel. Behind the wall were watch-towers placed at different distances, according to the importance of the place, for keeping guard over the line of lime and for sending out signals. Remains of these lines as well as of many watch-towers have been discovered by Stein who made important discoveries along this line.

Though some relation was established with Central Asia, no formal conquest of the region took place till the time of the Later Han dynasty. Chinese Turkestan was conquered between 70—100 A. D. by Pan-chao, the general of the emperor Ming-ti. The general wanted to come into touch with the Roman Orient (Ta-Ts'in) but stopped at the Persian Gulf, conquered Khotan and Kashgar and defeated an Yue-chi general. The Chinese annals do not give the name of the Yue-chi king but it is generally supposed to be Kanishka. After this period the Huns asserted themselves and forced the Chinese to withdraw from the Tarim basin. From A. D. 123 onwards, efforts were made to reconquer the lost kingdoms, at first under the leadership of Pan-yung, Pan-chao's son ; but though partial success was attained at times, neither in the regime of the later Han dynasty nor in the epoch of the "Three Kingdoms" which followed, an effective control over the Tarim basin was maintained. Sometime after, the empire was reunited under the T'ang dynasty (618—907), and China reverted to her old policy. The Western Turks, and their allies, the Northern Turks, who all along proved troublesome neighbours to the Chinese, were now at war with each other. China joined the Western Turks, defeated the Northerners and occupied Turfan (640). Then with the support of the Uigur Turks they again defeated the Western

Turks and gradually controlled the Tarim basin under the name of the 'Four Garrisons' (i. e. Kashgar, Khotan, Kucha and Tokmak, for the last of which Karasahar was subsequently substituted). But there were fresh troubles ahead. The Tibetans were now growing into a military power ; and in the 7th century they invaded the Tarim basin and, defeating the Chinese in 670 held the 'Four Garrisons' till 692, when the fortunes of war were reversed.

After the rise of Mahommedanism, the Arabs were steadily pushing on their religion and conquest in the Oxus basin. By the middle of the 8th century the Tibetans tried to form an alliance with the Arabs against the common enemy ; and though for a time the Chinese kept the enemies in check, in 750 the Tibetans from the south secured possession of Tun-huang and the adjoining tracts at the foot of Nan Shan and thus forced the Chinese to cut off all direct communications with the Tarim basin. "For a time Chinese garrisons held out in Central Asia and the Chinese officials exercised some authority, though they obtained no direct support from the Empire. But although, even late in the 10th century, Khotan sent embassies to the Imperial Court, China gradually ceased to be a Central Asian power. She made a treaty with the Tibetans (783) and an alliance with the Uigurs, who now came to the front and occupied Turfan, where there was a flourishing Uigur kingdom with Manichaeism as the state religion from about 750 to 843. In that year the Kirghiz sacked Turfan ; and it is interesting to note that the Chinese who had hitherto tolerated Manichaeism as the religion of their allies, at once began to issue restrictive edicts against it. But except in Turfan it does not appear that the power of the (Turki) Uigurs was weakened." The Tibetan supremacy in the Tarim Basin however did not last more than a century ; and the history of the Tarim basin, for about 400 years, after the disappearance of the T'ang dynasty, is wrapped in darkness. Islam was spreading amongst the semi-Buddhistic Turkish chiefs, who occupied Kashgar and other places in the Western portion of the Tarim Basin. From the middle of the tenth century onwards there was an attempt to overthrow Buddhism by force and propaganda. "In the North Eastern portion, however, and in the outlying territory of Turfan, Buddhism continued to flourish much longer, side by side with Manichaeism and Nestorian Christianity, under the protection of the Uigurs." With the conversion of Khotan and Turfan the history of Buddhism in the Tarim basin ceased. In the first quarter of the 13th century however, Central Asia along with other parts of Asia saw great changes in political conditions with the rise of the Mongols under the great Chingiz Khan.

II

EXPLORATIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA

The first modern traveller venturing into the deserts of Central Asia was Dr. A. Regel, a German botanist in the service of Russia. His expedition to the oasis of Turfan in 1879 did not produce any practical results, but

furnished proof of the existence of numerous ruins and other historical remains in the locality.¹

After him the Russian brothers G. and M. Grum-Grzhimaylo explored parts of Chinese Turkestan, particularly the Turfan oasis. Their works were published in 1896-1907²; but being written in Russian did not attract the notice of scholars, as many of them were not acquainted with this difficult language.

In 1898 Messrs. Donner and Baron Munck of Helsingfors, Finland, undertook an expedition to Turkestan and Western China.³

In the same year Dr. Klementz⁴ of Russia undertook a journey to Chinese Turkestan and worked in Idikutshahri, also called Dakianus, Qocho or Kao-ch'ang, 17 miles to the east of modern Turfan and some other ancient sites near-by, close to the modern settlements of Astana and Kara Khoja, ancient Kao-ch'ang, Turfan capital of T'ang and Uigur times, and also in Toyuq, Murtuk and different other ancient sites.

Though his results were unsatisfactory his reports gave a fresh impetus and directed the attention of many western scholars to the antiquities of Chinese Turkestan and that of the German scholars to Turfan particularly. The credit of forming the plan of systematic expeditions to Central Asia must however be given to the Russians when, in 1899, Mr. Radloff suggested, in the Oriental Congress at Rome, the formation of an International Association for expedition to Central and Eastern Asia.

Even before the journey of Dr. Klementz, the acquisition in 1891, of the famous birch-bark codex by Col. Bower caused a great sensation amongst the Indologists, whose doubts about the importance of archæological expedition to Central Asia were thereby dispelled. The history of the discovery of this invaluable manuscript is rather interesting.⁵ In the year 1890 two Turks had found a birch-bark MS. in a *stupa* near Kum-Tura, in the neighbourhood of Kucha. They sold it to Col. Bower who was then in Kucha. He sent it to the Asiatic Society of Bengal; and in 1891 Dr. A. F. R. Hærnle, who was then the Philological Secretary of the Society, published a report on the MS.⁶ The MS. was complete and very well preserved and was written in Gupta characters. Its place of origin was North Western India and plæographically it was declared to belong to the second half of the 4th century.⁷ It should be remembered that the

¹ Petermann's *Mitteilungen*, 1879, Heft. X. XI; 1880, Heft. VI; 1881, Heft. X. Gotha, G. Perthes.

² G. and M. Grum-Grzhimaylo—*Description of a journey to West China*. St. Petersburg, 1896-1907, 3 vols.

³ Otto Donner. *Reise in Central-Asien*. 1898; Helsingfors, 1901.

⁴ A. Klementz. *Turfan und seine Alterthümer*. Publicationen der Kaiserl. Acad. d. Wiss. St. Petersburg, 1898.

⁵ For details c.f. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. November, 1890.

⁶ c. f. *Ibid.*, April, 1891.

⁷ c. f. J. A. S. B. 1891 p. 79 ff.

climatic condition of India is not at all favourable to the preservation of MSS. The earliest palm-leaf MSS. belong only to the western part of the country Kashmir and Nepal, and date back mostly to the beginning of the 11th century. Earlier than these, so far known, were the two isolated palm-leaves now preserved in the celebrated Horiuji monastery of Japan, which found their way to that country, through China, in the beginning of the 7th cent. A. D.

The Bower MS. which is now preserved in the famous Bodleian Library of Oxford, contain 7 texts of which three have medical contents. The author of the MS. was a Buddhist; and in this we have at least the oldest datable medical text preserved to us. One of these texts speaks of the origin of garlic, which according to the author, is able to cure many diseases and can extend the life to 100 years. Besides, the MS speaks about digestion, about an elixir for a life of 1000 years, about the correct mixing of ingredients, about other medicines lotion and ointment for eyes etc. A second fragment contains 14 medical formulas for external and internal use. The biggest portion is the Navanīṭaka (नावनीतक) i.e. 'cream' which contains an abstract of the best earlier treatises; and which, in 16 sections, deals with the preparation of powder, decoctions, oils, and also with injections, elixirs, aphrodisiacs, nursing of children, recipes etc. As the concluding portion of the work is missing, the name of the author is not preserved. All these works are partly metrical. But they have throughout an antique expression. The language is Sanskrit mixed with many Prakritisms. Many authorities on medicine are quoted in the Navanīṭaka, particularly Agni-veśa, Bheda, Hārīta, Jātukarṇa, Kṣārapāṇi (क्षारपाणि) Parāśara and Śuśruta. We have now found Mss. belonging to a still earlier period, like the dramatic fragments of Aśvaghoṣa, collected by the German mission and published by Prof. Lüders and the MS. of the Udānavarga, a Sanskrit version of the Dhammapada, brought by the French mission. Both are written in quasi-Kushan character of the 2nd century. Of the latter work I have the honour to be entrusted with the publication, along with other Mss. of the same work, preserved in the French collection. In a subsequent monograph I have a mind to discuss these Mss. in fuller details.

Thus the desert sands had things concealed in their bosom which were long lost to India. After this more interesting discovery there was a regular campaign among scholars of different nationalities to collect Mss., through the representatives on the spot of the various Governments; and some of the more energetic ones began to collect independently. These Mss., technically known by the names of agents through whom they were collected, such as Petrovski, Macartney and Weber Mss., were sent to Petrograd and Calcutta. A report on the British collection of antiquities was published by Rudolf Hoernle in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal of 1889 and 1901. The documents were distributed amongst the specialists in Europe; and one volume was published, with many facsimiles, in 1916 under the title *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*. The publication of the subsequent

volumes was delayed by the death of this eminent scholar ; and I have been told by Dr. F. W. Thomas of the India Office Library, that though the Mss. were ready, they have not yet been sent for publication for want of revision by some competent scholars.

In the meanwhile, another very important discovery was made in the southern part of the Chinese Turkestan. A French mission to Tibet was sent in 1892 under the leadership of Dutreuil de Rhins. He secured, in a place not very far from Khotan, a part of a very old birch-bark MS. The find-spot has been identified with the Goshringa *vihāra* of which Hiuan Tsang gives a vivid account and which is known as Gośīrṣa in the Tibetan records. The MS. was written in Kharosthi character, prevalent in the N. W. India and in parts of Central Asia, particularly in S. Eastern Turkestan, till the 3rd and the 4th century of the Christian era. It belongs paleographically to the 2nd century A. D., and represents a version of the Dhammapada. But its language is a form of *Prākṛit* which has not been hitherto found in any other Buddhistic literary works. It was also the first Buddhistic work in Kharosthi. When M. Senart, the French savant, to whom it was sent for examination, communicated its importance and contents to the delegates of the 11th. International Congress of Orientalists in Paris, in Sept. 1897, it created a sensation in the Aryan section. Soon after the communication of the find had been made to the French Academy, M. Senart learnt through M. Petrovski, the Russian consul-general at Kashgar, that fragments of a Kharosthi MS. of the Dhammapada had also been taken to the Russian capital by a Russian traveller. Prof. Serge d'Oldenburg, also submitted, during the Paris Congress, facsimile of a leaf out of these fragments to the Indologists. On examination M. Senart, at once came to the conclusion that both the Paris and the Russian fragments formed parts of the same original MS. The fragments in the French collection were published by M. Senart but those in the Russian collection have yet to be published. During a conversation with me last summer the French scholar intimated that he was trying to get hold of the Russian fragments and was hoping to give a complete edition of the work.

We have seen so far that such discoveries were dependent more or less on chance ; and it was not till a few years later that the first regular expedition to these parts was undertaken. Tradition about *painted grottos* in Kucha and Turfan was very strong ; and the natives of Central Asia wanted to profit by this zeal of rival scholars in securing Mss. and other Art finds. Manuscripts from Central Asia began to reach Hoernle, many of which later on were detected to be forgeries ! Necessity of a regular search was strongly felt. The British Government was the first to organise a systematic expedition.

As a result of this, the first British-Indian expedition was undertaken in the year 1900-01, by the order and aid of the Government of India, in the southern portion of Chinese Turkestan, particularly in the province of Khotan, under the leadership of Sir Marc Aurel Stein, who was then in the Indian Educational

Service as the Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah. He had already a thorough knowledge of the North-Western frontier provinces, the Punjab and Kashmir, and his zeal for such an expedition was quite well-known * The admirable results of this expedition have been incorporated in Sir A. Stein's monumental work, "Ancient Khotan".† Even a glance at these volumes would suffice to assure us of the importance of 'that ancient civilisation which the joint influences of Buddhist India, China and the Hellenistic Near East, had fostered in the scattered cases of these remote Central-Asian passage-lands.'

About the same time as Stein, Sven Hedin the Swedish expeditionist visited the N. Eastern portion of Lob-nor, a ruined city of the 1st cent. A. D., which he mistook as the old city of Lou-lan. He brought back a number of papers and inscribed tablets.

The success of Sir A. Stein gave a new impetus to the German scholars with the result that in 1902 the *Königliche Museum fuer Voelkerkunde*, proposed to send out Prof. Gruenwedel, Dr. G. Huth and Herr Bartus to Central Asia. As Sir Aurel's expedition was led mainly to Khotan in the south-western part of the desert, the German one was taken to Turfan in the Northern part of it, in 1902-3. Besides Turfan Prof. Gruenwedel examined several old settlements to the North-West of Kucha.‡

In the meantime through the untiring efforts of Prof. Pischel of the University of Berlin, the German Government came forward to render financial help for these expeditions. A committee was formed for the purpose and the Second German or the First Royal Prussian expedition to Turfan was undertaken in September, 1904, under the leadership of Dr. A. Von Le Coq and Herr Bartus. Dr. Le Coq's excavations were mainly confined to Turfan and the neighbourhood; but before he had finished his task the second Royal Prussian Expedition was sent under Prof. Gruenwedel in September 1904. Six important sites in Kucha, Karashahr and Turfan oases were more or less thoroughly searched [Ming-öi near Qumtura, Qyzyl, Kiris, Shorchuq, Bāzāklik (Murtuq) and Toyoq Mazar] till the return journey was taken early in 1907. As a result of these two expeditions various important specimens of Buddhistic Art were collected and Manuscripts in Chinese, Sanskrit, Syriac, Soghdian (in Manichaean and Soghdian characters), Middle and Neo-persian languages (Manichaean alphabet), Tangut and 'Runic' Turkish, including the then unknown languages commonly known as Tocharian or Kuchean, and North-Aryan or ancient Khotanese, were recovered in large numbers.§

* c. f. Detailed Report of an Archaeological tour with the Buner field-force. By M. A. Stein, 1898.

† Ancient Khotan. Vols. I and II. Oxford, 1907 For a popular version "The Sand-buried Khotan."

‡ For the report of this expedition. c.f. Bericht ueber archaeologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari und Umgebung. Munchen, 1906.

§ For details c. f. Altbuddhistische kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkestan by Albert Gruenwedel; Berlin, 1911.

The second Central Asian expedition was taken by Sir Aurel Stein under the orders of the Government of India in 1906 with the same object in view as before. It proceeded further to the East, through Khotan and, from there right up to the Northern extremity across the Taklamakan desert. Excavations were made chiefly in Khotan, the ancient capital of the Oasis, Domoko to the East and Niya. His greatest discovery, as has been rightly pointed out by Prof. Lueders, was in the district of Tun-huang. Here he discovered the western part of the famous Chinese wall, built as a defence against the invasions of the Huns. It was here that he also found artificial caves, numbering about 500 cells of various dimensions, which are known under the modern name of "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas."* In one of these cells, which had been walled up but was opened by chance in 1900, was found a very handsome collection comprising a whole library, of *Manuscripts* and hundreds of fine *paintings* on silk, which had been hidden away early in the 11th century together with other relics. The manuscripts were partly examined and collected by Sir A. Stein and partly by Prof. Paul Pelliot, the French Sinologist, who visited Turkestan in 1906-8; and the rest were transferred to Peking under Government orders. The detailed report on the scientific results of this second expedition of Stein is contained in his newly published masterpiece, in five volumes, *Serindia*. In these volumes, to quote his own words, he has very carefully noticed the "topography of the ancient routes which had witnessed that interchange of civilisations between India, Western Asia, and the Far East, maintained as it was during centuries, in the face of very serious physical obstacles, through trade, religious missions and the Chinese Empire's intermittent efforts at political and military expansion into Central Asia".

During this expedition the more important excavation were undertaken at :

1. Khotan : † the capital of the oasis, where a rich harvest of small *antiques* was obtained.

2. Domoko : to the East, in which place were found *antiques* and Manuscript remains in Sanskrit, Khotanese and Chinese, dating from the close of the T'ang period.‡

3. Niya : (where the excavation was resumed in October), This site has been abandoned to the desert sands since the third century A. D. Here he made rich discoveries of wooden documents in Kharosthi script and in a Prakrit dialect, besides 'other ancient records in Chinese and a mass of miscellaneous antiquities helping further to illustrate the life and civilisation prevailing in the oasis of the Tarim basin, at the early period'.§

4. The exploration of the Lou-lan site (the walled Chinese station) and of an outlying smaller settlement, yielded an abundance of written records in

* For details c. f. Stein 'The Thousand Buddhas', London, 1921.

† c. f. *Serindia* Chapter III.

‡ Ibid, Chap. V.

§ Ibid. Chapter IV.

Chinese and Kharosthi, dating mainly from the 3rd century A. D., and many interesting remains of architectural and industrial art of that period.*

5. During the excavations at Miran, Tibetan records on wood and paper were obtained and also fragments of Turkish 'Runic' documents. These mostly belonged to the 8th century A. D. But much older remains were obtained by the clearing of certain Buddhist shrines, which showed fine *wall-paintings* with legends in Kharosthi, which, according to Sir A. Stein, offered striking testimony to the powerful influence which *Hellenistic art*, as transplanted from the Near-East to Gāndhāra, had exercised even on the very confines of China.†

With the same end in view, and in order to undertake more detailed explorations in the sites already visited or left out, and extending further to the East and North, a third expedition was taken by Sir Aurel Stein in the summer of 1913. This time he started from the South and proceeded *eastward* as far as Kan-chou, visiting on his way the sites of antiquarian interest in the neighbourhood of Khotan, Niya and Tun-huang. He then crossed the desert of Pei Shan, from South East to North West, and visited Barkul, Guchen and Jimasa to the North. On his way to Kashgar he examined the sites of Idikut Shahri, the ancient capital of Turfan during T'ang rule (7th and 8th centuries A.D.) and the subsequent Uigur period; and other important sites (Yi-pan to the West of Lou-lan, Kucha Aksu, and various other smaller sites) which were not already very carefully examined by the German scholars. In July 1915 he left Kashgar for his journey across the Russian Pamirs and the mountains to the North of the Oxus. But his activities were not confined only to mountains and deserts of Central Asia. On his way back to India he visited Samarkand, Khorasan and the Persian portion of Seistan, the ancient *Śakasthāna* or the land of the Scythians. His finds in the last mentioned place, which "served as an outpost of Iran and the Hellenistic Near-East towards Buddhist India", were none the less interesting.

There, among other interesting find he discovered, on the isolated rocky hill of the Koh-Khwaja, the remains of a large Buddhist sanctuary, the first of its kind traced on Iranian soil. Here he found behind the later masonry, fresco-paintings of the Sassanian period. On the wall of a gallery were also found wall paintings of a distinctly Hellenistic style. The importance of these pictorial relics lies mainly in the fact, as remarked by Sir Aurel himself, that they 'illustrate for the first time *in situ* the Iranian link of the chain which, long surmised by conjecture, connects the Graeco-Buddhist art of the extreme North-West of India with the Buddhist art of Central Asia and the Far East. This connection was reflected with equal clearness by the architectural features of the ruins, which were also of great interest.' The details of this expedition were published in his valuable and illustrated work "*The Innermost Asia*."

* Ibid. Chap. XI.

† Ibid. Chap. XIII.

‡ Geographical Journal, August, September, 1916.

Besides the French, German and British Indian missions, there were three more Russian missions sent out to Turkestan. The second Russian mission under Mr. Berisovsky went to Kucha in 1906-07; but its result was rather unsatisfactory. In 1908 the third Russian mission was led by Kazaloff who discovered the ancient city of Khara-khoto. He brought home a mass of mediaeval Tangut (a language of the Turco-mongol family) works and Chinese documents of great importance. These have partly been published in Russian by Prof. Serge d'Oldenburg. In 1914 the fourth Russian mission visited Tun-huang the results of which may be published later on.

While Europe and India were sending out missions, the Far East also was not silently watching the progress. As early as 1904, the first Japanese mission under Count Otani visited Russian Turkestan, Kashgar, Kucha and Turfan. The mission collected also many prehistoric remains, primitive pottery and terra-cotta seals, going back to the Han period, remains of Gandhara art and several important MSS. in Chinese, Uigur and Soghdian. A second Japanese expedition under Tachibana visited Mongolia, Tien-shan, Turfan, Kucha, Lobnor and Khotan, collecting various documents in Chinese and Kuchean. Some of these have been published from Tokyo, with grand plates but unfortunately the works are in Japanese and are not accessible to most of the scholars outside Japan.

Last of all, I come back to the French mission which I only incidentally referred to in connection with the Stein expedition. But here also I shall mainly confine myself to the discovery made by the French mission at Tun-huang.

This mission was organised by the *Comite Francais de l' Association Internationale pour l'exploration de l' Asie centrale* with M. Senart as President. Free help was rendered by the French Government, the Academie Francaise, the French Geographical Society and the French School of the Far East at Hanoi (Indo-China). The party under the leadership of M. Paul Pelliot, later on a Professor at the College de France, left Paris on the 15th June, 1906; and passing through Moscow and Tashkhand, reached Kashgar on the N of the Pamirs. This site was studied from geographical and linguistic points of view rather than archaeological; and the party left for Kucha, where the German and Russian missions were already present. After some excavation work at Tumshuk, a small village full of ruins, already noticed by Sven Hedin, they reached Kucha in January, 1907. Excavation work was undertaken at Ming-oi, which is a Turkish word signifying 'thousand habitations.' This consists of a series of curious and artificial grottos in sandstone which were dug up, into Buddhist sanctuaries, before the introduction of Islam. There were Ming-oi on the slope to the S. of T'ien Shan popularly known under the name of *Ts'ien fo-tong* or the caves of 1000 Buddhas. These caves were famous in Chinese works and were also noticed by European travellers. They were full of mural-paintings belonging to the period within 7th-10th centuries. The Germans, the Japanese and the Russians had already exploited the site but still there were some which

were neglected by them. Here the French party collected some MSS. in Sanskrit and Kuchean and, on the whole, the work was satisfactory. Early in February, 1908 the party reached via Urumtsi, Tun-huang, at the western extremity of Kan-shu, where Fortune favoured them with a wonderful discovery and it would be worth while to give the description in the words of M. Pelliot :

"At our departure from Paris" says the French savant, 'Tun-huang was fixed as one of the big stages of our travel.' It was known that there was, about 20 kilometres to the S. E. of the city, a considerable group of caves known as *Ts'ien-fo-tong* or the 'grottes of the 1000 Buddhas', dug out at dates not precisely known till then, but which were covered with mural-paintings which Islam had not yet disfigured. We wanted to devote ourselves to their study, which no other archaeologist had done till then, though their importance was known all the time. . . . We were not deceived in our expectation and found that the caves of Tun-huang preserved some of the most precious monuments of Chinese Buddhistic art between 7th and 10th centuries. But another interest was added to the visit in course of our travel. At Urumtsi I heard about a find of Mss. made in the caves of Tun-huang in 1900. . . . I came to know gradually how this discovery was made. A Taoist monk Wang-tao, digging one of the big caves, had by chance opened a small cave, which he had found quite full of Mss. Although our colleague Stein had passed Tun-huang a little before us, I had the hope of still reaping a good harvest. Just after our arrival there, I made enquiries about Wang-tao. It was easy to find him and he decided to come to the caves. He opened for me, at last, the niche, and at once I found a small cave which was not even a metre in every direction, crammed with Manuscripts ! They were of all sorts, mostly in rolls but some in folios too, written in Chinese, Tibetan, Uigur and Sanskrit. You can imagine easily what an emotion had seized me : I was in front of the most formidable discovery of Chinese Mss. the like of which was never recorded in the history of the Far East. I asked myself, have I only to be contented with having a glance at them and then go away empty handed, and let these doomed treasures go to destruction little by little ? Fortunately, Wang-tao was illiterate and needed money for the reconstruction of the shrines. . . . everything was arranged and I sat down in the cave with feverish excitement. Devoting three weeks I made an inventory of the Library.

Of the 15000 rolls, which had thus passed through my hand, I took all that had by their date and contents, struck me as of primary interest—about one third of the whole. Amongst these I put in all texts in *Brāhmī* writing and Uigur, many Tibetan but mostly Chinese. There was for the sinologist some invaluable treasure. Many of these were on Buddhism, without doubt some also were on history, geography, philosophy, classics, literature proper ; and again deeds of all sorts, accounts, notes taken from day to day, and all were anterior to the 11th century. In the year 1035 the invaders came from the East ; and the monks had stocked books and paintings in a hiding place which

they walled up and plastered and the opening was adorned with decorations. Massacred or dispersed by the invaders, the knowledge of the library perished with the monks, to be rediscovered by chance in 1900."

Thus the Pelliot mission ended in triumph and all honours were accorded to it on its return to Paris. The ancient Chinese manuscripts are rare in China itself and there was none in Europe till them. Now for the first time a sinologist can work on the archives, in imitation of the historians of Europe. During my stay in Paris I had the good fortune of examining over 3000 fragments, written in Central Asian Brahmi, on different Buddhist manuscripts in Sanskrit, Kuchean and Khotanese. Of the Chinese collection also, which may be called now decidedly the best in Europe, those from the grottos number about 3000.

The bulky reports, full of most interesting details, which have so far been published, furnish a proof of the repeated hard toils and untiring energy of the great seekers after truth ; and how all their troubles and risks have at length been crowned with glorious success. They have furnished to the students of ancient civilisation materials, interesting from every point of view, of the culture of a country which, as we have already noticed, formed the connecting link between the West and the Far East on the one hand, and India on the other. They thus witnessed, perhaps, for centuries, the mutual influences of Indian, Iranian and Chinese culture. These innumerable antiquities, discovered in such a great variety of places, times and character, are not only interesting to students of history, art, and architecture, but equally so to those of ethnology, geography, geology and philology. Numberless manuscripts have been discovered in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Sogdian, Manichaean, 'Runic' Turkish, Uigur, Tibetan, Chinese and the *forgotten languages* of Khotanese and Kuchean or Tocharian, as well as in scripts which have not yet been deciphered. Hundreds of specimens of arts, pictorial and plastic, mostly Buddhistic, have been recovered ; and thousands of others of archaeological and ethnological importance have been unearthed which, by their characteristics, mark Chinese Turkestan as the meeting ground of Hellenistic, Indian, Persian and Chinese currents of civilisation.

I have indicated above the preponderant role played by Indian civilisation in Serindia and this happened mainly through Buddhism. We know that, to a great extent, China received her Buddhist art, not directly from India, but from Eastern Turkestan ; and Khotan has been at times an important agent in that work of transmission ; from China the same forms of art passed to Japan through Korea. Chinese texts have preserved the names of *Wei-ch'ie Pa-ch'e-na* and of his son *Wei-ch'ih Yi-seng*, who were in the service of the Chinese Emperor Yang-ti (A. D. 605-17) and enjoyed a great reputation as Buddhist artists. M. Foucher has shown how the portrait of a seated woman dressed in tunic with a child in her right arm, which was formerly mistaken as a picture

* Ibid. p. 62.

of the Virgin nursing the Child Jesus, is nothing but a copy of the Buddhist Madonna *Hārītī* of Mahāyāna iconography, who appears in China also, already in the time of Yi-tsing as *Kouei-tseu-mu-shen* or 'the portrait of the goddess-mother of demon sons', and is also identical with Kishimojin of Japan; later on, she has been more or less mixed up with the feminine form of Avalokiteśvara, the Chinese Kuan-yin, Japanese Kwannon, Anamese Quan-Am, mistakenly surnamed as the Holy Virgin.* This single illustration will show how the knowledge, concerning the progressive diffusion of Buddhist art throughout the Far East, may be acquired through the recent finds in Khotan.

The same is true with regard to the other aspects of the history of civilisation. Buddhist-Sanskrit manuscripts, the originals of which are lost in India, have been found here either in original or in translations in Chinese, Tibetan, Kuchean or Khotanese. The desert sands have yielded scripts which were unknown or ill-known in India or were simply local developments of some old Indian scripts. We have also come to know of the existence of an *Indian Prakrit*, spoken over a large area about which we shall have occasion to say more below. It has been truly remarked by an eminent scholar, that 'the archaeology of Central Asia has to be drawn out of the chaos of its materials'† and we must yet wait for decades till all these materials have been properly utilised in order to establish the history of Central Asia and her connection with India, on the one hand, and the Far East and the Western regions on the other. It will then not only throw light on various complicated problems of Indian history but we may have even to recast many of them in the light of these new materials.

* H. Lueders—Ueber die literarischen Funde von Ostturkistan—S. B. A. W. 1914.

† A. Lecoq. A short account of the origin, journey and results of the First Royal Prussian (Second German) expedition to Turfan in Chinese Turkistan. J. R. A. S. 1909 p. 299 ff.

SECTION III

THE KHAROSTHI MANUSCRIPT OF THE PRAKRIT DHAMMAPADA

Discovery of the Ms. : This important manuscript in three small oblong birch-bark leaves was acquired in the spring of 1892 by the French traveller Dutreuil de Rhins in Komari Mazar¹ in the valley of the Karakash Daray, 21 kilometres (about 13 miles) from Khotan and was sent to France along with other finds. We come to know from accounts given by M. Grenard, the fellow traveller of the ill-fated Dutreuil de Rhins, that the leaves were delivered, to him and his companion who visited the place a month before M. Grenard, by the natives on two successive visits to the locality. The natives are said to have found them with some other antiquities (bowl of well finished pottery and a small figure carved in wood and enclosed in a casket) inside the grotto.² M. Grenard identifies the place where it was found with the Gosringa Vihara of Hiuan Tsang and the Gosirsa of the Tibetan records.³

The importance of this manuscript was noticed by M. Senart on a rapid examination in 1897 and he at once intimated to the French Academy (*Institut de France*) its great importance and value in its session of 14th May of the same year.⁴ It was written in Kharosthi character, prevalent in the North Western India and in parts of Central Asia, particularly in South Eastern Turkestan, till the 3rd. or 4th century of the Christian era. The manuscript belongs palaeographically to the 2nd. century A.D. ; and the contents are Slokas found in Pali canonical texts mostly from the Dhammapada, but written in a Prakrit dialect, which has not been found hitherto in any other Buddhistic literary work. It was also the first Buddhistic work in Kharosthi. So, when M. Senart communicated its importance and contents to the delegates of the 11th International Congress of Orientalists in Paris, in September 1897, it created a sensation in the Aryan Section.⁵ Though it was only in fragments, a very

1 The term Mazar denotes a grave of a Muhammadan saint. As to the etymology of Komari or Kohmari, M. Grenard derives it from Persian *koh*—mountain and *mar*—snake, the whole meaning 'the snake of the mountain.' Prof. Levi recognised in this etymology a reminiscence of the Grihapati (Ki-li-ho-po-ri) Naga who is mentioned in *Sūryagarbha sūtra* as inhabiting the site (c.f. *Notes chinoises sur l'Inde*, IV. p. 40 note. Stein thinks, probably rightly too, that the name is of pre-Turki origin, like most of the nomenclature of Khotan and that this meaning was due to a popular etymology. (*Anc. Khot.* I. p. 190)

2 Sir A. Stein who was allowed to examine the cave personally, a favour denied to French travellers on religious grounds, is however doubtful if they could lay at all hidden inside it for centuries. He is of opinion that they were actually found in the vicinity ; and the cave was mentioned as the find-spot only to prevent any further search by the travellers. (c.f. *Anc. Khot.* I. p. 188)

3 c. f. *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, séance du 15 Avril 1898. Stein also supports this view c.f. *Anc. Khot.* I. p. 198.

4 c. f. *Comptes rendus*, IV. série. Tome XXV. p. 151 ff. 1897.

5 c. f. *Actes du XI Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Paris 1897. Section Arienne p. 1 ff.

interesting thing happened ; soon after the communication had been made to the Academy, M. Senart learnt through Mr. Petrovski, the Russian Consul General at Kashgar, whose name has been associated with the many important acquisitions from Khotan now in the Petrograd Museum, that fragments of a Kharosthi MS. of the Dhammapada had also been taken to the Russian Capital by a Russian traveller. They were adjusted and deciphered by Prof. Serge d'Oldenburg, who submitted, during the Paris Congress, the facsimile of a leaf to Indologists.¹ This Russian scholar afterwards placed the documents at the disposal of M. Senart when he came to know of the Paris find. These fragments were more extensive and better preserved ; and on examination M. Senart came to the conclusion that both the portions must have belonged to the same original manuscript. In fact a fragment from the Russian manuscript, which was sent to M. Senart, fitted itself exactly to one of the Paris fragments. The text was published by M. Senart, with palaeographic and philological notes in the *Journal Asiatique* of the year 1898.²

After the publication of M. Senart several important contributions were made in this connection. Prof Buehler was of opinion that the MS. belonged to the first century A.D. and must have originated in India, from where it was brought into Chinese Turkestan by a Buddhist monk.³ Two very learned articles as to the decipherment, adjustment and identification of the Slokas were published by Prof Lueders⁴ and Dr. Franke.⁵ M. Jules Bloch attempted to determine more closely, the home of the MS. which on philological grounds he placed in the N.W. part of India.⁶

Prof. Sten Konow in a valuable contribution in *Festschrift Windisch* argued that the MS. was composed in a dialect of North-Western India but was written down in Khotan where it was discovered.⁷ Dr. Barua and Mr. Mitra of the Calcutta University jointly edited the MS. with adjustments and notes of their own.⁸

The view taken by Prof. Konow, as to the place of origin of the MS. appears to me to be substantially correct. The dialect of this version of the Dhammapada has certainly many traits in common with the dialects of the

1 c.f. *Predvarimelnaya Zamemka o budiyaoy Tukonuon napisannoy pismenamy kharosti*, by Prof. S. Oldenburg, St. Petersburg, 1897.

2 *Le Manuscript kharosthi du Dhammapada*. Les fragments Dutreuil de Rhins. J. As. IXe Serie. Tome XVI. p. 193 ff.

3 On the origin of the Indian *Brahma* alphabet, Strassburg 1898, p. 122. ff.

4 *Bemerkungen zu dem kharosthi-Manuscript des Dhammapada*, MS. Dutreuil de Rhins. *Nachrichten der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Zu Gottingen*. Phil.-hist. Klasse. 1899, p. 474 ff.

5 *Zum Manuscript Dutreuil de Rhins*. Z. D. M. G. Bd. LX, p. 477 ff.

6 *Le dialecte des fragments Dutreuil de Rhins*, J. As. Xe serie T. XIX. p. 331 ff.

7 *Bemerkungen ueber die kharosthi Handschrift des Dhammapada*. *Festschrift*. Ernst Windisch, Leipzig, 1914, p. 85 ff.

8 *The Prakrit Dhammapada* edited by Dr. B. M. Barua and Mr. S. Mitra Calcutta, 1921.

North-Western provinces of India. But as Konow has already pointed out, it has peculiarities of its own, not noticed in any other *Prakrit* dialect in India; and they must be due to an influence of the native language of South-Eastern Turkestan which was prevalent there, side by side with the *Prakrit* dialect, during the early centuries of the Christian era. Thus we find that, like the *Pali* and *Sanskrit* recensions of the *Dhammapada*, there was also a *Prakrit* recension of it; and that for its origin we must look to India, like that of the others, and most probably to the N. W. parts of it. But we cannot press the point too far until and unless we actually obtain a *Prakrit* version of it within that region.

From a discovery of the numerous wooden documents in Kharosthi characters and a *Prakrit* dialect it can no longer be denied that *Prakrit* was at least the official language over a wide area in South Eastern Turkestan extending from Khotan to the western extremity of the Lobnor region till the beginning of the 4th. century A. D., whatever might have been the circumstances that had led to the introduction of it into that far off region. So it is quite likely that the *Prakrit* version was better understood and more well-known in the South than the *Pali* or the *Sanskrit* version. Numerous fragments of the *Sanskrit* version commonly known as the *Udānavarga* have actually been found in Turfan and Kucha in the North.* This fact must have led to the introduction of the *Prakrit* version of one of the holiest and most well known texts of the Buddhist canon into this region already under the influence of Buddhism. But the study of it was only confined to the learned section of the population. The less educated followers of Buddhism also wanted to read the holy scripture of their faith, though they might not understand it very well; and in the course of copying one MS. from another, formations and words from the *native dialect* might easily have crept in. Hence we need not be astonished if we find the dialect eventually different from the original and influenced by the ordinary *spoken dialect*. For similar reasons, other Skt. MSS. from Central Asia are found sometimes hopelessly mixed up with words and formations from the vernacular dialect which has been termed in one place as a curiously debased dialect of *Sanskrit* by Dr. Thomas.* In India, even to the present day, similar mistakes, due to the ignorance of the copyist are not rare. But in this case also one would naturally expect to find more than one manuscript in that region, either in the original *Prakrit* or in translations in one of the later dialects of Central Asia. Here, as in India, the late Manichaean and Islamic religion must have undoubtedly played a great part in the destruction of many of this MSS. of the earlier rival faiths. But until all the MSS. in *Sanskrit*, Sogdian or in any of the unknown languages have been more carefully examined, it is impossible to be optimistic about the discovery of other MSS. of the same text.

* c. f. Die Turfan-Recensionen des *Dhammapada*, von R. Pischel. S. B. A. W. Phil.-Hist. Klasse. 1908; M de La Vallée Poussin in J. R. A. S. 1912 and M. S. Levi in J. As. 1912, T. XX.

SECTION IV

KHAROSTHI DOCUMENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS

In the present section our attention will be confined to the Kharosthi inscriptions and documents which have been found in South East Turkestan as a result of the various regular expeditions to that part of Central Asia. They have been recovered from different ancient sites which are found over a very large area from Niya to the extremity of the Lobnor region. They may be conveniently divided into the following heads according to the *materials* on which they were written.

1. Documents on wooden tablets, with clay seals on some of them.
2. Documents on leather.
3. Paper documents.
4. Writings on silk.
5. Inscriptions on frescoes in the shrines.

Of these the documents of the first three classes have been obtained in very large numbers. Their interest lies in the fact that they are of an altogether *secular* character, and they are written in a sort of Prakrit dialect.

During the first expedition of Sir Aurel Stein, wooden documents were recovered only from the Niya site; but during his second and third expeditions, other sites besides Niya, such as Lou-lan and Endere yielded a further collection of these documents; 428 of these *wooden and leather documents*, which were obtained at the Niya site during the first expedition have been transcribed and edited by Rev. A. M. Boyer, Prof. E. J. Rapson and Mon. E. Senart.*

DISCOVERY OF THE WOODEN DOCUMENTS

The incident which led to the discovery of these documents is interesting. A Muhammedan villager of Niya picked up two wooden documents which were originally dug out by another inhabitant of the locality from a place near the ancient site of Niya where he went in search of treasure. He gave these useless finds to his children as objects of play. When Sir Aurel Stein accidentally came into possession of them he at once recognised their importance as being written in Kharosthi character of the *Kushana* type. It was evident therefore, that, they must have belonged to a very early period. Through the help of the original finder, and by a systematic search, he was able to collect a large number of them in different ruins on the same site. These were obtained either scattered on the surface, evidently carelessly left there by treasure-seekers, or were lying buried in sand. The greater number of these

* c. f. for example the use of *rr* for *skt. r.* in some of the Khotan MSS. and; also Zur Geschichte und Geographie Ostturkestans by H. Lüders, S. B. A. H. Phil.-List Klasse 1922. P. 214 ff.

tablets are wedge-shaped or rectangular, the rest being oblong, 'Takhti-shaped' or of various other irregular forms.

WEDGE-SHAPED TABLETS

These tablets, mentioned as *Kilamudrā* (कीलमुद्रा) in the documents themselves, are various lengths ranging from 7 to 15 inches, and most of them were originally arranged in pairs. The two associated tablets were held together by a string which was sealed on the covering tablet by a clay seal. The tablets of this description were evidently used for short communications of an official nature, mostly containing advice as to the decision of different disputes or other instructions to the local officials by the *Mahānuvava Maharaja*, (Skt. महानुभव महाराजः) or 'His Excellency the great King,' who is never named in any of these documents. All that we can say about him at present is that he was not identical with any of the rulers whose names are found in the documents, as was held by Stein and Know. His position was more probably that of a local chief or governor of the province who was directly or indirectly under the vassalage of some overlord, who might have been the ruler of Khotan. (See No. 214) The writing in these documents begins on the obverse of the under-tablet and is continued on the reverse of the covering tablet if necessary. These letters were always issued from the office of the Central government, and they bear the name of the official or officials to whom they were addressed, written on the obverse of the covering tablet. On the reverse of the under-tablet was generally written the name of the plaintiff or some indication as to the nature of the contents of the letter. Only five of them (Nos. 155, 193, 213, 236, 296) are dated.

The first three of these five dated documents are unfortunately incomplete. The dates recorded on these wedgeshaped tablets belong to the years 6, 10, 11, 21 and 26. It is possible that the use of dates may have depended on the nature of the document. Thus we find that, as a rule, only those documents which are of more than ordinary importance are dated. As has been observed above, the wedge-shaped tablets are usually in pairs; but some of them are single, (e.g. Nos 90, 125, 157, etc.)

* Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan. Part I. Transcribed and edited by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson, and E. Senart, Oxford, 1920. A second volume containing the remaining documents has been published by the same authors in (1927).

† See N. 22. i. 1901a, 6 and N. 23. i. 1901.

‡ For details, cf. *Ancient Khotan* Chap. XI. p. 316.

THE RECTANGULAR TABLETS

The tablets of rectangular form are of various sizes, some of them being as much as 30 inches in length. Stein refers to one, unfortunately completely bleached, which was actually 7 ft 6 inches in length. Like the wedge-shaped tablets most of these were also originally fitted with covering tablets and clay seals. The double rectangular tablets were clearly of two different varieties. The first class were official letters, containing information of a personal or official nature or instructions concerning affairs of the state. They are issued by one official to another, whose duty it was to see that the instructions were duly carried out. Some of these officials are related to one another by family ties. The obverse of the covering tablet contains the address; and the writing is commenced on the under-tablet and continued to the reverse of the covering tablet if required, as in the case of the wedge-tablets. The tablets of this first class are not dated. The second variety consists of deeds of agreement, bonds and similar *legal* instruments; and as such they are mostly dated, (c.f. Nos. 180, 318, 222, 422, 327, 345, etc.) on the obverse of the covering tablets are written the names of the parties concerned as well as that of the executive officer. The writing is begun and continued exactly as in the tablets of the first class. Many of the complete rectangular tablets of this second variety were found unopened; and Sir Aurel Stein is, no doubt, right in his assumption that these deeds of agreement had to be kept under their original in order that, in case of need, their validity might be established in court. The intact preservation of the seal as well as of the string holding the covering and under tablets also was necessary to keep them safe from any unauthoritative tampering.*

The other documents on wood were of various irregular shapes of which the 'Takhti-shaped' and oblong tablets are more numerous. The oblong tablets seem to be more important, as many of them bear the date and names of the ruling princes. They are usually of the nature of accounts or lists, public or private. In these are also found, among other names, those of many of the officials who are mentioned in other documents, as well as their relations such as, wife, sister, brother, son etc.

LEATHER DOCUMENTS

In addition to these documents on wood, documents on leather from the Niya and the Endare sites† have also been found, but they are not as numerous as the former. It is interesting to note in this connection that though the people using these documents were apparently Buddhist, they had no objection to employ leather as one of their writing materials. The writing on both the wooden and the leather documents was done with ink and wooden pens, several

* Cf. *Serindia*, pp. 227-28

† Cf. *Ancient Khotan* p. 338 ff and *Serindia* pp. 218, 256, 278, 291, 383.

of which have been discovered in some of the rubbish heaps.* These leather documents also consist of two different varieties. The contents of the first, the number of which is very limited, are similar to those of the double rectangular tablets. They are written from one official to another official or to some relation, and they contain information of personal as well as of official nature. (cf. Nos. 247, 385, etc.) The second variety, which is technically known as *vimnadi-lekha* or 'a letter of information' is issued by the *Mahamava Maharaya* to different officials, mostly to *Cojhbo Samjaka*, and the contents are similar to those of the double wedge-tablets. In the beginning of these letters we generally find the stereotyped phrase, 'it should be known what I write and what order I give for the carrying out of the duties of the kingdom ; that energy is to be shown day and night in the performance of the duties of the kingdom ; (that) the command should be followed even at the cost of life so that prosperity may exist in Khotamna ; and in this way the letter of information should be sent to the feet the great king' etc. (cf. No. 272 etc.) The address is written on the reverse and sometimes also a brief indication of the nature of the business (cf. no. 309) One peculiar feature of these documents is that, though they are mostly dated, only months and days are recorded, and the regnal year is nowhere mentioned. (cf. 238, 273, 329, 257, 258, etc.)

DOCUMENTS ON PAPER

Not even the smallest scrap of paper was found in the investigations of ruined sites at Niya during the first and the later expeditions. The first documents on paper, mostly in Chinese and several in Kharosthi,† were obtained at the Lou-lan site to the North of Lobnor. Stein concludes from this that the Niya site must have been abandoned earlier, while the Lou-lan site was occupied at least till about the middle of the 4th. century.‡ In fact the numerous Chinese documents found on the site indicate that the particular station represented by the ruins must have been under Chinese administration.§ But the discovery of an Indian script and language at the site shows that, even at such a late period, the administration of the place was, to some extent at least, carried on in an Indian Prakrit language. Most of these documents are however in fragments and none has yet been published with the exception of the Chinese portion of one document.** Only one large and almost complete *paper* document (L. A, vi, ii, 0234, Pt. XXXIX has been found which bears any notable resemblance in shape and arrangement of writing to the *leather* documents from Niya.

* Cf. *Ancient Khoran* II. plate CV.

† Cf. *Serindia*, pp. 242, 372, 383, 402, 433, 436, 439, 446.

‡ *Ibid* p. 242.

§ *Ibid*, p. 383.

** See Chavannes, *Documents Chinois*, p. 189. No. 918 and Pl. XXVIII.

DOCUMENTS ON SILK

The documents on silk are especially interesting as being both religious and secular in character. We know from Chinese tradition that silk was one of the ancient materials used for writing, before the invention of paper about 105 A. D.¹ and this information is confirmed by these finds. Altogether three strips of silk bearing Kharosthi writing have so far been obtained.² Of these, that from the Lou-lan site appears to have been torn off from the edge of a bale of silk; and that from 'Tun-huang limes' is the fragment of a Kharosthi document.³ It is the only record on silk in Kharosthi script and *Indian Prakrit* so far discovered, which contains fragments of a letter or order. The third Kharosthi document on silk consists of portions of three votive banners which were found during the excavation of the Miran site. They bear nine inscriptions, five of which are complete.⁴ These contain a prayer in Prakrit for the health of a certain person and that of his family, the phrase used being identical with that found in the Indian inscriptions of the Kushana period (*arughadachinae bhavadu* Skt *arogya-dakshināyai bhavatu.*) (*आरोग्यदक्षिणायै भवतु*)

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE FRESCOES OF SHRINES

Five of these were found on the walls of a ruined shrine at the Miran site.⁵ They are very short, and are said to illustrate the titles of the various incidents chiefly from the Jātakas which are depicted on the walls. The two more important ones have been published by M. Boyer.⁶

INSCRIPTION ON WALL PLASTER

In one of the temple-remains to the North of Khotan, Stein discovered a small fragment of coloured wall plaster, loose in sand, on which he found uncertain traces of what were apparently three Kharosthi characters.⁷

In conclusion we may notice a few interesting points with regard to the secular documents. In Eastern Turkestan the practice of writing letters, the earliest specimens of which we find in our documents, was confined neither to the period of our documents nor to the Kharosthi script and the Prakrit dialect. We know that hoards of similar documents on wood and paper in Chinese, bearing the seals of office and the signatures of various officials, military and

1 cf. Chavannes—*Les livres Chinois*, J. As. 1905.

2 cf. *Serindia*—pp. 677, 777. 3 cf. L. A. vi, 0235, Pl. XXXIX.

3 cf. T. XII. a. II. 20, Pl. XXXIX.

4 cf. Boyer—*Inscriptions de Miran*, J. As. 1911, p. 418, ff.

5 cf. *Serindia* pp. 516, 519, 521, 531 and figs. 141, 142, 144.

6 See Boyer.—*Inscriptions de Miran*, J. As. 1911, p. 417 ff. In the latter of these, the name Tita has been identified with the Western name Titus.

7 cf. *Serindia*, p. 1279

civil, have been recovered from different sites in Eastern Turkestan.¹ A few of these have been published by M. Chavannes,² but a large number of them has yet to be published.

Moreover, similar records in *Libtan* on wood and paper dating from a period much later than that of our documents and evidently subsequent to the invasion from Tibet, have been discovered. One of these has been published by Dr. L. D. Barnett.³ The style and the contents of this document are similar to those in the Kharosthi documents. M. Francke in a very interesting paper has briefly described the nature of the Tibetan documents on wood and paper recovered mostly from the Miran and Mazartagh sites by Sir A. Stein. These, according to Francke, cannot be dated later than the 9th century A. D.⁴ Though none of these documents, has yet been published, we can conclude from his learned article that these also are similar in character to the Kharosthi documents. Of these Tibetan records, most of those on wood are very short and contain little more than personal and local names together with information of slight importance. For example, some of them write about barley, wheat, millet, grass, horse-fodder, with names of peasants and with short notes concerning payments. They were evidently records of accounts and, as far as these contents are concerned, may be well compared to the Takhti-shaped and other irregular-shaped Kharosthi documents.

The nature of the larger and more important documents, and of a few also on paper or wood, is also similar to our records. They contain titles of various officials and names of different offices besides many local and personal names. Some of these are dated, but in cycles of twelve years, following the Chinese Calendar which was introduced into Tibet in the 7th century under Srong-btsan-sgam-po.

In general characteristics these records are also exactly similar to our documents. To quote the words of M. Francke: "we find therein law-suits, inventories, distribution lists of provisions or presents, demands for military assistance, or for more provisions, arrangements for the service of the guards, or sentinels, complaints that wages or rewards were not given, reports of illness, prayers for medicine, accounts of debts, appointments to some posts, lists of transports of arms etc." We find there disputes about *slaves* and also the sort of conventional phrases as used in the Kharosthi records, addressing the officials as uncles and nephews, as well as inquiries after health, expression of joy at the good news, good wishes for health and long life etc.

Besides Chinese and Tibetan documents, others in *Khotanese* have also been found.⁵

1 cf. *Serindia*. General Index, p. 1520 and *Ancient Khotan* i Appendix A.

2 *Ibid.* p. 1329.

3 Hoernle: *Remains of Buddhist Literature*, p. 402.

4 Rev. A. H. Francke: *Tibetan documents from Chinese Turkestan* J. R. A. S. 1914

5 Hoernle. *Reports* 1902. Pt. II. p. 36 ff.

As in the South, so also the North of the Chinese Turkestan similar records in *Uigurish* have been recovered from Idikutsahri¹ and Turfan.² In them also we find the decisions about various disputes recorded with names of witnesses added below.

But did this practice of writing out letters and documents cease with the period to which the documents which we have just described belong? The answer must be in the negative. Documents of a similar nature are still in use in Eastern Turkestan as we know from a few extracts given in Shaw's grammar. The following is the translation of a *passport* issued in Kashgar.³

"To

All road and station officials at this time, notice (is given) that at this season of auspicious arrangement, Shaw Sahib's man Rahmat-Ullah, with a horse, is going to Yarkand on service. It is necessary that you, without offering molestation or impediment at the road stations (either) in (his) going or coming, pass him on and forward him. With this intent, on the eleventh day of the Holy Ramzan." etc.

Extracts from several other documents also are given by Mr. Shaw.

Now, one may ask the question, from which country this particular mode of composing letters, both official and private, was first introduced into the far-off region of Central Asia? Some explanation must be found to account for the discovery, in this region, of records which are not only written in an alphabet used in India—for Kharosthi is essentially the alphabet of Gāndhāra—but also in an *Indian dialect*. Our object in the present chapter is not to discuss the much-disputed theory about the possibility of an early immigration from India to this part of Asia, as found in legends⁴; or to find out how far the traditional tales about Khotan handed down by the Tibetans about the invasion of Soked (*Saketa*) by Li (Khotan) is based on fact.⁵ But it is certain that the discovery of Kharosthi and Prakrit documents in the Lobnor region, to the extreme east of the Tarim Basin, showing the use of this foreign language for purposes of administration, even at the very threshold of China, cannot be well accounted for by these traditional tales.

But the existence of the great Kushana empire which included both Chinese Turkestan and N. W. India, and the extension of Buddhism by means of this empire, seem to supply a satisfactory answer to our question. The stereotyped complimentary phrases used in the Kharosthi documents are pre-eminently Indian and sometimes Buddhistic in nature. Stein has also noticed how the style of writing in these records follows closely the instructions

1 Gruenwedel...Bericht. p. 111 ff.

2 *Serindia* pp. 84, 1175.

3 R. B. Shaw. *Sketch of the Turki Language*, extract IV.

4 cf. *Ancient Khotan* i p. 156

5 cf. Sten Konow, S. B. A. W. 1916, p. 820 and J. R. A. S. 1914, p. 239 ff.

given in the Kashmirian manual Lokaprakāśa.* It seems certain, therefore, that, like the script and the language, the style of these documents also was introduced from India and probably from the N. W. parts. But it is evident that an Indian dialect thus introduced must have been in course of time influenced to a certain extent by the vernacular language, but also in style we may reasonably expect to find traces of the influence exercised by local conventions and customs.

MANUSCRIPTS WRITTEN IN BRAHMI

In the proceeding section we have dealt with the manuscripts and documents written in Kharosthi character which have been recovered from Central Asia. We shall devote the present Section mainly on the Brāhmī manuscripts, fragmentary or complete, obtained from the same part of Asia. But before proceeding with a description of the more important manuscripts in Brāhmī it would not be out of place to give here a brief account of the different scripts which were used in writing these manuscripts.

In the Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts we usually find three varieties of alphabets. The first is a purely Indian variety, the scripts of the time of the Kushan and the Guptas. The second and third varieties are development of the later Gupta scripts. (1) The purely Indian script is found in various Sanskrit manuscripts of which the earliest up till now, are the fragments of the Dramas of Aśvaghōṣa. The manuscript is written in Kushana character and may be placed on palaeographic grounds, about the middle of the 2nd. cent. A. D. There are fragments of a birch-bark manuscript, in the French collection which are written in a quasi-Kushana character and may belong to the end of the 2nd. cent. A. D. Another manuscript containing fragments of the कल्पनामण्डितिका of कुमारलता written in Gupta character has also been published by Prof. Lueders who has placed it to the first half of the 4th. cent. A. D. In addition to these we have the famous Bower manuscript belonging to the 4th. or 5th cent. A. D. Besides these bigger works, numerous smaller fragments of different Buddhistic works in Sanskrit have been discovered, some of which have already been published. We shall have the occasion to refer again to the more important of these manuscripts.

We have said before that besides the purely Indian script, two other distinct scripts were used in the manuscripts from Central Asia. These are technically known as (2) the *slanting* Gupta script and (3) the *upright* Gupta script, which again in its turn was divided into two sub-varieties. Amongst the several *forgotten languages*, which were prevalent in Central Asia during the early centuries of the Christian era, there were two distinct languages of which the one belonged to the *Centum* group of the Indo-European family; and the

* cf. *Ancient Khotan* i. p. 595 n. 5.

other to the Indo-Iranian family of languages. Broadly speaking the former was spoken in the North and is known by the name of Tokhari by the German scholars and Kuchean by the French scholars. Prof. Levi has shown that Kuche (modern Kuchar) was the centre of the southern territory and this was the ancient language of this region. There is another sub-dialect of this language which seems to have been spoken in Turfan and the neighbourhood. The southern language, which was spoken in the Khotan region, has been termed North Aryan by Lumann, 'Saka Language' by Lueders, 'Eastern Iranian' by French scholars and 'Khotanese' by Sten Konow. Much has been done by European scholars to recover these two forgotten languages, with the help of the *bilingual* documents as well as of the science of comparative Philology.

Kuchean and Khotanese had their own style of writing, both being however, varieties of the Indian Gupta script. The Sanskrit manuscripts which were written in these particular portions of this territory naturally used the script prevalent in that part of the country. Thus all the manuscripts in Kuchean or Tocharian as well as the Sanskrit manuscripts found in Kucha, Turfan or the neighbourhood are written in the *slating* Gupta script; while all the Khotanese manuscripts neighbourhood are written in the *upright* Gupta script. There is found also a *cursive* variety of the Khotanese script (cf. folios 7 and 8 of the अपरिमितायु सूत्र, see Hoernle Pl. XV).

ORIGIN OF THE NORTHERN OR THE KUCHEAN SCRIPT

Hoernle was the first to decipher the script and to show that the Indian Gupta script 'with its upright *ductus*' was imported from India to Eastern Turkestan by Indian immigrants and there, at the hands of the local people, this upright type developed a more slanting *ductus* and gradually gave rise to this type' of writing. At what period the script was introduced and when this development was complete can hardly be ascertained at the present state of our knowledge of Central Asian history; but it is certain that these must have taken place at a very early date; because, while digging up the ruins of ancient *stupas*, fragments written in this script were found mixed up with fragments written in the purely Indian Gupta script of the 4th or 5th cent. of the Christian era.

ORIGIN OF THE SOUTHERN OR THE KHOTANESE SCRIPT

This script, prevalent in the South, was nothing but the Indian upright Gupta with modifications in case of certain letters, particularly, in case of initial vowels and vocalic radicals. As noticed above, there were two varieties of this script (1) a calligraphic variety and (2) a cursive variety. The former was used in general, for literary purposes and in particular, for writing the sacred books of the Buddhist Canon. The latter was sometimes used for writing literary works of a secular character, in writing a non-canonical religious text but more commonly for the writing of public and private letters and documents. Thus this

latter form of writing seems to have gradually surpassed the Khorosthi script which was previously prevalent throughout this portion of Chinese Turkestan.

It may not be out of place to mention here another interesting fact showing how the Khotanese script was responsible for indirectly disseminating a knowledge of the Indian alphabet. The traditional Tibetan account, of the introduction of the Indian alphabet from Magadha into Khotan by Thon-mi-Sambhōta, during the reign of king Sron-tsam Gampo of Tibet, about the middle of the 7th century, was hitherto accepted as authentic. But Dr. Francke (*Epigraphia Indica* vol. XI, p. 266 ff) has shown that the account is erroneous; and that the alphabet introduced into Tibet was really the Khotanese alphabet—not the Indian alphabet as hitherto supposed—which was learnt by Sambhōta from a *Khotanese Brahman* in Kashmir and it was from there that he introduced it into his own country. Hoernle has suggested that in the 7th century, when Khotan was under Tibetan domination, the connection between Lhasa, the capital city of Tibet and Khotan could only be possible through Kashmir. He has also proved satisfactorily how the Tibetan alphabet gradually developed, into its present shape form of the borrowed Khotanese alphabet.

In the proceeding paragraphs I have given a brief account of the different scripts that have been used in writing the Sanskrit manuscripts recovered from Central Asia. I shall now devote the rest of the present section in briefly dealing with the more important manuscripts in Sanskrit which have been published till now.

DRAMAS OF ASVAGHOSA

As the earliest and a very important manuscript we must refer to the Dramas of Aśvaghōṣa. Among the fragmentary palm-leaf manuscripts, which were brought from Turfan by the German Mission, they were three folios written in the script of the Kushana period. Lueders published an account of it in the Reports of the Prussian Academy for the year 1911. Fortunately for us, the manuscript contained the ninth and last chapter of the work; and we know from the colophon that this drama was called the Śāriputra-prakarāṇa (शारिपुत्रप्रकरण) or the Śāradvatīputra-prakarāṇa (शारद्वतोपुत्रप्रकरण) and was written by the poet अश्वघोष the son of सुवर्णाक्षी. The poet is known by this nickname; the son of Suvarṇākṣī, also is the colophon of the *Saundarananda Kāvya* as well as of that of the Tibetan translation of his other celebrated work, the *Buddha-Charita*. The portions preserved contain the scene of the conversion of शारिपुत्र and his friend मौद्गल्लयान, the story of which is also found in the Mahāvagga of the विनयपिटक. From what we can learn from the fragments, only four persons seem to have taken part in the scene—the Buddha, Śāriputra Maudgallāyana and another person, probably कौण्डिन्य who, with his three pupils, recites a verse in glorification of the Buddha.

Even before the preceding fragments containing the name of Āśvaghoṣa were brought to notice, Prof. Lueders was able to find among the same fragments of palm-leaf manuscripts, pieces of two other dramas. None of these contained the name of Āśvaghoṣa and it can not be proved from the fragments themselves that these pieces also came from the pen of the same author. But Lueders has pointed out that the whole manuscript probably contained a collection of the dramatic works of Āśvaghoṣa and, on this supposition, we might as well ascribe these two dramatic works also to the same author. These fragments must, on palaeographic grounds, belong to the time of the Kushanas. Lueders put these pieces together as far as possible and brought out an excellent monograph on them. One of these two contains a scene from an allegorical drama. *Buddhi*, *Dhriti* and *Kirti* appear on the scene to glorify the Buddha. Though the piece is only fragmentary we shall try to give an idea of the nature of the conversation that it contains :

'So long as there is suffering, leading to re-birth' says the Buddha 'there is nothing worth giving up, there would be nothing worth knowing whether it is constant or inconstant. He concludes his speech by saying : 'I take pleasure in him who has gained the highest Peace, the highest immortality and the Truth hard to obtain.'

To this answers *Dhriti* : True it is. By my might is surrounded that 'Light' which bears the name 'Man' and which now become manifest (in the world).

Dhriti—Verily this is a couple. Where there is *Buddhi* there is a place for *Dhriti*, where *Dhriti* is established there *Buddhi* finds room to extend herself.

Kirti—If such be the case, for you two,.

B.—It is so. Again, one who has no *Buddhi* is always like one in sleep, one who is devoid of *Dhriti* is always like one got drunk. . .one who has no fame.

K.—Where is now this Dharma, in the form of a Man ?

B.—Where does he not exist, he who is independent in his supernatural might ? . . He flies through the air like a bird, he moves along. . . remains without being dependent (on anything), he percolates through the earth like water, he divides his form in manifold ways, he pours down showers of rain from the sky, at the same time, he shines like an evening cloud, he moves about according to his free will,and in the right way does he pursue the Dharma.

Dh.—To him shall we then take our resort. This great Sage lives at the present moment in the park of the city of Magadha"

The speech of the trio ends with this and then enters the Bhagavat himself surrounded by a halo of light. The meaning of the passage is not very clear owing to the numerous lacunae in the fragment. But it is clear that by 'Light' is meant the 'Buddha'- 'the Dharma in the form of a Man',- who obtained

Enlightenment through firmness, who vanquished darkness and sufferings and thus attained immortality.

The only other Buddhistic drama preserved to us is the *Nāgānanda* of Śrīharsha, though it belongs to a much later time. But we know from the *Avadānaśataka*, which was already translated into Chinese in the 3rd century A. D., and therefore must have been written at a much earlier time, that a Buddha drama was enacted by the actors of the Deccan in presence of the King of Sobhavati, in which the director himself appeared as the Buddha and others as monks. Sylvain Levi has also referred to another story found in the *Kan-hgyur*. An actor from the Deccan composed a drama containing the history of the Buddha, up to his attainment of Bodhi, and performed it before the king Bimbisara.

All this show, however, that already at a very early time Buddhism had given up its highly antagonistic attitude towards the theatre and even went so far as to make use of the stage as a means of propaganda for its teachings ; nor had the Buddhists any hesitation to allow the Buddha appear on the stage impersonated by the ordinary actors.

The Second Drama : Though we possess numerous fragments of this drama they are unfortunately so small that it is difficult to have a clear idea of the contents of the piece as a whole. But we can find out from these fragments what kind of persons appeared in the work. Besides the Buddha, Śāriputra and Maudgallāyana, we find also an ascetic, a Brahmin, a courtesan and also the *Vidūṣaka*. The latter plays the same role here as in other dramas. He is a lover of dainty dishes and he appears in comic scenes. Thus we find that even in dramas, which were meant more for an edification of the mind than for pure entertainment, such a figure was not found wanting. Lueders conjectures that perhaps the hero was identical with Somadatta and that Dhananjaya was probably the prince. The name of the courtesan was Magadhavati and Rajagriha is mentioned as the capital city of Magadha, where the scene was probably laid.

But although all the three dramas are too fragmentary to give us a complete idea as to their contents, we have sufficient indications therein to show that the dramas were well formed even in the 1st century A. D., and that even their technique was the same. We have the division into acts, the mixture of prose and verses and the latter composed in metres found in classical Sanskrit poems. There is also the use of both Sanskrit and Prākṛit and the speeches are in Sanskrit or Prākṛit in accordance with the high or low status of the persons speaking. Besides the hero and the heroine, there are the fools, the female friends of the heroine and the servants. One of them is even called a *Prakarna* showing that there must have been other varieties of drama. In short, the technique is the same as we find in the dramas of the later period. Lueders has shown that different forms of Prākṛits have also been used ; but the Prākṛit dialects employed here exhibit other forms than we find in the later classical

dramas. He has also shown that this Prakrit was the precursor of the Prākṛit found in the later dramas.

The present find has its interest also from a different point of view. We know from tradition that Aśvaghoṣa, a man of versatile genius, was born and educated according to a strict Brahmanical tradition and thus mastered the whole Brahmanical literature. But in course of time he became a convert to the rival Faith. He first followed the doctrines of the Hinayāna school but later on changed his mind again in adopting the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism and became one of the most authoritative exponents of its doctrine. We knew him as the author of *kāvya*s and narratives which are best of their kind in Sanskrit literature ; we knew him as a writer also on metaphysics which formed the basis of the Mahāyāna doctrine ; we knew him as a theologian 'who fought for his Faith with the weapon of sharp dialectics' ; but as a dramatist he was unknown to us up till this discovery. How far he was successful in this particular sphere, it is difficult to say from the fragments preserved. But the fact that his dramas were known and even were popular at a region so far from India, shows that his genius did not fail him in his attempts in this new sphere of activity also.

We are not to conclude from above that only Buddhist dramas written in Sanskrit were brought to Central Asia from outside. The Pelliot mission brought, from Central Asia, fragments of two dramas written in a Central Asian dialect (Kuchean) which had drawn its subject matter from the life of the Buddha. They show, as has been pointed out by Prof. Levi, not only an influence of the Indian dramaturgy but also fill up the gap between the Indian and the Chinese drama and theatre.

THE SANSKRIT UDANAVARGA

In this section we shall speak of a work which is known by the name of Udānavarga. This title literally means a collection of Udānas or the utterances of the Buddha. The book was hitherto known through the translation into Tibetan and Chinese. Verses from its original Sanskrit work were first made available to scholars from a chapter published by Prof. Pischel in the proceedings of the Berlin Academy of 1900. He collected these verses from the fragments brought from Central Asia by the German mission and called it the Turfan recension of the Dhammapada. Fragments of the same work were found by Sir Aurel Stein, the more important of which were published by Prof. de La Vallée Poussin in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. All these fragments were however, written in the Central Asian form of Brāhmī, as prevalent in Kucha about the 7th Century. The fourth chapter of the same work was also published by Prof. S. Levi in the journal of the French Asiatic Society. This was based on the manuscripts brought by M. Pelliot, the leader of the French mission, whose collection also contain numerous fragments of the same work.

Besides these fragments in Central Asian character, there is in the French Collection another earlier fragmentary manuscript of the same work. 'This

manuscript which is now preserved in the National Library of Paris, was found by Prof. Pelliot in Tun-huang in Central Asia. In its present condition the manuscript is broken up into fragments of different sizes, some of which are quite small. The writing was done with ink and a thick pen on folios of brown birch bark. Paleographically the manuscript should belong to a period not much later than the manuscript of the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa mentioned above. During my stay in Paris I had been allowed the privilege of working on this manuscript and the work was published in the publications of the Pelliot mission to Central Asia.

The Udānavarga is a work of the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism and had probably the same place in the Canon of that school as the Pali Dhammapada in that of the Theravada school, now prevalent in Ceylon and Burma. The work is divided into 33 chapters of varying lengths, each bearing a separate title as we find in the Dhammapada. It begins with Anityavarga or the chapter on Impermanency and ends with Brahmanavarga. The work contains about 1000 verses and though only verses are found in the later recensions it appears originally to have contained a mixture of prose and verse. All the verses occurring in the Dhammapada and the Udāna of the Pali Canon are found in this work; besides, we find also therein many verses from other canonical texts each as the Itivuttaka, the Thera and the Theri-gāthā, and other works of the Sutta and the Vinaya Pitaka.

The author of the work is known as Dharmatrāta. He is said to be the maternal uncle of Vasumitra, who must be identical with the author of the Prakaraṇapada. Both of these scholars were glories of the Sarvāstivāda School. According to Hiuen Tsang, Vasumitra is said to have been elected president of the Council of 500 monks, which was held in Kashmir at the order of Kanishka, though according to some, the honour is said to have fallen on Pūrṇa. The authorship of the Dhātukāya, which with the Prakaraṇapada is counted among the 7 canonical works on the Abhidharma of Sarvāstivādins, is ascribed by some to Vasumitra and by others to Pūrṇa. Both Dharmatrāta and Vasumitra were inhabitants of Pushkalāvati (modern Hashtnagar) one of the capital cities of the time of Kanishka. Taranath, the Tibetan historian however, believes Udānavarga to be the work of a different Dharmatrāta.

That the work was very popular at one time, both in India and in Central Asia, is evident from the fact of its being translated from the original Sanskrit into many foreign languages. I have told before that the work was first known to us through its Tibetan translation. This translation was done by an Indian named Vidyākaraṇaprabha or Vidyāprabhākara in collaboration with a Tibetan scholar Lotsava Rin-chen-mchog. The Tibetan collection known as Bstan-hgyur, also contains a commentary on the work, the Udānavarga-vivaraṇa of Prajñavarman. The commentary is also divided into 33 sections as we find in the original text.

In Chinese there now exist four translations of the Dhammapada of which two (1) the *Tch'ou yao king* (Avadānasūtra) and (2) *Fa-tsi-yao-song king* (Dharmasamgraha matārtha-gāthā-sūtra) seem to have been based on the Udānavarga. The other two the *Fa-kiu-king* and the *Fa-kiu-p'i-yu king* (Dharmapadāvadānasūtra) seem to be more akin to the Pali version of the Dhammapada. The earliest translation is the *Fa-ku-king* which was translated in the year 224 by Wei-Ki-nan or Vighna. He was originally a fire-worshipper but later on he was converted to Buddhism. In 224 A. D. Vighna came to China in company of Tchou Liu-yen and brought with him an Indian text of the *Tan-po-king* (Dharma-pada-Śāstra). They were asked to translate the work into Chinese and though none of them was well-versed in the Chinese language, they made an attempt. It is partly for this reason that the translation is difficult to understand. We know from all this that the Dhammapada was known in China as early as the 3rd century, A. D. or perhaps even earlier.

Apart from Tibetan and Chinese the work was also translated into other Central Asian languages. We know that the work was translated into the languages of Kucha in both the dialects. Many fragments of these translations have been found by the German as well as the French missions, some of which have already been published. Besides we have found verses from this work transcribed into Soghdian character.

The earliest manuscript of the Udānavarga which is preserved in the Pelliot Collection and about which I have already mentioned, is interesting from various points of view. It is undoubtedly one of the earliest manuscripts known to us. We know further from this work how the text gradually developed in course of time. The number of verses in this particular manuscript is much less than that found in the later manuscripts of the same work, written in the Central Asian character as well as in the Tibetan translation, which closely followed this later version. This manuscript is also interesting from a linguistic point of view. Here the language is full of *Prakritism* as we find in the Bower manuscript as well as in many of the Buddhist Sanskrit works. The readings are also different in many places from those in the later version. It leaves the impression, even with a casual reader, as if the original version was written in a kind of *Prākṛit* dialect and the work was *Sanskritised* at a later time. In the earlier attempt of translation traces of many *Prākṛit* forms from the original were left, which were changed into grammatically correct Sanskrit in course of time. The readings in this earlier version were closely allied to those of the verses found in the Pāli Canon. I give here one example which may be interesting to the readers. The following is the 7th verse of the eleventh chapter as found in (1) the earlier version, (2) the later version and (3) in Pāli.

1. कथञ्चरय भ्रामण्ये चित्तञ्च न निवारयेत् ।
पदे पदे विप्रीदन्तः संकल्पानं वक्षं गताः ॥

2. श्रामण्ये चरति यस्तु स्वचित्तमनिवारयन् ।
पुनः पुनः विषोदेत् स संकल्पानां वशं गतः ॥
3. कति हं चरेय्य सामज्जं चितं च न निवारेय्य ।
पदे पदे विषोदेय्य संकल्पानं वसानुगो ॥

This is one of numerous such examples but one is enough to illustrate our point.

Though all these sayings passing under the name of Udāna are said to have been uttered by the Buddha himself we find that many of these are closely allied to similar verses found in the *Brahmanical literature*. It is difficult to prove where one borrowed from the other ; but it seems more probable that many of such verses were current amongst the people and were handed down as well-known tenets of morality. We know that many similar verses gradually found their way into the Epic as well as into the early metrical Dharmaśāstras such as Manu etc. and were given in the *Smṛiti*. In these cases also the verses which were originally common to all were also adopted by the Buddhists and were regarded as authoritative sayings after they had found their way into the canon and sometimes passed even as the sayings of the Buddha himself. As an example we may quote chap. XVIII. verse 14, of the Udānavarga which is also found in the Pāli Dhammapada (verse 47).

पुष्पान्येव प्रचिन्वन्तं व्यासक्तमानसं नरं
सुप्तं यामं महौष इव मृत्यु रादाय गच्छति ॥

In the Mahābhārata we find the following verses :

पुष्पानीव विचिन्वन्तमन्यत्रगतमानसम् ।
बृकोबोरणमासाय मृत्युरादाय गच्छति ॥
तं पुत्रपशुसम्पन्नं व्यासक्तमानसं नरम् ।
सुप्तं व्याघ्रो मृगमिव मृत्युरादाय गच्छति ॥

Similarly we find a verse in the Rāmāyaṇa.

यथा पक्वानां फलानां नान्यत्र पतनाद्भयम् ।
एवं नरस्य जातस्य नान्वत्र मरणाद्भयम् ॥

The same verse is found in the 1st chapter of the Udānavarga as well as in the Sūta Pitaka of the Pāli Canon.

In Manu V-53. we find.

अथै बर्षेऽध्रमेधेन यो यजेत शतं समाः ।

with which we may compare Udānavarga chapter XXIV, verse 22 etc.

मासे मासे सहस्रेण यो यजेत समा शतम् ।

Everywhere the idea is the same while in places one agrees with the other word for word.

THE KALPANAMANDITIKA OF KUMĀRALĀTA

A fragmentary manuscript of this work was obtained in the same cave near Qyzyl where the fragments of the Buddhist Dramas, mentioned above, were also found. The text was written on palm-leaves with a reed-pen. Prof. Lueders put together and identified many of the fragments, which have recently been published under the auspices of the German Oriental Society. The title of the work, as it appears at colophons of three different chapters, is *Kalpanāmanditikā* or *Kalpanālamkṛtikā* of which the author is the venerable Kumāralāta. The writing is in the script prevalent at the time of the Guptas and shows traces of the Western variety of the Northern Gupta Script. As the manuscript does not show any characteristic of the Central Asian writing, Lueders has concluded that the manuscript was written in the N. W. part of India, about the 1st half of the 4th century or to be more precise, much nearer to 300 A. D. and was later on brought to Chinese Turkestan.

The Chinese translation of the work (Nanjio No. 1182) is known as *Ta-cuang-yen-king-lin* which could be literally translated as *Mahālamkārasūtra*. According to *Ci-yuan-lu*, a catalogue compiled in 1285-87, the authorship of this work is ascribed to Aśvaghōṣa and it appears to be the same work which was translated by Kumārajīva. The Chinese title of the work cannot however be a faithful rendering of the original Sanskrit title, as on the authority of *Ci-yuan-lu* itself, the work was called *Su-ta-lo-a-lang-kia-lo-sa-si-t'e-lo* i. e. *Sūtrālamkāraśāstra*. I-tsing (692 A. D.) informs us that Aśvaghōṣa had written the *Cuang-yen-lun* besides a few hymns and the *Buddha Charita*. *Li-tai-san-pao-ki* (Nanjio Nr. 1504) another catalogue of 597 A. D., mentions *Ta-cuang-yen-lun* as a work of the Bodhisattva Aśvaghōṣa, which was also called *Cuang-yen-lun*. We know however that the work of Aśvaghōṣa contains stories from the life of the Buddha; hence, the literal translation of the Chinese title *Alamkāraśāstra* or *Mahālamkāraśāstra*, which would denote a treatise on poetics, cannot be the proper title of the original work. On these grounds it has been suggested by Prof. Lueders that the correct title must have been *Sūtrālamkāra*.

The name of Kumāralāta as a literary personality hitherto seemed to be unknown. In the Chinese literature we find a certain name *tung-sou* which signifies 'obtained from the young person', which was therefore rendered into Sanskrit as *Kumāralabdha*. The phonetical transliteration of the Chinese name is *Keu-mua-la-la-ta* which would evidently represent Kumāralāta in Sanskrit. Lueders thinks that this name must have originated from Sanskrit Kumāralāta. The element *रात* 'given' is found in many names like *जयरात*, *देवरात* etc. and the Chinese translation 'taken from the young person' must have been derived from the root *ल-आदने*. The same name is found in Tibetan also. Taranatha mentions of a Sautrāntika teacher, the Bhadanta Gzou-nu-len of which the usual rendering *कुमारलाम* or *कुमारवर* should be corrected as Kumāralāta. Again

according to the Chinese tradition there was a Buddhist patriarch of the name of Kjiu-mua-la-ta which Eitel in his *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, translates as 'chief of princes'. The name may be transcribed into Sanskrit as Kumārata. But as Kumārata or Kumārada, as Edkins prefers to transcribe, is not possible in Sanskrit, Lueders has pointed out that the name should be Kumāralāta. Hsuan Tsang also mentions Kumāralāta twice and says in one place that "in the East there was Āśvaghoṣa, in the South Deva, in the West Nāgārjuna and in the North Kumāralāta. These four were called the four sons that illumined the world" (Beal II p. 302). Kumāralāta was a native of Taxila and is said to be the founder of the Sautrāntika school of Buddhism. As for the patriarch Kumāralāta, Eitel says that he was reborn as a Brahmin in Tukhara and that his place of activity was Central India. In the Chinese list of patriarchs in Fu-fa-tsang-yon-yuan-c'uan (Nanjio 1340), Kumārlāta is given the 18th place while, in two other lists as found in C'u-san-tsang-ki-tai (about 520 A. D.; Nanjio is 1476) he is given the 12th place in one and the 25th in the other. The names in these lists do not show any chronological order but they all agree in placing Kumāralāta after Āśvaghoṣa.

It is nowhere explicitly mentioned that Kumāralāta was acquainted with the works of Āśvaghoṣa. Twice he quotes of a Fo-pen-hsing or 'a life of the Buddha'. Prof. Levi wanted to identify this work with the Buddha Charita of Āśvaghoṣa. But Lueders differs from him in thinking that this must refer to some other 'life of the Buddha'; it having contained episodes which are not found in the Buddha Charita of Āśvaghoṣa.

We know that both Kumāralāta and Āśvaghoṣa lived in the time of Kanishka. Kanishka is indeed mentioned twice by Kumāralāta, but nowhere in the work is he spoken of as a living personality. Prof. Lueders concludes from this that कल्पनामण्डितिका must have been written *after* the death of Kanishka. Āśvaghoṣa, on the other hand, is known to have made a very close personal reference to Kanishka. For this reason the learned professor is inclined to place Āśvaghoṣa in the 1st half and Kumāralāta in the second half of the 2nd century A. D. "The style and character of their works" says the same scholar, "do not contradict this view and one could well believe that the poetical success of Āśvaghoṣa made Kumāralāta appear in contest in the Kāvya."

Now the question is how Kalpanāmanditika came to be translated into Chinese as Cuang-yen-lun or Ta-cuang-yen-lun or finally as सुत्रालङ्कार शास्त्र and how the authorship was ascribed to Āśvaghoṣa. This is difficult to answer. We know that the name of the work is कल्पनामन्तितीका or कल्पनालङ्कृति, Kalpanā signifies 'fiction' or poetical invention and the name would thus indicate 'decked with poetical inventions'. But Kumārajīva rendered it by Cuang-yen-lun i. e. अलङ्कारशास्त्र. The only possibility that suggests itself to Lueders is that Kumārajīva did not know the real meaning of कल्पना and therefore he omitted to translate this part of the name and to make the sense clear put in the word शास्त्र. Since the work was known as Cuang-yen-lun in the text itself,

it was known in the Chinese literature under this name and was mentioned as such in Li-ti-san-po-ki as well as by I-tsing. But this does not explain the fact how both Li-tai-san-po-ki and I-tsing ascribed its authorship to Āśvaghōṣa. The argument of Lueders on this point is that perhaps Āśvaghōṣa really composed a work named सूत्रालङ्कार which was not translated into Chinese and was lost at an early date and thus it got mixed up with our work, which was known under the similar title of Cuang-yen-lun.

THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT

As we have already referred to the discovery and partly to the contents of this manuscript at an earlier part of the bulletin, our remarks here shall be very brief. The name Bower manuscript, under which it is popularly known, is however a misleading one. It is not a single manuscript as might be deduced from the name but is really a collection of two manuscripts, a larger and a smaller one. The larger manuscript again is comprised of six smaller manuscripts. Thus it is on the whole a collection of seven parts. Between the years 1893-7 Dr. Hoernle published the text and translation of parts I-VII. A complete vocabulary of the manuscripts was published in 1908 and a revised translation of the *medical* portions in parts I-III appeared in 1909. A very learned introduction to the work appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1913. As to the contents of the work, parts I-III treat of medicine and are completely preserved. The most important portion is called the नावनीतक to which I have already referred. The instructions at the beginning say that 'it should not be given to any one who has no son, not to any one who has no brother, nor should it to be taught to any one who has no disciple'. Parts IV-V are the two tracts of *divination*. The former is almost complete but the latter is very defective. The sixth part is complete and is a treatise on a charm against *snake-bite*. The 7th part also contains a portion of the same charm against snake-bite but is incomplete. The story as to the origin of the knowledge of the charm contained in these last two parts is as follows : when the Buddha was staying in Jetavana in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍika in Śrāvastī, a young monk named Svati was bitten by a cobra while chopping fire-wood for the congregation. When Ananda found him lying unconscious he ran to the Master for advice. Then the Blessed One asked him to treat this unfortunate monk with the महामायुरीमन्त्र which was the queen of the magic art. The texts, as found in these two parts, constitute portions of the महामायुरी विद्याराज्ञी सूत्र the whole text of which has been published by Serge d'Oldenburg in the *Journal of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society*, Vol. XI 1897-98 pp. 207 ff. The nucleus of this Sūtra appears to have been preserved in the Bower Manuscript. It consists of two parts, the first part relating how the monk Svati was saved from the snake-bite by the application of the charm and the second part

explaining how the charm was originally employed in the Mayūra Jātaka. The story of the monk is also found in Cullavagga of the Vināyapitaka as well as in the Anguttara Nikāya of the Pāli canon.

THE BHIKSUNI PRATIMOKSHA OF THE SARVASTIVADINS

Amongst the paper manuscripts brought to Berlin by the Prussian Expedition there were fragments of two manuscripts of the भिक्षुणीप्रतिमोक्ष सूत्र. Of these two manuscripts, one was found in Qyzil and is written in the archaic type of the Northern Central Asian Brāhmī. It contains altogether fragments from fourteen different folios of the manuscript coming from Sangim, the writing on which was in a later script. In the collection of manuscripts from Murtuq also were traced fragments of three folios which contained fragments from the भिक्षुणीविमङ्गल, all of which were written in a later script. The first two manuscripts contain portions of the पाराजिका, सङ्घावशेष, नैसर्गिक-पातयन्तिक, प्रतिदेसनीय and शैक्ष dharmaś, and show linguistic forms not sanctioned by the rules of the classical Sanskrit Grammar. In the older manuscript even hiatus is not avoided in places. The work has been excellently edited by Mr. E. Waldschmidt (Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇī Prātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins, Leipzig 1926) and has been published as the third issue of the same series in which were published the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa and the work of Kumāralāta. The author after a careful and unbiassed comparison of the भिक्षुणीप्रतिमोक्ष in the recensions of six different schools (सर्वास्तिवाद, मूलसर्वास्तिवाद, महीशासक, महासङ्घिक, धर्मगुप्त, स्वविरवाद) has come to the conclusion that the Pāli version of the school of the Theravādins proves to be the most faithful preserver of an earlier tradition.' In the French collection only one folio of this work has so far been found.

THE BHIKSU-PRATIMOKSA OF THE SARVASTIVADINS

Amongst the manuscripts discovered by the Pelliot mission in Kucha, there were two paper manuscripts and also about twenty isolated folios, mostly fragmentary containing texts from the Prātimokṣa of the Sarvāstivāda school. The text, as published by M. Finot in the *Journal Asiatique* (1913 p. 460 ff.) is almost similar to that of the Pāli Pātimokkha. In certain chapters even the order of articles is the same. This work was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (about 404 A. D.). The Stein collection also preserves a portion of this work which has been published by Prof. De la Vallée Poussin in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1913, p. 843 ff.). Chronologically the Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa is later than the Bhikṣuprātimokṣa and is connected with the latter in essential points. The peculiar formulas which are found in the Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa are partly the rules which are marked as *dukkata*, in the Mahāvagga, Cullavagga

or in the corresponding Chinese texts. The versions of the different schools also show, in contrast to the *Bhikṣuprātimokṣa*, a great difference amongst themselves.

We have indicated above the more important works in Sanskrit which have so far been published. Besides these, fragments of numerous other texts belonging to the *Hīnayāna* and the *Mahāyāna* Schools of Buddhism as well as non-canonical works have been found. As for the canonical texts of the *Hīnayāna* School we have obtained texts from the *Vinaya* and the *Sūtra* *Pitakas*; of the latter we have texts from all the three *Āgamas* (corresponding to the *Nikāyas* of the *Pāli Canon*) the *Dirgha*, the *Madhyama* and the *Samyukta*. Of the *Mahāyāna* School we have got fragments of *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras* of the *Ratnakūṭa*, *Mahasampati* and *Nirvāna* class, as well as fragments of *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, *Suvarṇaprabhāṣottama-Sūtra* and various *Dhāraṇīs*. Of the non-canonical Buddhist texts we have found *Stotras* of *Mātricheta* hitherto known to us from Tibetan translations only, as well as fragments of other *Stotras*, *Fables* and even *Sanskrit Grammar* and *lexicons* and texts which have not yet been identified.

Besides linguistic and graphic importance, these manuscripts throw a flood of light on other directions also. We know that the translations in *Khotanese* and *Kuchean* or *Tokharian* were made from their *Sanskrit* originals. This is obvious from the fact that :—

- (1) These translations have been found along with texts written in *Sanskrit*.
- (2) Where the *Sanskrit* originals could be found, the translations appeared to be quite literal.
- (3) The bilingual documents bring additional support to the above thesis.

We know from a long time that, side by side with the *Pāli Canon* of the *Theravādins*, there was a corresponding *Sanskrit Canon* among the Northern Buddhists, which must date back to a very early date. But the most important original Indian parts seem to have perished entirely, leaving only the Chinese and Tibetan translations to help and guide us in reconstructing this momentous history of Inter-Asian Culture. Luckily for us, fresh texts are coming up every now and then, helping us to solve the problem of the relations of the Northern to the Southern Canons and, if there were an identical canon, in what language were that common body of texts composed.

ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE
IN
AFGHANISTAN

BY

Dr. UPENDRA NATH GHOSHAL, M.A., Ph.D.

P R E F A C E

A preceding volume of this *Greater India* series opened with the following notable question from a work of the greatest of living French orientalists, Prof. Sylvain Levi : "In the great movement of exchange which constitutes, from time immemorial, the organic life of the whole of mankind, India has largely given as she has largely received." No words could more truly describe the results of the contact between India and Afghanistan during the centuries preceding the Muhammadan conquest when Indian culture was still a living force, instinct with the spirit of aggressive vigour.

Situated at the gateway of the Indian continent whence it commands all the main lines of its inland communication with Western and Eastern Asia, Afghanistan has been the channel through which have flowed the numerous cultural and other influences that have shaped the history of India in the past. On the other hand the Indian influences, especially under the urge of the great movement for cultural expansion associated with Buddhism, have overflowed the Western frontiers of India and the signs of their triumph are writ large not only in the existing monuments of Afghanistan, the stupas, images, cave-shrines, pillars and the like, but were abundantly illustrated in the prevailing forms of religion, language and social manners, before they were engulfed by the advancing tide of Islam. Verily the history of Greater India would be lacking in some of its important chapters, if the story of India's cultural contact with its Western neighbour were left untold.

The present monograph was undertaken at the request of my friend and colleague, Dr. Kalidas Nag, to whom my best thanks are due. I have also to thank my friends Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi and Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterjee for facilities for the consultation of some important works on my subject. Finally I must not omit to express my profound appreciation of the interest taken in the progress of the Greater India Society by its Honorary President, Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University.

U. N. GHOSHAL

INDIAN CULTURE IN AFGHANISTAN

The kingdom of Afghanistan, constituted as at present, comprises the north-eastern block of the great tableland that separates the Valley of the Indus from the Valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris. Its most conspicuous physical feature is the mighty mountain-chain which commencing at its northern and eastern edge, spreads forth fan-like for a considerable distance to the south and the west, presenting a kind of natural rampart on those sides. It is watered by three historic rivers, the Kabul in the east, the Helmund in the south-west and the Oxus in the north. Its climate, though subject to singular vicissitudes, is remarkably dry and salubrious. Interspersed with mountains and deserts, it boasts of rich and fertile valleys where are grown fruits and cereals in such abundance as to form an important article of export to neighbouring lands. Nor has nature denied to this favoured region its stock of mineral wealth (like Oil) which has as yet been only imperfectly developed by the enterprise of its inhabitants.

The geographical situation of the country, lying as it does between two great zones of civilisation, the Indian and the West Asiatic, and athwart the natural outlet of the hive of *nomadic* hordes inhabiting the steppes of Central Asia, has fixed for ages the role which it was destined to play on the stage of history. It has been from the earliest times the meeting-place of races, languages and cultures, confronting each other, often in armed conflict and sometimes in peaceful intercourse. At the dawn of history it was divided between the Vedic-speaking Indo-Aryans and their Iranian kinsmen. In the following centuries it has been swept in turn by Persian, Hellene, Indian, Scythian, Hun and Turk, not to speak of the motley crowd of peoples: Turk, Afghan and Moghul, who successively ruled the country under the banner of Islam in subsequent times. One consequence of this extra-ordinary diversity of ethnic and cultural conditions has been that the country, which besides suffering from a complete lack of geographical unity, has failed till within the last century and a half, to develop a united and independent political existence. From the expansion of the Achæmenid rule over Balkh and the Kabul valley under Cyrus (558-530 B. C.) to the accession of the founder of the Durrani dynasty in 1747 A. D., it has been the lot of Afghanistan often to be yoked to the great empires either of the east or the west or else shared between both*

* A vivid picture of the immense variety of races inhabiting Afghanistan at the close of the sixteenth century is drawn by Abul Fazl. According to his statement (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Jarett's tr., Vol. II p. 40) the Kabul province alone boasted of eleven languages spoken by as many distinct nationalities. Even at the present time about twenty distinct languages are spoken in the territory ruled by the king of Afghanistan (*Morgenstierne, Report*, p. 6). How strong the traditional connection of the Afghan country with India was thought to be at the end of the 16th century will best appear from an ancient maxim quoted by Abul Fazl (*Ibid* p. 404) to the effect that Kabul Kandahar were the twin gates of Hindustan.

We have stated above that Afghanistan has been ordained by a natural destiny to be the meeting-place of races and cultures. It is now necessary to trace the channels along which this stream of contact has flowed for centuries. Nature has marked out two main routes stretching right across the country which have been, from time immemorial, the means of communication between India and the countries of Western Asia. In the tract just north of the head of the Kabul river, a single though lofty mountain-ridge, that of the Hindu Kush flanked by low ground on other side, is all that separates the valley of the Oxus from that of the Indus. This route, after crossing the Indus at or near its junction with the Kabul river, ascends the basin of the latter ; and after piercing the Hindu Kush, debouches upon the plain of Bactria whence it leads to Persia and the Far-West. The other route after issuing from the lower Indus plain and ascending a mountainous country leads, by an easy way across the open plateau from Kandahar to Herat and thence along the southern slopes of Mount Elburz to the lands of Western Asia. Of these two routes the first has played by far the more important part in linking up India with its neighbouring countries. It has been trod not only by most of the mighty invaders of India like Darius the great Alexander, Seleucus and the Kushan king Kadphises I, but also by pious pilgrims like the illustrious Hiuen Tsang. Its course is marked by a succession of cities which have played a historic part in ancient times such as Takṣaśīlā, Nagarahāra, Kapiśā, Bamiyan and Balkh. After the memorable journey of the ambassador Chang Kien to the lands of the Yueh-chi (c. 126 B. C.) it opened to the Chinese the knowledge of the Western countries. And specially after the introduction of Buddhism into China, in first century A. D., the route across the Hindu Kush became one of the main highways of communication between India and the great civilised State of Eastern Asia. Of the two main highways leading from China to the west, the northern was linked up with the Hindu Kush route, by way of the lake Issyk Kul, Samarkand, Sogdiana and across the Oxus, while the southern one was connected with it through Khotan, Yarkand and across the Pamirs. *

THE PRE-ACHAEMENID PERIOD

Without attempting to trace back to their source, in the dim ages of antiquity, the many and undoubted links binding together the two closely related

* For descriptions of the above routes with accompanying maps, see C. H. I. p. 28 ; Foucher, *Notes*, pp. 263, 267 and 278 ; *Ibid.* *Ancient Geography of Gandhāra* ; Vincent Smith's Appendix to *Watters' Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II. While on this subject, we may mention an alternative route leading through the extreme north-eastern fringe of the Iranian plateau from North-Western India to China. It ran through the ancient Gandhāra and Udyāna and, after piercing the hilly country to the north of the Indus, crossed the watershed between the upper valleys of the Indus and the Oxus, and thence with a sharp eastward bend connected with the great southern highway through Khotan to China. See Sir Aurel Stein's map at the end of his *Report of the Third Journey of Exploration in Central Asia*.

branches of the Aryan family of races, the Indo-Aryan and the Iranian, it is possible to indicate their respective connections at the dawn of history with the country that nature had meant to be their common meeting-ground, the region, that is, which corresponds to the modern Afghanistan and Baluchistan.

The Rig-Veda, the earliest literary monument of the Indo-Aryans, shows that they were already acquainted with the territory now represented by Eastern Afghanistan and Northern Baluchistan. For it mentions the rivers Kubhā (with its tributary the Suvāstu), the Krumu and the Gomati, which have been identified respectively with the Kabul, the Swat, the Kurrum and the Gomal rivers of modern times*. We have also evidence of the contact between the Indo-Aryans of the Indus valley and the tribes farther west, in the celebrated though obscure story of the Battle of the Ten Kings (dāśarājña) mentioning how ten allied tribes fought unsuccessfully against Sudās, king of the Bharatas. Of these tribes the Alinas are generally supposed to have occupied the north-east of modern Kafiristan; while the Bhalānases and the Pākthas have been connected respectively with the region of the Bolan Pass, and the ethnic name of *Pakhtun* applied by the modern Afghans to themselves. Evidence of another kind of contact between the Indo-Aryans of the interior and of the North-Western frontier, is furnished by the reference in a Rig-Veda hymn to the high quality of the wool of Gandhāra. The records of the connection of the Iranians with these regions, though later in date by many centuries, are ampler and fuller. The Avesta, which many scholars hold to belong as a whole to a date preceding the rise of the Achaemenids, have been held to contain allusions to the Hindu Kush and the land of the Seven rivers. More definite references have been found in it to the countries called Baktriane, Areia, Arachosia and Drangiana by the Classical writers, corresponding to the modern Balkh, Herat, Kandahar and Seistan regions.† It would thus appear that the Iranians, at the time of their first emergence on the stage of history, had already acquired a firm grip over the countries on the Indian borderland which they were destined to rule for several centuries.

The most important change that occurred among the Indo-Aryans in the period immediately following the Rig-Veda was the fixation of the centre of Indo-Aryan culture in the tract between the sacred Sarasvatī and Dṛiṣadvatī. It was there that took place those complex developments of the sacrificial ritual that gave this age its characteristic stamp. When the main stream of Vedic culture was thus diverted eastwards, the regions of the North-West and specially those beyond the frontier could not but sink in the general estimation of the Indo-Aryans. To the natural repulsion of a settled and civilised people for

* The Vedic Sarasvatī was formerly identified, on etymological grounds, with the Avestan Harahvaitī [the classical Arachosia]; but the present tendency of Vedic scholars is to restrict its designation to the sacred river of that name in Kurukṣetra.

† For reference see the article by Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson. *The Persian Dominions in Northern India down to the time of Alexander's Invasion* [C. H. I., Ch. XIV].

rude pastoral folk was added the spirit of exclusiveness derived from the new sentiment of ritualistic purity and rigid adherence to religious routine. We already catch an echo of this spirit of antipathy in a hymn of the Atharva Veda (V. 22) where fever is invited to go over to the Gandhāris, the Mūjavants, to the Aṅgas and the Magadhas who represent, no doubt from the poet's point of view the peoples living on the extreme westerly as well as easterly fringe of Vedic civilisation. In the well-known contrast drawn in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 14) between the kings called self-rulers (svarāt) of the Nīcyas and the Apācyas in the western quarter and the rulers of other quarters known severally as overlord (samrāt), paramount ruler (bhoja), sovereign (virāt) and king (rājan), may be detected the priestly author's sense of the difference that separated the loosely organised states of the north-western peoples and the more firmly knit monarchies of various grades in the interior. A text of Yāska's Nirukta II.28, which is repeated practically *verbatim* in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya (1.1.1), mentions an instance of dialectic difference between the Kambojas and the Aryas. This shows that, at the date of the first-named work (c. 500 B.C.) and afterwards the Kambojas, who spoke the same language as the Indo-Aryans, were not regarded as belonging to the same stock. Mention may be made, finally, of the ban imposed by the Brahmanical ritualistic works like Apastamba Śrautasūtra (XXII. 6. 18) and Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra (XXII 13 or 14) against visiting the lands of the Gandhāris, the Pāraskaras, the Sauvīras the Kaliṅgas, and others.

THE ACHAEMENID CONQUEST

A new chapter opened in the history of the countries on the Indian North-Western frontier and further beyond with the *eastward* expansion of the empire of the Achaemenids. For the first time the outlying Iranian tribes, lying on the fringe of Iranian civilisation along with their Indian neighbours, were united under a mighty Iranian empire stretching far away to the shores of the Western sea. The conquests achieved by Cyrus (c.558-530 B.C.) and the greatest of his successors Darius the son of Hystaspes (c.522-486 B.C.) resulted in the addition of Bactria, Gandhāra and "India" (generally identified with the Indus valley, extending from Kalabagh to the sea) to the Achaemenid empire. The dominions won by the sword of the Persian were consolidated by the genius of Darius into well-knit imperial system based on the division into satrapies and the levy of fixed tribute. By virtue of this system the conquerors were able to turn to their full advantage the material resources of India as well as the huge reserves of her man-power. An extraordinarily heavy tribute, amounting to one-third of the bullion revenue of the Asiatic provinces, was imposed upon "India" which constituted the richest and the most populous province of the Persian empire. Indian troops, both cavalry and infantry, were counted in the army of many nations which Xerxes led against Greece—the first and the only instance of an Indian expeditionary force sent to Europe on a large scale in

ancient times. Indians fought shoulder to shoulder with Bactrians and Sogdians in the battle which the last representative of the House of Achaemenes fought against the Macedonian invader in 330 B. C. For the rest, the Persian system of administration left some traces of its influence upon the Indian borderland down to much later times. Examples of this kind are the Kharoṣṭhī script which remained in vogue in North-Western India down at least to the fifth century A. D.; and it was derived from the Aramaic alphabet officially used by the Achaemenids in their provinces; the titles of *Kṣatrapa* and *Mahākṣatrapa* derived from the Old Persian *Kṣatrapāvan*, a few loan-words connected with writing like *dipt* and *nipista* of Asoka's Shahbazgarhi inscription, and a standard of coinage based on the unit of the Persian *siglos*.

Let us try to pick up in the present place the traces of Indian culture that may be discovered in the eastern-most provinces of the empire of the Achaemenids. Of the satrapies of Darius bordering immediately upon the Indian frontier, Ga(n)dāra i.e. Gandhāra, was, as we have seen, well-known to the Indo-Aryans from the time of the R̥g-Veda. An early historical tradition which goes back to a date preceding the rise of Buddhism mentions the Gandhāras and the Kāmbojas in a stock list of sixteen great States or Mahājanapadas. A Gandhāra village produced Pāṇini, the greatest of Sanskrit grammarians whose date is usually assigned to 350 B.C. A number of scenes in the Buddhist Jātakas are laid in the Gandhāra kingdom. The great city of Takṣaśīlā is especially celebrated in these stories as an important centre to which students crowded from the distant parts of India to complete their education. An early reference to the fame of Takṣaśīlā is found in the Pāli Vinaya Piṭaka which tells the story of Jīvaka who proceeded from Magadha to learn medicine from a world-renowned physician of Takṣaśīlā and afterwards rose to be the physician of king Ajātaśatru and the Buddhist fraternity.

The land of Gandhāra, however, was, after all, the threshold for entry into India from the North-West. The evidence of cultural or other contact of the lands further afield with the centres of Indian civilisation in the interior is, on the other hand, remarkably scanty. Apart from Gandhāra the Persian satrapies immediately bordering on the Indian frontier comprised Thatagu with which were associated the Dadikai and the Aparytai, Śaka with which were connected the Kaspioi, and Maka. Of these names the Dadikai are generally identified with the Dards who are well-known to the Mahābhārata and other Sanskrit works under the name of Daradas. The title Kaspioi has been emended by Dr. F. W. Thomas into Kapisai. Kāpiśī is certainly known to Pāṇini who derives therefrom (IV. 2. 99) the derivative *kāpiśāyana* meaning, according to the Kāśikā commentary, the grapes and the grape-wine of Kāpiśī. The latter is also referred to by Kauṭilya under the same designation in his Arthaśāstra (II. 25.). The Śakas are mentioned thus early in the Gaṇapāṭha under the gaṇas—Kamboja and Śaṇḍika (Pāṇ. III 1.35 and IV 3.92) and doubtfully under the gaṇas Garga and Prajñā (Pāṇ. IV 1.105 and V. 4.38).—The territorial names

Thatagu and Maka are unknown to Indian literature. On the other hand the name Kamboja which has not been definitely traced in the Persian inscriptions is known to Pāṇini (IV. 1.175) as the designation both of a kingdom and of a Kṣatriya tribe. In the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (XI) the *saṃghas* consisting of the Kṣatriya *śreṇis* etc. of the Kambojas, the Surāṣṭras and the like are distinguished from another type of *saṃghas* like the Licchavis and the Mallas who used the title of king. Evidently the Kambojas, while still ranking as Kṣatriyas, had lost their monarchic constitution in the interval between Pāṇini and the author of the Arthaśāstra. In the time of Asoka the Kambojas along peoples with the Gandhāras and Yonās (Greeks) were certainly regarded as border included within the Maurya sphere of influence.*

THE EXPEDITION OF ALEXANDER OF MACEDON.

It is not necessary to describe here at any length the marvellous campaign of Alexander in the most easterly provinces of the Achaemenid empire which followed closely upon his crushing victory over the ill-fated Darius III at the memorable field of Arbela. Suffice it to say that the victor secured his hold over his new conquests by his continuance of the Persian system of satrapies and his introduction of the Hellenic system of colonisation. Among the more prominent of such colonies may be mentioned, Alexandria under the Caucasus (represented by the modern Charikar to the north of Kabul) and Nicaea (situated somewhere between Charikar and the Kabul river). The narratives of Alexander's campaign, written by later authors on the basis of reports of his officers, throw a welcome light upon the condition of Indian culture in the highlands beyond the Indus at this time. From them we learn about the existence of an Indian chief called Sisykottos (Śaśigupta) who was perhaps the ruler of a small principality in the Hindukush and of Indian tribes called Aspasioi and Assakenoi (Assakas) who occupied the rough and inhospitable hilly country watered by the rivers Kunar, Panjkora and Swat of our own times. The Greek records inform us at the same time of a number of Indian place-names belonging to the tract of country west of the Indus. Such are the rivers Souastos and Gouraios identified respectively with the Suvāstu and the Gauri, and the town Peukelaotis which is a Greek transliteration of the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit Puṣkarāvati. The continued existence of Indian place-names in this region is attested, for the second century after Christ, by the geographer Ptolemy who mentions the district of Souastene below the sources of the Souastos and that of Goryaia below the Lambatai. Both the Suvāstu and the Gauri, it may be mentioned, occur in juxtaposition in a long list of river-names in the Mahābhārata (VI 9.333).

* For references to the Bāhlikas (or Bāhlīs) in the Indian literature of this period, see Paṇ. V, 3.117 and Kātyāyana's Vārttika to Ibid, IV, 2.99.

A CENTURY OF HINDU IMPERIALISM

The premature death of Alexander sounded the death-knell of Macedonian rule in the Punjab and Sind which were annexed by Chandragupta Maurya to his newly founded empire. The subsequent attempt of Seleucus, the lord of Western Asia, to emulate the exploits of the great Macedonian ended only in his surrender of the provinces of Paropanisadai, Areia and Arachosia to his Indian rival. From this political contact of the highlands beyond the Indus with a great Hindu empire of the interior there resulted a substantial accession of Indian cultural influences into the country. The city of Takṣaśīlā which occupied a most important strategic position on the highway from North-Western India to the western lands was selected by the Mauryas as the head-quarters of one of their viceroyalties which extended no doubt to the frontier of the Hindu Kush. When Asoka in the thirteenth year of this coronation appointed his new officers called Dharma-mahāmātras who "did not exist for a long time previously," he sent them among other places to the territories of the Yavanas, the Kambojas and the Gandhāras in the upper valley of the Indus and its western tributaries. The result of this missionary zeal was summed up by himself when he claimed to have achieved the conquest through Dharma not only in the adjoining independent states, but "likewise here also in the king's dominions among the Yavanas and the Kambojas" and the rest. The evidence of the Ceylonese chronicles which supplements that of the Asokan inscriptions shows that the Thera Majjhantika arrived with a band of monks to preach Buddhism in Kashmir and Gandhāra which thenceforth, according to the pious optimism of the chronicler, shone with yellow robes and prized above all "the Three things." Whether the missionary efforts of the great Maurya and the worthy members of the Saṃgha were further extended to the line of the Hindu Kush, and if so, with what success, it is impossible to say; for we have only the uncorroborated testimony of Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century A. D. to the effect that Asoka built stūpas at Kapiśā.*

THE RULE OF THE BACTRIAN AND THE INDO-GREEK KINGS

The removal of the strong arm of Asoka was the signal for disintegration of the mighty empire of the Mauryas. While the descendants of the great Maurya, as is generally supposed, divided between themselves the provinces of northern India, the provinces on the North-Western frontier appear to have been torn from their grasp not long afterwards. By 206 B. C. when hardly a quarter of a century had elapsed from the death of Asoka, the tract to the south of the Hindu Kush was in possession of Sophagasenas (Subhagasena) "king of the Indians", who followed the traditional policy of the Mauryas by concluding

* Asoka set up here also, the famous Greek-Aramaic inscription discovered in 1955.

a treaty with the court of Syria which was renewed in the year above-mentioned. The weakening of the military defences on the North-western frontier let loose, as it has often done since, a swarm of invaders on the rich plains of northern India. Between the years 206 and 190 B. C. Euthydemus, the Greek king of Bactria, and his more famous son Demetrios styled "king of the Indians," conquered the Kabul valley along with Arachosia and the Punjab. Not long afterwards a rival called Eukratides obtained possession not only of Bactria but also of Kapiśi and Gandhāra. From that time till the extinction of Greek dominion in this region these two rival houses divided between themselves the rule of the tract of the country extending from the Oxus to the Eastern Panjab.

Let us try to discover the traces, if any, of Indian cultural influences in the countries ruled by the Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings during the period of their sovereignty. The numismatic evidence, which is practically the only available source for the history of these kings, shows the continuance of Indian culture as far north as the Hindu Kush. It is indeed significant that while the early kings of Bactria issued coins of a purely Greek type, their successors from the time of Demetrios onwards found it necessary frequently to issue *bilingual* types of coins which bear the Greek legend on the obverse and its translation in the Indian Prakrit and the Kharoṣṭhi script on the reverse. Two of the Indo-Greek kings Pantaleon and Agathokles issued coins of the distinctive Indian square shape and bearing the *Prākṛit* legend in the equally distinctive Indian *Brāhmī* character. It is worthy of note that the rule of these kings has been judged from the *provenance* of their coins to have extended over Paropanisadaī and Arachosia. A type of copper coins issued by Eukratides which bear on the obverse the legend *Basileus Megalhu Eukratidou* in the Greek script has on the reverse the legend *kāvisiye nagaradevatā* in the Khāroṣṭhi script. This shows that the city of Kapiśā, famous both in the preceding and in subsequent times, was a place of *Prākṛit* speech at this time.

THE RULE OF THE INDO-SCYTHIANS AND THE INDO-PARTHIANS

It was about the year 135 B. C. that the Śakas, driven from their homes on the northern bank of the Oxus by pressure of the Yueh-chi, overran the Greek kingdom of Bactria. Expelled from their new settlements by their relentless pursuers, they flung themselves upon the Empire of Parthia; and it was not till the reign of the great Parthian sovereign Mithridates II (123-88 B.C.) that they were finally worsted in the struggle. Thus by a fortunate accident the Greek kingdoms of the upper Kabul valley obtained a new lease of life extending over almost a century. The first Indo-Scythian king known to history is the 'king of kings' Maues (Moga) who conquered the famous cities of Puṣkarāvati and Takṣaśīlā from Greek princes and thus drove a wedge between the Greek kingdoms of the upper Kabul valley and those of the eastern

Punjab. Shortly after this time the dynasty of the Parthian Vonones came into possession of the provinces of Arachosia (Kandahar) and Drangiana (Seistan). From the Scythian and the Parthian kings the sceptre of north-western India passed into the hands of the famous dynasty of the Kushans. About 50 A. D. Kadphises I, chief of the Kushans who had united the other clans of the Yueh-chi under his rule, crossed the Hindu Kush and conquered the districts of Kabul and Kandahar then ruled apparently by the Parthians. His able son and successor Kadphises II further extended the limits of his dominions by the conquest of Gandhāra and the Indus basin together with the Gangetic valley as far east as Benares. In the reign of Kanishka the Kushan empire reached its highest extent comprising, in addition, Kashmir and the territories of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan in Eastern Turkestan.

With the period of Scytho-Parthian and especially Kushan rule commenced the great *age of expansion* of Indian Buddhism not only in the highlands to the west of the Indus but also in Central and Eastern Asia. The Indian borderlands were now fulfilling more than ever the role that destiny had assigned them of uniting different streams of culture both of the East and of the West. A remarkable instance of this cultural blend is the strange medley of deities Indian, Zoroastrian and Hellenic, figured side by side on the coin-types of Kanishka and Huvishka. Another and a more famous instance is the rise of the *school of Art* aptly designated as the Graeco-Buddhist school, which expressed the ideas of Buddhism in forms of *Hellenistic* or Greco-Roman art. Nevertheless the Indian cultural element proved from the first to be one of the strongest of the competing forces; and it struck so deep a root in the soil that it afterwards grew and flourished with a wonderful vitality while its rivals one by one dropped from the scene. What concerns us for our present purpose is to notice the part which *foreigners* played in the outward diffusion of Buddhism. Already before the beginning of the Christian era Buddhism had been carried to the valley of the Oxus, for a Chinese ambassador is recorded to have sent home certain Buddhist texts, in 2 B. C., from the country of the Yueh-chi. According to a less authentic tradition the first two Indian missionaries to reach China, Kāśyapa Mātāṅga and Dharmaratna, were working in the Yueh-chi country (perhaps corresponding at that time to modern Afghanistan) before their arrival in North-Western China in 68 A. D. The most eminent king of the Yueh-chi or Kushan dynasty, Kanishka, fell under the spell of Buddhism, and he distinguished himself as much by his patronage of Vasumitra and Āśvaghōṣa as by his construction of *stūpas* and *vihāras*. The inscriptions on relic caskets and earthen jars that have been recovered from the ruins of Buddhist *stūpas* in the Afghan country have preserved the names of pious donors of Buddhist foundations. Among such names are included those of the Greek Theodoros (described as a *meridarch* or district officer), Hōramurta (mentioned as the satrap of Vespa), an unnamed son of the satrap of Kāpīśi who was the son of the satrap Graṇafaka, Rāhula (described as a monk from Vanāyu) and Vagra

Marega, son of Kamaguli. It appears from this list that not only humble monks and laymen but men of high official standing belonging to non-Indian races accepted the teachings of Buddhism*.

This outward diffusion of Buddhism was accompanied by a corresponding propagation of Indian languages written in the current Indian scripts of the time. We know how the sands of Central Asia have yielded, to the labours of modern explorers, both Sanskrit manuscripts written in the Gupta script and its local derivatives as well as Indian Prakrit documents written in Kharoṣṭhī. Neither the climate nor the historical development of Afghanistan has been so favourable to the preservation of the ancient records. But it may be observed that birch-bark manuscripts were found along with other relics inside the stūpas of the upper Kabul valley by their first Western explorer. The inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era which have been before mentioned are written in an Indian Prakrit which is fundamentally the same as the language of the Kharoṣṭhī documents of the Khotan region. The conjoint evidence of the well-known Kharoṣṭhī manuscript of the *Dharmapada* and of a canonical citation in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription from the Kurram valley, has been held to prove the existence of a Buddhist canonical literature, perhaps of the Sarvāstivādin school, written in the Prakrit of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. †

One striking consequence of this cultural development was that the north-western frontier of India tended to be pushed further beyond the Indus which was the old boundary. In the time of the Achaemenid emperors, as we have seen, the satrapy of "India" was reckoned as distinct from that of Gandhāra, corresponding to the region of Peshawar and the territory immediately to its east. At a later period Strabo (64 B. C.-19 A.D.) and Arrian (2nd century A. D.) who drew their accounts from Alexander's companions and from Megasthenes, described the Indus as the western boundary of India. But in the second century A. D. we find Ptolemy beginning his general description of "India within the Ganges" with the statement that it was "bounded on the west by the Paropanisadaī and Arachosia and Gedrosia along their eastern sides." Ptolemy accordingly prefaced his list of territories and cities within this region with the mention of Lambatai (or Lambagai) that is, the people of Lampāka ‡. It is interesting to notice that precisely the same boundary is indicated for India in the west by Hiuen Tsang in the second quarter of the seventh century. For we are told in connection with the pilgrim's account of his journey : "From

* On Kanishka's buildings see Watters, *Yuan Chwang* Vol. I, pp. 122, 147; *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* I 168-171, etc. For the references in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, see the inscriptions Nos. 36, 37, 95, 84, 93 in N. G. Majumdar's list of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (J. A. S. B. 1924). A general account of the role of the Iranians in the diffusion of cultures in Central and Eastern Asia occurs in Pelliot, *Les Influences iraniennes en Asie Centrale et en Extrême-Orient*, 1912.

† See the abstract of Prof. Sten Konow's paper, *Sprachliche und literare Einzelheiten in Kharoṣṭhī inschriften*, Z. D. M. G. (1926) VI 1, pp. lxx-lxxi.

‡ See MacGrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 33, 104.

Ki-pin the pilgrim continued his journey going east above 600 li through a very mountainous region; then crossing a black range he entered the north of India and arrived in the Lan-po country".* Even in the ninth century Nagarahāra could be described from the point of view of a native of that country as the ornament of Uttarāpatha.†

THE BUDDHIST MONUMENTS OF AFGHANISTAN

The most majestic memorials of this expansion of Indian culture in the tableland to the west of the Indus are undoubtedly the Buddhist monuments of Afghanistan. These monuments at the present time may be traced principally along the track of the great highway that connected north-western India, along the Kabul valley and across the Hindu Kush, with Western and Central Asia. In the plain of Jelalabad (the old Nagarahāra) the ruins of *stūpas* and monasteries are scattered in such extraordinary profusion that, according to an eminent scholar and explorer, a century of exploration has not taken away the need for beginning the task afresh. At Hadda, five miles south of Jelalabad, which is the site of the famous shrine of Buddha's skull-bone, there exist numbers of ruined monuments containing exceptionally fine Indo-Afghan sculptures of the Gandhāra school. In the Kōhistan of Kabul which lay off the main track of early times, the remains of a Buddhist city have been traced on the site of three vast amphitheatres now called the Seh Topān, the Kamari and Shevaki. In the charming valley of Kapiśā have been definitely located the ruins of the famous monastery built by the Chinese hostages of the Emperor Kanishka; while other monasteries and *stūpas* mentioned by Hiuen Tsang have been tentatively identified with existing ruins. At Bamiyan nestled beneath the 'snowy mountains' of the Hindu Kush, or more correctly enclosed between the Hindu Kush and the Koh-i-Baba, there still exist, in defiance of the ravages of time and of man, the rock-cut grottos and shrines with their far-famed colossal images of Buddha which have extorted the interest, if not the admiration, of successive visitors from the time of Hiuen Tsang. Some idea of the extent of these caves may be formed from the fact that Abul Fazl, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, estimated their number at twelve thousand. Some of these caves were meant for the residence of monks, others with a niche at their inner end were no doubt sanctuaries in which the images of Buddhas and Bodhisatvas were enshrined, and there were besides niches containing those images. The colossal images consist of two standing figures and three seated figures of the Buddha. Early observers usually have noticed only the first two images and one of the last which they quaintly described as the figures of a man, a woman, and a child. Both the figures first mentioned are coated

* Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I p. 180.

† See the Ghosrāwān inscription of the time of Devapāla I. A. Vol XVII. pp. 307-312.

with stucco which was originally gilt, so much so that Hiuen Tsang held the lesser of them to be made of bronze. The paintings which originally decorated the niches of these statues as well as the facade of the grottos have disappeared for the most part. But some precious fragments, from the niches of the colossal Buddhas that have fortunately survived the wreck of time, have very recently been made available to us in coloured reproductions by the energy and enterprize of the French archaeological delegation in Afghanistan. These paintings, as we now see, represent figures of genii accompanied by their wives with plates of offerings in their hands, of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, of pious donors and the like. One group is of especial interest as representing the Iranian solar deity mounted upon a chariot drawn by horses. The Bamiyan paintings are of high importance as forming the connecting link between the art of Ajanta and the Buddhist pictorial art of Central Asia. Among other antiquities of Bamiyan mention may be made of the curious piece of natural formation supposed by the Moslem inhabitants to represent a dragon (Azhdaha) killed by the Caliph Ali, which many scholars identified, wrongly as it now appears, with a famous Parinirvāṇa image of Buddha seen by Hiuen Tsang in the same locality. Beyond Bamiyan on the ancient site of Balkh and in the region of Afghan Turkestan, ruins of *stūpas* and other antiquities have recently been brought to light by the labours of the distinguished archaeologist M. Foucher, (1)

Notwithstanding the extent and variety of the Buddhist religious edifices of Afghanistan, they may be broadly divided under two principal heads, the *stūpa* and the *vihāra*, the latter term meaning the residence of the monks as well as the shrine of the gods. The form of the *stūpa* ranges, as elsewhere, from the primitive model of a dome raised upon a circular basement, to more elaborate and complex types in which the base is multiplied into two or more parts for the purpose of producing the effect of superior elevation. In many, if not most, of the existing *stūpas* of the Afghan country the drum is adorned with a belt of

* For descriptions of the Buddhist antiquities of Afghanistan illustrated with plates see H. H. Hayden : *Notes on some Monuments in Afghanistan*, Mem. A. S. B. Vol. II [1911] ; Oskar von Niedermayer and Ernst Diez, *Afghanistan* [1924]. For locations of the older sites illustrated with a general map of Afghanistan and separate maps of Bamiyan and Kapisa, see Foucher, *Notes sur l'itinéraire de Hiuen-Tsang en Afghanistan* [Etudes Asiatiques 1, pp. 257-284]. All older publications on Bamiyan antiquities are now superseded by the publication of the work of M. and Mme. Godard and J. Hackin, *Les Antiquités bouddhiques de Bamiyan*, Paris 1928 [with 48 illustrations]. For recent explorations of the Buddhist antiquities at Balkh and at Haibak in Afghan Turkestan, see Foucher's reports in B. E. F. E.-O., July-December 1924, and J. A., July-September 1924. A short account, based chiefly upon a brief report of M. and Mme. Godard, in connexion with the recent exhibition of antiquities from Afghanistan and China at the Musée Guimet, appeared in the *Modern Review*, February 1927, under the title *Buddhist Remains in Afghanistan*. Among older authorities on the archaeology of Afghanistan the most important is H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua* [London 1841] containing a memoir from the pen of Charles Masson, and numerous illustrations. The commonly accepted identification of the Azhdaha of Bamiyan with the Parinirvāṇa image of Buddha is rejected by Pelliot [see the additional note by Paul Pelliot in Godard and Hackin, op. cit. p. 63]. For Abul Fazl's account of the Bamiyan caves, see *Ain-i-Akbari* [Jarett's trans., Vol. II p. 409].

ornamental moulding consisting of a succession of arches resting upon pilasters or else of a series of pilasters alone. Many of the *stūpas*, when opened by their first Western explorer, yielded *relic caskets* which were made either of gold bronze or of silver and often encrusted with gems. Besides the *stūpas* detached pillars of the type existing at Sānchi and Sārnāth are found among the Buddhist sites of Afghanistan. Among the group of *stūpas* in the south-east of Kabul, there still exist two pillars, one of which is (called the *Minār Chakri* or the Wheel Minor) which may have originally been surmounted by the figure of a wheel, like the famous lion pillar at Sārnāth. The Buddhist *vihāras* are usually carved in the scraps of rocks at the foot of which stand the *stūpas*. By far the most famous of them is the group of cave-shrines at Bamiyan mentioned above, but other groups of such caves exist also in the plain of Jelalabad and the Kabul region*.

THE IRRUPTION OF THE EPATHALITES (WHITE HUNS) AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

The wonderful expansion of Buddhism in the Indian borderlands which has been described in the foregoing paragraphs produced results of incalculable advantage to those tracts. At the time of Fa-hien's visit Udyāna, Gandhāra and Nagarahāra were in a flourishing condition and boasted of numbers of rich Buddhist convents. In the eyes of Buddhist pilgrims from outside, this territory ranked as a second holy land almost comparable to Magadha, as they contained the four great shrines ornamented with gold and silver commemorating four acts of sacrifice on the part of the Bodhisattva. No wonder, then, that in a Buddhist work formerly attributed to Aśvaghoṣa, Gandhāra could be explained without impropriety as a synonym for good conduct by a little bit of fanciful etymology.† But a great catastrophe overtook these regions in the latter part of the fifth and the first half of the sixth centuries. The Ephthalites or White Huns, a fierce nomadic horde from Central Asia, migrated westwards and southwards in search of new homes and hurled themselves against Persia and India. The Ephthalite chief Toramāṇa who led his host into India (c. 493 A. D.) made himself the paramount sovereign of Central India. He bequeathed his throne to his infamous son Mihiragula whose memory has been branded in the Kashmir chronicle as the reputed slayer of three *koṭis* of men (*trikoṭihā*).‡ A vivid picture of these barbarians at the height of their power is drawn by Song-yun a

* For the above, see principally Masson's *Memoir* in Wilson, *op. cit.* The *Minār Chakri* is beautifully illustrated by Niedermayer and Diez [Pl. 52]. The various forms of *stūpā* in vogue in the Gandhāra school are described by Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, I, pp. 65-80.

† See the *Sūtralaṅkāra*, Fr. tr. by Huber, p. 5. Prof. Lüders has since found the correct name of the work to be the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, and that of its author to be Kumāralāta: See the Introduction to his work, *Das Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta*. For the Brahmanical censure of Gandhāra and Vahika [the Panjab], see *Mahābhārata*, VIII 40 f.

‡ *Rājatarāṅginī*, I 310.

Chinese Ambassador of the great Wei dynasty who visited their head-quarters at Bamiyan between 518 and 522 A. D. According to his account more than thirty countries offered homage to the Ephthalites whose capital was adorned with many Hindu temples and pagodas ornamented with gold. They had, however, no faith in Buddha and used to kill living beings. The same lack of faith prevailed in Shenmi (Kafiristan).^{*} The destructive fury of the White Huns was felt specially in the unhappy land of Gandhāra. In the latter part of the fifth Century Gandhāra was still a noted centre of learning, for it produced two of the greatest scholars of Mahāyāna Buddhism, namely, Asaṅga and his brother Vasubandhu. At Udyāna, even at the time of Song-yun's visit, the law of the Buddha was honoured as before, and there was a great number of temples and *stāpas*; the reigning king constantly strove after perfection according to the Buddhist ideas and gave himself up to constant abstinence. But Mihiragula devastated the Buddhist shrines of Gandhāra with a ruthlessness which gave the death-blow to its far-famed school of Græco-Roman Buddhistic art.

THE RULE OF THE WESTERN TURKS AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

In the middle of the century another revolution took place in the shifting politics of Central Asia. The Turks called *Tou-kiu* by the Chinese were originally bondsmen of a neighbouring tribe called the Joan-Joan in a distant corner of Mongolia. But in the beginning of the 6th century they threw off the yoke of their hated masters and emerged into political importance. In course of time they split up into two sections namely the Northern and the Western Turks. Between 563 and 567 A.D. the Western Turks joined hands with the famous Sassanian king of Persia Khusru Anushirvan to destroy the empire of the White Huns. For a short time the Persians held Balkh and the adjoining territories, but, by the end of the 6th century, the Western Turks gained the mastery and obtained possession of all the dominions of the Huns to the south of Hindu Kush. At the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit in 633 A. D. the vast country of Tuholo (Tokhāra), extending according to the pilgrim from the Karakoram to Persia and from the celebrated defile of the Iron Gates to the Hindu Kush, was divided into twenty-seven states all subject to the Turks. A Turkish king reigned even in the country round the modern Hupian (or Opian) to the south of the Hindu Kush*.

The rule of the Western Turks which helped to bring the four great civilisations of the time, the Byzantine, the Persian, the Indian and the Chinese, into mutual contact, was attended with the happiest results for the diffusion of cultures. It was through their dominions that Zoroastrianism as well as Nestorian Christianity passed into China from the West. Buddhism specially found

* See Chavannes, *Voyage de Song-yun dans l' Udyāna et le Gandhāra*, B. E. F. E.-O., 1903.

† Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II p. 266.

in the Turkish war-lords a warm champion of its cause. In 626 Shirhu-kagan, the supreme chief of the Turks, gave a warm welcome to the Buddhist monk Prabhākaramitra and his companions on their way to China. Four years afterwards he extended the same welcome to the illustrious Hiuen-Tsang to whom he gave subsequently the safe conduct for his journey to India*. Wu-kung who visited Kashmir and Gandhāra between 759 and 764 A. D. was shown two temples in Kashmir and two other temples in Gandhāra which were said to have been built by a *Turkish Buddhist* king, his queen and his son†.

It is possible to glean a general account of the state of Indian culture in the highlands to the west of the Indus at this period from the vivid account of Hiuen Tsang supplemented by notices of other Chinese writers in the same and following centuries. Buddhism, it appears, was known in all these regions and in some parts it flourished exceedingly. In the historic Kunduz country the majority of the people were Buddhists. The country of Balkh contained above one hundred monasteries with more than 3000 monks. Its glory was the great Nava-vihāra or Nava-saṅghārāma reputed to possess the washing basin, a tooth and a broom of Buddha and enjoying a unique reputation as the greatest centre of Buddhist learning to the north of the Hindu Kush. It contained besides two *stūpas* which pious credulity assigned to the time of Kāśyapa Buddha. An interesting sidelight is thrown upon the Indian connections of Balkh by the pilgrim's statement that its capital was known as little Rājagṛha no doubt after the famous ancient capital of Magadha bearing that name. In the Gaz country to the south of Balkh there were more than ten monasteries with three hundred brethren of the Sarvāstivādin school. The district of Bamiyan contained some tens of Buddhist monasteries with several thousands of brethren of the Lokottaravādin school. The two rock-cut images of the Buddha, together with an equally colossal Parinirvāṇa Buddha were already in existence and excited the interest of the Chinese pilgrim. The king of Bamiyan, we are further told, held a quinquennial assembly (was it inspired by the memorable example of the contemporary Hindu emperor Harṣavardhana ?) at which he was wont to give away all his possessions to the monks, his officials afterwards redeeming the valuables from them. Kapiśā, renowned for its horses and its saffron, boasted of above one hundred monasteries tenanted by six thousand brethren, chiefly Mahāyānists; the king, who exercised authority over Lampāka, Nagarāhāra and Gandhāra as well, was reputed to be a Kṣatriya and was a zealous Buddhist. Lampāka had above ten monasteries with monks chiefly Mahāyānists. Mahāyāna Buddhism also flourished in the country of Jāguḍa noted for its saffron and asafoetida, where the king was a true believer in Buddha. The Turkish king of the country round Hiupian was a zealous follower of Buddhism‡.

* See Chavannes, *Documents sur les Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 198, 300-301.

† See Chavannes and Levi, *Les Itinéraires d'U-kung*, J. A. 1895.

‡ See Watters, *Yuan-chiung* Vol. I, pp. 102-130, 181-198; Vol. II, pp. 264-270. Lampāka is well known to Sanskrit literature [See e. g. Mahābh. VII 122, Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa LVII 40, Hemachandra's *Abhidhānācintāmaṇi* IV 26]. In the catalogue of Yākas in the Mahāmāyūrī, a

In the above, it will be noticed, Mahāyāna Buddhism is described as flourishing in certain parts of the country immediately bordering on the North-Western frontier. The prevalence of the Mahāyāna cults in these regions is attested by other documents of a somewhat later period. The *Mitrasamputa-Sūtra* (Sanskrit work translated into Chinese by Narendrayaśas between 589 and 615 A. D.) contains a list of places sanctified by the presence of Bodhisattvas. Among these are included Gandhāra where dwells Ta-li-sha-me-ju-lo (Darśana-jñamūla) muni and Kī pin (Kashmir or Kapiśā) where dwells Kong-(kong)-mo-ni-kiu (Kumkuma) muni. The Hevajra-Tantra which belongs to a somewhat later date mentions a list of Bodhisattva *pīṭhas* and *upapīṭhas* among which is included Lampāka*. In keeping with this point may be mentioned the fact that a Śramaṇa of Lan-po (Lampāka) is recorded as translating a Sanskrit work on magical incantations (*dhāraṇīs*) into Chinese†.

The picture of the state of Buddhism that is presented to us in the foregoing paragraphs implies a close contact between the countries beyond the Indus and the great centres of Buddhism in Eastern India. Direct testimony to this effect is furnished by the biographical accounts of about 50 missionaries from the pen of the celebrated I-tsing. We thus learn how a native of the K'ang country (Samarkand) entered India in the 7th century in the train of a Chinese ambassador and performed a pilgrimage to Mahābodhi. The people of Tokharistan built, at an unknown place in eastern India, a temple for the accomodation of pilgrims from their own country. In I-tsing's time it was distinguished for its wealth and the excellent regulation of its affairs. A temple of the country of Kapiśā also existed at Mahābodhi where pilgrims from the North were accommodated on their visit to the holy place‡.

The invaluable evidence of Hiuen Tsang is also important as showing how non-Buddhistic Indian faiths found their way at the period into the highlands of Afghanistan. An early evidence of the prevalence of the Śaiva cult in Gandhāra is provided by a Kharosthi inscription § of the reign of Mahārāja Guṣaṇa (Kadphises II) recording a gift of money at a temple of Śiva constructed by Moika, son of Urumuja. The hold of Śaivaism over the foreign settlers is likewise proved by certain coin-types of Kadphises II and Vāsudeva figuring the god Śiva on the reverse. Mihiragula himself seems to have combined with his

Yakṣa called Kalahapriya is said to be the tutelary divinity of Lampāka. Jāguda occurs in Mbh. III. 21, 24-26 in a list of peoples to the west of the Indus. For Chinese notices of its products see Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, Index s. v. Jāguda.

* See the quotations in the English tr. of Sylvain Lévi's article on *Kharoṣṭha and Kharoṣṭhī* in I. A. 1906 pp. 4, 20-21.

† See Watters, *Yuan-chwang*, Vol. I p. 182.

‡ See *Les Religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les pays d'occident, par I-tsing*. Trad. Chavannes. I-tsing was born in 634, performed his travels from 671 to 695 and died in 713 A. D. It may be observed in this connection that Hiuen Tsang mentions a "saffron tope" built at Mahābodhi by certain merchants of the Jāguda country [Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II p. 125].

§ No. 47 in Majumdar's list, op. cit.

fanatical zeal against Buddhism a pious regard for Śaivaism which displayed itself in the construction of Śivite edifices at Śrinagara, the capital, of Kashmir.* No wonder, then, that Hiuen Tsang found at Kapiśā some tens of "deva temples" and "above one thousand professed sectarians, *Digambaras*, *Pāśūpatas* etc. and 'those who wear wreaths of skulls as head-ornaments'. Numbers of "deva-temples" also existed in his time at Lampāka, Nagarahāra, Jāguda and even in distant Andarāb† It may be mentioned in this connection that the *Pāśūpatas* otherwise called *Māheśvaras* were a well-known Śivite sect of ancient times one of whose main strongholds in Hiuen Tsang's time was Benares. The wearers of skulls no doubt have to be identified with a more reprehensible sect of the same persuasion known to Indian literature under the names of *Kāpālika* and *Kālamukha* ‡

THE ONSLAUGHT OF ISLAM AND ITS CONSEQUENCES—THE FIRST PHASE

About the middle of the seventh century while Hiuen Tsang was still sojourning among the lands and people of India came the first shock of contact between the arms of Islam and the highlands immediately to the west of the Indus. The swift and dramatic advance of the Saracene power in the half century following the flight of the Prophet to Medina is one of the enigmas of history. In an incredibly short time Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia and above all Persia succumbed to the irresistible march of the Arab invaders. At this critical time the Western Turks who had dominated the country to the south of the Oxus were overthrown by an invasion of the Chinese. But the new conquerors were deprived not long afterwards of their control over the Western lands by a crushing defeat that they suffered at the hands of the Tibetans. The Arabs were not slow to take advantage of the prevailing confusion. Already in the time of the Caliph Othman (644-656 A. D.) an Arab force had invaded the territory of Afghanistan from the south and had occupied Ghazni, Kabul and other places. Not long afterwards (663-664 A. D.) another Arab army invaded Balkh from the north and destroyed the famous Navavihāra monastery; while a fresh expedition under Qutaiba bin Muslim resulted in the conversion of Balkh to the faith of Islam. At the time of its destruction the Navavihāra monastery contained, according to the accounts of later Arab writers, three hundred cells grouped round a central pagoda; while its hereditary priest called the *Barmek* was in possession of an estate amounting to seven hundred and forty square miles. After the catastrophic overthrow of Buddhism the *Barmek* accepted Islam the religion of his Conquerors and his sons afterwards rose to the highest offices under the famous

* See *Rājatarāṅgīnī* 1.306. One type of coins of Mihira-gula has the figure of a bull with a corresponding legend on the reverse [Vincent Smith's *Catalogue*, p. 226].

† See Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I pp. 123, 181, 183, Vol. II pp. 265, 269.

‡ See Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism* etc. pp. 127-128.

Harun-ar-Rashid. The eighth century opened with still greater disasters for the cause of Indian culture in its outposts to the west of the Indus. While an Arab general Qutaiba carried the victorious arms of Islam into Transoxiana, the famous general Muhammad bin Qasim led his army across Baluchistan and Sind conquering the lower Indus valley as far north as Multan. The doom of the Indian or Indianised peoples, caught as they were between the two great blocks of Moslem territory, was from that time practically sealed. In the time of the Caliph al-Mansur (744-775 A. D.), or possibly that of his successor, the princes of Bamiyan bearing the title of *Sher* accepted the teaching of Islam. Finally an Arab invasion in the time of Ma'mun the last of the great Caliphs of the house of Abbas (813-833 A. D.) resulted in the conversion of Kabul.

After such deep wounds inflicted by the triumphant sword of Islam it would seem that the influences of Indian culture were all but obliterated in the tracts beyond the Indus. Yet, strangely enough, such was not the case. Wukung, who arrived at Ki-pin (Kapiśā) in the train of a Chinese embassy and reached Gandhāra in 753 A. D., mentions two Buddhist monasteries at Udyāna called Sukhāvati and Padmāvati. He also recorded that there was not the slightest difference between what he said and what was said by Hiuen Tsang.* The Chinese Buddhist literature has preserved the name of a Śramana of Kudhā (Kabul) called Prajñā who translated certain Buddhist texts into Chinese between 785 and 810 A. D.†. Mention may be made, lastly, of a Pāla inscription of the ninth century which commemorates the achievements of Viradeva a distinguished Buddhist monk belonging to a Brāhmana family of Nagarāhāra who made a pilgrimage to Mahābodhi and was afterwards appointed head of the Nālandā monastery by Devapāla the reigning king Bengal.‡

RENEWED AGGRESSION OF ISLAM AND FINAL COLLAPSE OF INDIAN CULTURE, IN AFGHANISTAN

By the middle of the ninth century the great empire of the Abbaside Caliphs of Bagdad had tottered to its fall. Out of its ruins arose new dynasties mainly of Turkish and Persian stocks to some of which destiny assigned the task of sweeping away the last remnants of Indian rule in the highlands of Afghanistan. Yakub, the son of Lais who founded the Saffaride dynasty of Persia, completed the annexation of Balkh, Bamiyan and Kabul to the dominion of Islam (870-871 A. D.). Kabul at this time was ruled by a king called Kabul Shah by the invaders, who is described as a Turk by race and a Buddhist by religion and who doubtless belonged to the so-called dynasty of Turkish Shāhiyas. It was about this time that Lalliya the minister of the last Turkish Shāhiya

* See Chavannes and Levi, *Itinéraire d' Ou-Kong*, J. A. 3895.

† See Buniyo Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 156.

‡ See the Ghosrāwān inscription of the time of Devapāla, I. A. Vol. XVII pp. 307-312.

deposed his master and founded the illustrious line of kings known to history as the *Hindu Shāhiyas* of Ohind. Few of the Indian mediæval dynasties have deserved so well of the students of history, and none certainly has been able to draw the respect of friend and foe alike in as much measure as this unfortunate dynasty. Of its illustrious founder we are told that he maintained his position between the Daradas and the Turuṣkas, as between the lion and the bear, that his capital was a refuge of other kings and that his glory far outshone that of other Northern rulers. His kingdom was fairly extensive as it comprised Gandhāra and Udyāna with a considerable part of the Panjab.* In the reign of one of his unknown successors a Chinese Buddhist pilgrim called Ki-ye with a company of three hundred monks reached Gandhāra by way of the Gilgit valley from Kansu in north-west China; he is recorded to have visited, in the west of Kashmir and on the way to Gandhāra, the mountain where the Bodhisattva threw himself to feed a hungry tigress.† The last kings of this dynasty engaged in a valiant contest with the Turkish Sultans of Ghazni for preserving their own independence. Yet of one of them Ānandpāl, son of Jaipāl, anecdotes are preserved showing his patronage of grammatical learning and his chivalry towards his great antagonist, Sultan Mahmud.‡ The issue of the wars between the Hindu Shāhiyas and the Ghaznavide Sultans was disastrous for the cause of the Indians. In succession Lampāka, Nagarahāra and at last Udabhaṇḍapura, the capital, were annexed by the Muslim invaders. The last stand was made by Trilochanpāl, the son of Ānandpāl against Mahmud in the plain of the Taushi river to the south of Kashmir. But once more victory declared itself in favour of the Moslems. With this last battle the Hindu Shāhiyas disappeared from the pages of history. So utter was their overthrow that it produced a profound impression upon on-lookers even in that period of shaking thrones and tottering dynasties. We catch an echo of the universal wail of grief that rose at this catastrophe in the brief but pathetic lament of Kalhaṇa in the *Rāja-taranginī* § "Of the Shāhiya kingdom one now asks whether its kings, its ministers and its court, ever existed" And the great scholar Alberuni, himself a *protege* of Mahmud, seized the occasion to pay his tribute of generous homage to the memory of the illustrious House. "The Hindu Shāhiya dynasty", he wrote** "is now extinct and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that in all their grandeur they never slackened in the ardent desire for doing that which is good and right, and

* See *Rājataranginī*, V. 152-155 with Stein's note.

† See the account of Ed. Chavannes in B. E. F. E.-O. 1904. The correct date of Ki-ye's departure for India from China is 960 A. D.: *ibid*.

‡ See Alberuni's *India*, Sachau's tr. Vol. I. p. 135; Vol. II. pp. 13-14. The full measure of Ānandpāl's chivalry will appear from the well-attested fact that Mahmud, after defeating his father Jaipāl and taking him captive, sold him as a slave for 80 dinars. [see J. R. A. S. 1927, pp. 493-495 for corroborative evidence of this fact].

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** *Op. cit.* vol. II p. 13.

that they were men of noble sentiments and noble bearing." What havoc the raids of Mahmud made in the lands which he plundered is described by Alberuni in another part of his work: "Mahmud," we are told,* "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country and performed those wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. This is the reason why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us and have fled to places which our hands cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places."

With the collapse of the last of the Hindu Shāhiyas at the hands of Sultan Mahmud, the curtain dropped upon Indian cultural domination in Afghanistan. Yet the long stretch of centuries, through which Hindu cultural influences ruled the Afghan country, could not but leave deep traces of their existence such as the subsequent nine centuries of Moslem rule have failed altogether to efface. Of this the most striking example is the group of indigenous *Indian languages* still in vogue in the kingdom. The *Pāshāi*, the most important of such languages, is at present confined to the narrow tract of country north of the Kabul river. But there is reason to believe that it formerly extended over the whole of the upper and middle Kabul valley. The *Kaffir* languages prevailing in north-eastern Afghanistan have more affinities with the Indian than with the Iranian languages; and they have been latterly so much influenced by contact with the north-western Indian frontier tribes that they may now be regarded as essentially Indian. †

* Ibid. Vol. I p. 22.

† See Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, 1926, S. V. Pashai and the Kaffir languages.

APPENDIX A

On the History of Archaeological Explorations in Afghanistan.

The history of explorations of antiquities in Afghanistan may fittingly commence with the mention of the ill-fated journey of two Englishmen from India to the country of Turkestan in the first quarter of the 19th century. William Moorcroft, a veterinary surgeon who held the post of Superintendent of the East India Company's military stud, was filled with the idea of importing the Turkoman breed of horses for improving the Company's remounts and of opening a profitable trade between British India and Turkestan. With a young companion George Arebcek, the son of an English solicitor practising in Calcutta, he started on his perilous journey in 1819; and after encountering many difficulties and disappointments which might well have shaken a less resolute heart, he at length reached Bokhara by way of L^é and Kabul. On their way back both the travellers were seized with an attack of fever to which they eventually succumbed in 1825. Their solitary graves at and near Balkh were the mournful memorials of this unfortunate and ill-advised adventure. The account of their travels was made accessible to the public some time afterwards in 1831 by the labours of the distinguished Orientalist H. H. Wilson. From it we learn how they were the first Europeans to explore the *stūpas* of Afghanistan and visit the colossi at Bamiyan. But meanwhile a young British officer Lieutenant Alexander Burnes, had been tempted, by the prospect of visiting the places conquered by Alexander and of exploring the Oxus, to undertake a journey across the Punjab and thence through Peshawar to Bokhara. Accompanied by a medical officer Dr. James Gerard he successfully accomplished his mission in 1832; it is interesting to note that a young Hindu, Mohun Lal "of Cashmere family", attended the mission of Burnes as his Persian Munshi. In giving an account of his journey Burnes recorded notices of the "topes" the "caves in rocks" and the "towers" in the Jelalabad and Kabul regions; and above all he described the "B^{uts} of Bamiyan" which, he gravely remarked, "existed before the time of Muhammad and when the country was possessed by *Kafirs* under the dominion of *Zohak* whose reign was antecedent to Christianity". Almost immediately after this time another intrepid traveller entered the Afghan country and began that systematic exploration of its antiquities which was destined to throw the work of his predecessors into the shade. This was Charles Masson, an American, one of whose chief incentives to archaeological research in that dangerous country was his desire to identify the site of Alexandria under the Caucasus, one of the colonies founded by the mighty Macedonian. The qualities displayed by Masson in the course of his search for antiquities—his unbounded capacity for physical endurance, keenness of observation and skill in collecting all interesting information—have deservedly won for him the unstinted admiration of Foucher the

greatest living authority on the art of the Gandhāra school.* During his stay in Afghanistan from 1834 to 1837, this daring explorer Masson was able to open numbers of *stūpas* in Jelalabad and Kabul regions and was rewarded with the discovery of wonderful relic-caskets, coins and other antiquities. What was of more immediate importance, he acquired, at the cost of the East India Company, a hoard of over 30,000 coins: Greek, Scythian, Hindu, Sassanide and Muhammadan, which were mostly obtained from an ancient site called Begram about 25 miles to north-east of Kabul. The results of his explorations were given out to the world in form of three successive *Memoirs* contributed to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1835 and 1835) and were afterwards published by H. H. Wilson in the *Ariana Antiqua* (London, 1841) along with a Memoir from Masson's own pen. The numismatic discoveries of Masson at once roused widespread interest, and they formed the subject of some learned contributions to the Asiatic Society's *Journal* from the pen of the illustrious James Prinsep. Interest in the Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins was roused on the Continent, at the same time, by the arrival of Dr. Honigberger who had formerly been a medical officer in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and who had carried out some minor excavations in the Jelalabad region. Shortly after this time there broke out the catastrophe of the First Afghan War which led, by a natural sequel, to Afghanistan becoming a *forbidden land* for European visitors. Even during the critical years of the war, however, it was possible for an English officer, Lieutenant Vincent Eyre, who was a prisoner in the hands of the Afghans, to examine the Bamiyan Caves. His account, brief and imperfect as it was, appeared subsequently in a work which he wrote under the title *The Military Operations at Kabul with a Journal of imprisonment in Afghanistan*. Not long afterwards a daring French officer, J. P. Ferrier, desirous of seeking his fortune at the court of Lahore, performed an adventurous journey in disguise from Bagdad overland to Lahore, in the course of which he visited certain Buddhist rock-cut caves at a place called Singlak. It was however not till the outbreak of the next Afghan War (1878-80) that it became possible for an English war-correspondent Mr. William Simpson, to examine the caves and *stūpas* at Jelalabad, of which he wrote some accounts illustrated with sketches in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1882) and other papers. A fresh opportunity for exploration came with the appointment of the Russo-Afghan Boundary Delimitation Commission by the Government of Lord Dufferin in 1885. The officers attached to this commission, especially the Captain Hon. M. G. Talbot and Captain Maitland, prepared full and accurate accounts of the Bamiyan Caves which were afterwards published with illustrative sketches in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1886). At this point the exploration of antiquities practically came to a standstill; so much so that the illustrious author of the

* See Foucher, *Notes sur l'Itinéraire de Hsien Tsang en Afghanistan*, pp. 258-259 *Etudes Asiatiques* I.

Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra Prof. Foucher, when bringing out the first volume of his work, in 1905, thought that we should have to wait for a new campaign to increase the sources of our knowledge of the subject.* But a new era, fraught with the richest promises for the future of archaeological research in Afghanistan, opened in 1922 when the Afghan Government, under the enlightened direction of its present ruler, signed a convention with M. Foucher, by which France was granted the privilege of carrying out for 30 years the work of archaeological excavation throughout the kingdom. The result of this momentous step has more than justified itself even within the short interval of time that has since elapsed. Within the last few years Afghanistan has been visited by a number of French scholars : M. and Mme. Godard, Hackin, Jouveau Dubreuil and above all Foucher, the head of the French archaeological delegation ; and their journeys have already helped to light up many an obscure corner in the field. A series of Memoirs of the French delegation has been launched, of which the second volume containing a fascinating account of the Buddhist antiquities of Bamiyan with sumptuous illustrations has appeared recently. The prospect is most promising, and it may confidently be predicted that ere long Afghanistan will be made to yield up the antiquarian treasures which she has jealously guarded within her bosom for so many centuries.

APPENDIX B

Indians have forgotten that Afghanistan once formed part and parcel of India proper. As an important province of the Maurya Empire, as the seat of the Indo-Bactrian and Kushan dynasties and later of the Hindu Shahi kings. Afghanistan continued to be an integral part of India, for centuries together, till it was overrun by the Muslim conquerors. Even in the Mughal period, as a frontier province, it was a hot bone of contention between the Mughal Emperors of Delhi and the Persians.

Significantly enough, Mr. Ahmed Ali Kohzad, the Head of the Afghan Mission, who came to Calcutta in connection with the Bi-centenary Celebrations of Sir William Jones at the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, said that the ancient name of Afghanistan was Ariyana. It is well known that in those far off days Jalalabad used to be known as Nagarahāra, Begram (80 miles north of Kabul) as Kapiśā, all typical Sanskrit names. Even now the entire country is dotted with ancient ruins of monumental sculptures and Buddhist stūpas, which were noted by the eminent Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century A. D. Some of these stūpas in the Kabul Valley have been unearthed by the French Archaeological Mission with remarkable results.

* See Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra* I p. 7.

The Afghan Mission brought down with them a fair and representative collection of art and antiquities of ancient and mediaeval Afghanistan, now preserved in the Central Museum of Kabul. A small but very interesting exhibition, displaying the objects which have never been seen in India before, was organised at the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, University of Calcutta. It aroused keen interest among students, educationists and art lovers as evinced by the eager crowds of people, observed the curator Prof. Devaprasad Ghosh.

Illustrating the Islamic as well as the Pre-Islamic periods, the collection consisting of about 100 exhibits could be divided into specimens of art-objects representing three epochs of Art in Afghanistan. The first consisted of Buddhist stucco figures from Hadda, discovered by M. Hackin, belonging to the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D. They were undoubtedly the finest products of the Gandhāra school of art, as Hadda had been geographically and artistically the heart of ancient Gandhāra. Some of the heads of Buddha and Bodhisattva, often painted, were distinguished by rare charm and delicacy. Others represented Indo-Afghan ethnic types, scarcely different from those prevailing now in modern Afghanistan. A unique marble image of Sūryya, the Sun-god attracted considerable attention in the exhibition. It was roughly dated about the 5th century A. D., but on stylistic grounds should be placed earlier. In any case, aesthetically and iconographically it was an intriguing piece.

Of the metal objects, the Hellenistic bronzes from Begram, showing Hercules and other Greek classical figures, of about the beginning of the Christian era, illustrated the *earliest phase* of Gandhāra art.

The second group consisting of bronzes from Ghazni exhibited here, showed for the first time to connoisseurs that the art of *bronze casting* in the Islamic period (11th-13th centuries A. D.) had attained its highest point at Ghazni.

The third group of the collection revealed the beautiful *manuscripts* containing brilliant miniatures from the Timurid period of Herat. The illuminated pages were resplendent with the calligraphy and painting of some of the greatest masters of mediaeval Iran and Afghanistan. Of the 35 manuscripts some related to the *Timurnamah*, the *Bustan* of Saa di, the *Diwan* of Hafiz, the *Khamseh* of Nizami and prayers of the 4th Caliph. A few paintings from the *Akbarnamah*, envisaging the best traits of the Jahangir school of Mughal Painting, were not the least important exhibits of the Section.

"We are indeed thankful to the Government of Afghanistan for providing us the rare opportunities of understanding the dominant role played by Afghanistan in the field of art and renewing the agelong cultural contact between India and Afghanistan." (Greater India Society Journal 1946).

INDIAN ETHICS AND RELIGION :
THE ETHICAL FOUNDATION
OF BRAHMANISM

BY

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This brief but valuable paper was handed over by Prof. Hopkins to me when I was planning (a dream realized in the *Golden Book of Tagore* 1931) to publish a brochure on the 60th birth anniversary of Dr. Tagore (1921). I met the Poet in Paris in 1920 and followed him in his activities to get France and Germany reconciled after the tragic war. His 60th Anniversary was celebrated by both the great nations ; and America joined us in the serene personality of Prof. E. W. Hopkins who devoted most of his academic life in unfolding to the world the high literary and ethical values of our Great Epics, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. I thankfully remember him and his Yale University while printing his thoughtful paper in our *Greater India* series.

K. N.

INDIAN ETHICS AND RELIGION : THE ETHICAL FOUNDATION OF BRAHMANISM

The connection between every form of Religion and Ethics has always been peculiarly close. For, even in those inferior strata which we are wont to designate as *superstitions*, it is remarkable that they are never opposed but always favourable to recognized morality.

This does not mean that they further in every way, such moral rules as we regard as urgent ; but that they stand distinctly on the side of conduct which is regarded as *moral* by the people concerned. Thus, in African *fetishism*, the fetish is employed to hunt down the recognized sinner, thief or adulterer. And in the complex system of Polynesian *taboo*, it is "forbidden" to steal, and to touch another's wife. To so great an extent is this true that capable observers have even held that the moral sense itself has arisen from taboo (forbidden-ness). Though this is an exaggeration or rather an inversion of the relations between taboo and Ethics, it nevertheless remains true that, both in taboo and in *fetishism*, there is an intimate connection between the religious and the ethical. For sin is generally secret and the whole power of *fetishism* is directed towards the discovery and conviction of the hidden sin. That which is recognized as good needs no discoverer. The *ordeal*, by fire or by water or by poison, is employed only against the sinner ; and in religions much higher than *fetishism* and *taboo*, the ordeal is already a religious weapon ; that is, it no longer works by itself as a sentient power, but is employed as a means of discovering the truth by a Divine Power, as the poison-water of the Hebrew *Jehovah* or the water-ordeal of the Hindus by *Varuna*.

In all the higher religions, this union of Ethics and Religion is accepted as an unquestionable fact. The man, that comes before the Divine Judges in Egyptian religion, has to prove that he has been morally *impeccable* or the gods will not be satisfied with him. In Greek and Roman religions, the gods punish the sinner both in this life and the next. In Zoroastrianism all un-ethical behaviour is opposed to Ormuzd. Religion is, in short, not only the expression of a certain faith in gods, but it is also, by implication the expression of a belief that the gods are good and that a man who is immoral is therefore opposed to the Divine Power, because that power is itself moral.

But the *moral sense* evolves ; and as man becomes more civilized, he is no longer content with the ethics of previous ages. He still feels, however, that morality is based on religion and therefore he repudiates the gods of old in favour of newer and more ethical divinities. Thus the gods of Homer appeared immoral to a later age and the Greeks replaced them with a new conception of Zeus or replaced him altogether with a new figure who was greater and more moral, retaining Zeus as a mere popular designation for Divine Power (like the

Brahman in the Upanishads) immanent in the world. Thus from Greek Stoicism came the idea of God to Rome.

But at the same time, though it was universally admitted that God was good, it was not so easy to determine just what goodness was. That was left for man to discover from a contemplation of the Divine; for there was no *jural* system of ethics.

It was this which gave so great a power to Judaism and, in turn, to Christianity which inherited the Laws of God from the Hebrews and added thereto the personal example of the life of Christ its founder. The Christian did not and could not argue any question of morality, touched upon in his divine laws, whether those were expressed in the very words of God (as he believed) that is in the Ten Commandments and in other Biblical records which to him were also the *words of God*, or were implied by the teaching of Christ. He simply said, "It was commanded". No other religion had such a *Corpus* of ethical teaching supposed to be direct from a divine source or even written with God's own hand.

The missionary to India is naturally impressed with this when he enters upon his field of work and is apt to say, that he brings to India a religion in which, for the first time, Ethics is placed upon a *religious* basis. He is apt also to go further and say that in Hindu religions there is no recognition of any ethical authority, no Divine Law and hence no religious law of Right. He is quite genuinely (and ingenuously) shocked to think that there is no connection in India between religion and Ethics! "Read", he says, "the records in the literature and you will see that a man was esteemed a great saint, no matter what he did; because of his sainthood all things were permitted to him".

In a paper read before the American Oriental Society (April 1920) I endeavoured to point out the very intimate connection between *Vedic religion* and Ethics and I indicate here its thesis:

At the very beginning of Indian or *Indic literature*, that is in the *Rigveda* itself, the ethical sense is strongly religious.

The man who sins—and he has no doubt as to what sin is—feels that he has offended a Heavenly Power. The gods too may sin but their act is recognized as sinful; it is not free from blame because it is divine. There is an Ethical Power in the world and to offend it is to sin.

Brahmanism recognizes the connection between religion and ethics. Sometimes it is the gods, sometimes it is the equally divine *Rishis* or saints in heaven, who are the models on which human behaviour should be fashioned. The authority is sometimes evoked for merely *ritualistic* ends in the *Brāhmaṇas*, "So did the Gods" is here the norm.

But in the same authority, a vague but divine source, is invoked in behalf of morality. "Remember" says the Jurist in Manu's Code "that all the Gods are waiting to see if you, O witness I speak the Truth". The punishment of Hell is in the hands of *Yama* for him who sins. The Sun-god sees the lie and the

gods, in general, defend the Right and oppose the Wrong. There is no written Code attributed to God at this early stage but there is, nonetheless a Divine authority for right.

When Brahmanism, with its too great emphasis on *ritual*, began to express itself in Philosophy, it held even more firmly to the idea that the True was, at the same time, the Good. The Philosopher who saw in himself the soul of the universe, saw the soul in its true entity, only as it was "pure". The purity thus imagined was not simply a purity marked by freedom from materiality but by all that was implied by that materiality.

Sin, to the philosopher, was but the result of material obsession, and to be emancipated from one was to be free of the other. Only in specific instances, and then rather in popular conception than in reality, was it possible for one to transcend all moral laws. This notion was not practical but philosophical; and its equivalent is found in the *antinomian* attitude of certain Christian philosophers. The freed soul, because it was freed, rose above all restraints. Popular interpretations might say that this means, a very good man can be sinful. But such an interpretation is as crude as it is popular. The philosopher might reply: "God cannot sin and as I become like God so it becomes impossible for me to sin". To the philosopher or the saint sin is *beneath* his potency rather than *beyond* it. The pure soul cannot sin because it will not. Let the Vulgar interpret this to mean that the saint may sin and forget that it cannot; the fact remains that the whole religious life of the Hindu saint implies, from the beginning, an *ethical foundation*, which in turn is based upon an ideal of perfect sinlessness. However grotesque some of the attributes of the Yogin may seem to our modern minds, the ability to fly through the air etc.—all these attributes are merely the exterior marks of a soul that has renounced everything but Purity—a purity freed from material restraints which implies the ability to surpass or suppress all that is not "pure soul". This pure soul has nothing to do with material temptation and is therefore,—*ipso facto* in the highest degree *ethical*.

Even in the popular presentation of the *Gītā*, the suppression of "desires" bears with it the same implication. *Desire* is obviously a term which includes *a posteriori* every form of unethical inclination as well as gross sensuality or immoral action. But the basis of the whole *Gītā*-religion, though it includes the *yoga* practice, is devotion to a Divine ideal:—

"Come to me," that is "Be like me" who am as divine, above all passion and incapable of sin. This is the real meaning of

Macchittā Madgata-prāṇāh

and such expressions, found towards the summing up of the discourse no less than in its heart, as a protest against the notion that the ethical and the religions are not indissolubly united. Just so, Jesus Christ's "come to me" is by implication the repudiation of an immoral life.

It is therefore false, both for Brahmanic philosophy and for the popular religions based largely on the sense of personal relation with Divinity, to maintain that Ethics has no religious foundation in Hindu life. On the one hand the philosopher recognizes only the spiritual which abjures the unethical; and on the other the devotee follows his Master who—both in word and deed—exalts the Yogic ideal in its practical application to life. Whatever may have been the extravagances of certain phases of the later *Krishṇa*-cult, they have no more to do with the vital teaching of *Krishṇa* as presented in the *Gītā*, than the philosophical antinomism and the crude extravagances of certain Christian sects have to do with the plain doctrine of the New Testament.

But the common man (for all cannot be saints) educated in the tenets of orthodox Brahmanism and perhaps not a devotee of *Krishṇa*, is nevertheless as strongly bound by ethico-religious laws as are saints and devotees. For his codes of morality are both sacro-sanct through immemorial tradition, older than the Christian religion and based on a Divine authority, either directly or by transmission through a Personage speaking with more than human authority. Either the Father God or one who "speaks as one having authority"—declares the Code; and this is true not only of the Great Codes but of those ethical chapters which lie now embodied in the corpus of the Great Epic; while the personal characters of *Rāma* and *Sītā* in the lesser Epic are still quasi-divine models of conduct to hosts of devout believers. As such, also in many modern sects the lives of sainted founders serve as a continual stimulus, not only to the piety but to the ethical probity of the various congregations bearing the founder's name.

The formation of moral conduct, as found in such Codes and such living models, leaves nothing to be desired. They touch not only on the greater but on the less, with a particularity known only in the minute examination of sins deadly and venial made by the Church Fathers. Here discontent, jealousy, ill-humour, anger, stinginess etc. have their place as well as murder theft and adultery. Here, before such a thought found expression in the Western World, one is taught that kindness to all including animals is part of the moral law; and that the whole world is one's country in the light of one humanitarian fellowship. "In the presence of God castes disappear" it is said; and also "the Earth is my home". "Treat all living creatures as if they were one with thyself". And as the caste system is thus religiously modified in the interest of a higher morality, so the *Karma*-doctrine which seems, at first, to embody a wholly selfish appeal to one's own salvation, will be found, on closer examination, to embody an ethical ideal based on a belief in a superhuman, if not divine, power.

For, in Hindu religion, whether sectarian or Brahmanic—as in Christianity, though the appeal appears to be to self interest and self salvation in one form or another—yet its very strength lies in its call to something beyond self, to an ideal union with perfection which has guided man towards the Good, whatever has been his nominal creed. Thus it is as futile to assert that in the *Karma*-doctrine one's interest in morality is simply self-interest, as it would be to say that a life-

long devotion to the Christian ideal is based merely on the hope of living in bliss hereafter. What is not futile is the fact that the whole doctrine of *Karma*.—whether in itself true or false—implies a rigid adherence to a high ethical standard. The idea that birth expiates a former fault, that a morally elevated life now will result in a *better* because *higher* birth, is inexplicably united with the thought that *sin brings its own punishment*, both at the hands of the Gods (hence Hell in addition to a lower birth) and by the working of *Karma* itself which therefore must be not only an all-embracing power but a *moral force* in the universe.

Both Brahmanism and Buddhism accept this implication, the one uniting it with a divine surveillance of man, and the other in its primitive form, ignoring or denying the Divine element.

But even if—as Buddha taught, there is a *personal* God who is interested in man (though later Buddhism repudiated this teaching), *Karma* itself is the expression of an *ethical law*, universal and fundamental, embracing all forms of Life. As such, whether it be called a *divine law* or not is immaterial. To Brahmanism it was not only divine but more than divine, embracing in its cogency even the Gods, as a Fate in moral guise. It is the earliest as well as the profound enunciation of the belief in the Moral Order (*Vedic Rita*) of the universe, of which all codes, divine and human, are but a partial elucidation. In every aspect then, from the earliest period to the latest, India has recognized Ethics as interwoven with or based upon Religion—whether that religion be expressed in terms of personal or Cosmic powers, gods or abstract ethical realities. Whatever have been its lapses from its own ideals (and Brahmanism has suffered from its *priests* as have other religions) it has recognized consistently and constantly that *moral* conduct alone is in accordance with the great laws of the universe, as promulgated by its divinities and its saints or expressed tacitly by the Cosmic Code, (*Dharma-Śāstra*) the Rule of Life in which all life is involved. Brahmanism has had its inspired teachers and its Divine Law-givers of morality. It has also discovered that Ethics is based on a foundation more stable even than its Gods, on the very constituents of sentient life.

If, as Brahmanism teaches, this life be a form of the highest divinity, then according to this teaching, Ethics is itself an expression of the highest ; and man, as he is more moral, is the more divine.

INFLUENCE OF INDIAN THOUGHT ON GERMAN LITERATURE

BY

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India and the World, March 1932.

INFLUENCE OF INDIAN THOUGHT ON GERMAN LITERATURE

I

Germany received its first news of India from the Greek and Latin authors, who were studied during the Middle Ages in the schools of the monasteries, who absorbed more and more of the interest of the educated classes of the nation during the Renaissance or the age of the Humanists. Indian influence on Greek philosophy is found in Pythagoras, in the writings of the Neo-Platonists and the Gnostics ; and the influence of Indian legends is manifest on the devotional books of the Christians ; I am thinking of the apocryphal semi-Buddhist story of *Barlaam and Josaphat*. All these found their echo indirectly in our intellectual life, although we are unable to state distinctly how far it reached. Certainly there are amazing coincidences between the doctrines of the German mystics like Meister Eckehard and the grand conceptions of the Upanishads ; but the influence could not have worked directly on our mysticism ; it must have come through the mediation of a long chain of circumstances if it actually existed at all. Many scholars are of opinion that mystic ideas of the One, which manifests itself in every life, may have originated independently in the various countries ; so that we can talk here rather of parallelism than of borrowing or dependence. If we cannot trace the direct influence of Indian ideas in the dim obscurity of the German medieval mysticism, but only assume an inner relationship, the case is quite different, as regards our German literature, where Indian influence is evident. Of many stories it can be proved that they wandered from India to the West ; although it is impossible for us to follow the stages of their progress in all cases, which the various stories took to get to Germany and in which form they made a home for themselves in our German literature. The way, for example, which the *Pañchatantra* took is quite clear before our eyes. This celebrated fable-work was translated, by command of Eberhard "with the Beard", by Anton von Pforr into German, of course not from the original Sanskrit but from a Latin translation, which itself was derived from Hebrew, Arabic and Pehlavi versions.

Better knowledge of India and its literature, however, did not come to Germany till after the discovery of the maritime route to the East-Indies by Vasco da Gama in 1498, when European travellers visited India and reported of all they had seen and heard. The credit, of having for the first time translated an Indian text direct from the original into an European language, belongs to a *Dutchman*, the missionary Abraham Roger, who worked in Paliacatta (north of Madras) in 1630. Roger left a voluminous work, which appeared in Dutch at Leyden, under the title of *Open Door to the Hidden Paganism*, in which is a German translation of 200 maxims of the Sanskrit poet *Bhartrihari*, the

100 verses of the third century, of the *Śringāra-Śataka* he did not dare to give to his readers. These 200 maxims, the translation of which Roger made with the help of the Brahmin Padmanābha, form the first instance of Indian literature which became known in Germany after the *Pañchatantra*. Roger's work for a long time remained the chief source, from which the West drew its knowledge of the religion and the literature of the Hindus. Even Goethe and Herder were influenced by it. Gradually the acquaintance with the culture of the land of the Ganges became broader ; but the circumstances were so that the informations were often incorrect. One of the chief sources on which the 18th century relied, was a translation of the *Ezour-Veda*. This work was supposed to be a commentary to the Vedas, in which Christian occidental monotheism was taught, but was in fact a *forgery* used by missionaries for the purpose of conversion. Actual investigation of Indian literature only began at the end of the 18th century. From that time on, we can talk of an increasing influence on Western thought by the Indian world of ideas. The first Sanskrit scholars were Englishmen : Sir Charles Wilkins, the translator of the *Bhagavadgītā*, Sir William Jones, the translator of the *Śakuntalā*, of the *Gita Govinda*, of the Ordinances of *Manu*, and so on ; Sir Henry Thomas Colebrooke, the expounder of Indian philosophy, H. H. Wilson, the translator of the *Meghadūta*. Then we have the Frenchman Anquetil Du Perron, who translated into Latin the *Upanishads* from the Persian versions of Sultan Dara Shekoh.

From the work of these men and other scholars, German poets and thinkers drew their knowledge of the spirit of Indian thought. A glance at the works of our German classical writers show, how amazing was the influence of Indian ideas on the great men from the very first, when they became acquainted with them. Already Herder (1744-1813), the prominent poet and philosopher, who lived as a divine in Weimar, showed a great and loving interest for India ; in his thoughts on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind (1784-1791) and in other writings of his he speaks of his admiration for the "tender Indian philosophy", which cannot but ennoble mankind. He characterises the Hindus, on account of their *ethical teachings*, as the most gentle people on the earth, who, as he says, in consideration of their doctrine of *ahimsā*, will not offend any living creature ; he praises their frugality, their loathing of drunkenness. In his "Scattered Leaves" he speaks more than once of the Indian Wisdom ; he mentions the transmigration of souls and, in his "Talks on the Conversation by our European Christians", he allows an Indian to defend his religious ideas and praises their humanity, although he himself was a Protestant theologian.

A great interest for Indian ideas we also see in Herder's friend Goethe, the greatest of all German poets. Wellknown are his inspired verses on *Śakuntalā*, where he says :

"Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms
And the fruits of its decline,

And all by which the soul is charm'd,
 enraptured, feasted, fed ?
 Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself
 In one sole name combine
 I name thee, O Śakuntalā ! and all
 at once is said".

The distich dates from the year 1791 and that this impression conceived at the first reading was not evanescent is proved by the following letter addressed to the French Sanskrit scholar Chezy, to whom Goethe wrote 40 years later, on the 9th October 1830. He says : "The first time when my notice was drawn to this unfathomable work, it roused me in such a way that I could not be quiet until I studied it profoundly and felt myself drawn to the impossible undertaking to gain it for the German stage in some way. Through these endeavours, fruitless though they were, I became so intimately familiar with this most precious work, it has marked such an epoch in my life, it has become so entirely my own, that I have not once looked either at the English or at the German text these thirty years. I grasp only now the overwhelming impression which this work formerly made on me. Here the poet appears at his highest, as the representative of the most natural state, of the most refined life, of the purest moral endeavour, of the most dignified majesty and the most solemn contemplation of God ; at the same time he remains lord and master of his creation, so that he may dare to employ crude and ludicrous contrasts which still, must be regarded as necessary connecting links in the organized whole."

In this high estimation of Śakuntalā, Goethe stood not alone. Schiller also has expressed the opinion that the whole Greek antiquity has produced nothing equal to the beautiful womanliness and the tender love that comes near to Śakuntalā in any way. Of other Indian poems, Goethe, as can be gathered from his letters, has especially admired the *Meghadūta* and the *Gītāgovinda*. The impulses coming from India gave a good deal of stimulation to Goethe's own poetical creations. Indian subjects were treated in his poems "Der Gott und die Bayadere" (1797) and the "Pariah-trilogy". The Indian drama has influenced his "Faust" technically, as his *Prologue on the Play* shows. For Indian art and philosophy, on the other hand, he had not the right understanding. Imbued as he was with the teachings of Greek antiquity, it was impossible for him to recognise the greatness of the East so different to all Western ideas and to estimate correctly the individuality of Indian Art and wisdom. Goethe himself did not know Sanskrit. Still it attracted him so much that he made attempts in writing in Devanāgarī letters, which one can still see in the Goethe-Archive.

We, however find a more through knowledge of Indian literature among our Romantic poets. That just the Romantic poets were attracted by Indian literature and philosophy is easily explained by their views of life. In Indian

thought they found their ideal of the absolute union of Poetry and Philosophy realised. The first to be mentioned here are the three brothers Schlegel.

One of them, Karl August, who has left no name in literature, visited India and died young in Madras in 1789. Another, Friedrich (1772-1829) is the first German, who endeavoured to really study Indian literature and its problems. Whilst he was in Paris in 1803 he learned Sanskrit, in which he was aided by an English officer, Alexander Hamilton, who was prevented from returning home by the outbreak of hostilities between England and France. The result of his study was the epoch-making treatise of Schlegel: *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier. Ein Beitrag zur Begründung der Altertums-kunde* ("On the language and Wisdom of the Indians: a contribution to the foundation of Antiquity"), which appeared in 1808. This work had a far-reaching effect by its call "to throw light on the hitherto obscure fields of the remotest antiquity" and by its universal conception of the history of literature evinced here. Friedrich Schlegel was the first man in Germany who declared that a regular history of the literature of the world is only possible, if the Asiatic nations get their due place in it. He says therefore: "As in the world's history the Asiatics as well as the Europeans constitute one great family, Asia and Europe from one inseparable whole; thus one should always endeavour to comprise also the literature of all cultured nations, in one continuous development and as an intimately connected edifice, as a great whole. Then many a one-sided and narrow view would disappear of itself, then much would become clear, and everything would appear in a new light."

But still more than Friedrich Schlegel who soon ceased to take an interest in India, his elder brother August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767-1845) influenced the study of Sanskrit. Friedrich Schlegel had stimulated and excited the interest in India; but he had himself not the energy and time to go deeply into the study and to discover new treasures. But August Wilhelm, thanks to his amazing power of entering into totally strange literary ideas, became the real founder of Sanskrit philology on German soil. He had formerly distinguished himself as the translator of Shakespeare, Calderon, Dante and Petrarca; and as a poet of ballads and satires, he in his later years took up, in 1814, with the enthusiasm of a young man, the study of Sanskrit. In 1818 he was appointed the first professor of Indology at Bonn. He conceived it to be his task to apply the principles of classical philology to Indian texts. His standard editions of the "Bhagavadgītā", the "Hitopadeśa", and the "Rāmāyaṇa" (unfinished) with critical commentaries and translations in classical Latin, were the first works of this kind in Germany printed in Devanāgarī letters and show that this romantic poet was equally gifted as a first-class philologist. At the same time as A. W. V. Schlegel, Franz Bopp (1791-1867) had studied Sanskrit in Paris. Whilst the former especially interested himself in the literature of the land of the Ganges, Bopp (since 1821 he was professor at the University of Berlin) devoted his time to linguistics. He also edited and translated some texts, but

his valuable work lies not in this direction but in his grammatical works. The immortal service Bopp has done the world is, that he gave comparative philology the rank of a science. He did not make the similar sound of words which might be a matter of chance or caused through its origin the base of his investigations ; but he investigated the inflexion and the whole structure of words, in fact the whole formation of the language ; and he thereby made it evident that most European as well as the Persian and Indian languages had their origin in a primitive language as yet unknown. By this Bopp became the founder of the Indo-German science of languages, which was cultivated for a long time by the Indologists, together with Sanskrit philology, and had a most useful influence on it in many ways.

"As in the world's history the Asiatics as well as the Europeans constitute one great family-Asia and Europe from one inseparable whole."

Friedrich Schlegel.

India has greatly stimulated German science in the domain of linguistics. The thanks which comparative philology owes to India, is expressed by the fact that a number of Indian *termini technical* is still employed in comparative grammars. Indian philology founded by Schlegel and Bopp has enjoyed cultivation, since their time, as is found in no other European country. The number of Sanskrit scholars and professors is greater in Germany than anywhere else. This is significant in so far, as the Germans are swayed only by practical reasons, as they have no political ambitions to follow. They share Heinrich Heine's opinion who says in a note to his *Buch der Lieder* (Book of Songs) : "Portuguese, Dutchmen and Englishmen have brought home from India the treasures in their big ships, we were only lookers-on. But the *spiritual treasures of India* shall not escape us". The work of Schlegel and Bopp has been continued by Lassen, Weber, Roth, Oldenburg and numerous others like Bohtlingk, Max Muller Buehler, Kielhorn and other eminent scholars. The quiet, unobtrusive work of the scholars has greatly influenced the history of literature and religion, but its influence on literature and philosophy has only been indirect. I must abstain here from setting forth the history of German Indology and of tracing the indirect influences, which that German science has exercised on the spiritual life of the nation. I must limit myself on the contrary to sketching only the *direct influences* of Indian thought on German poets and thinkers.

Here I must mention above all two men, who were both in friendly relations with Bopp and won many friends for Indian literature in Germany : Wilhelm von Humboldt and Friedrich Ruckert. Humboldt (1767-1835) was a minister of state of the Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm III. He belonged to the *statesmen* who at the same time took an interest in science. Other instances of statesmen of our own time, are the former Secretary of State von

Thielemann, who employed his hours of leisure by reading Sanskrit texts; Solf, the Ambassador in Tokyo, who acquired his doctor's degrees by his dissertation on the *Caturapañcāśikā*, and the former Foreign Secretary Rosen, who translated the *Indrasabhā* of Amanat from the Urdu original. Humboldt had a fine understanding for the individuality of Indian ideas and has shown it especially in his treatise on the Bhagavadgītā. He says of this work: "It is perhaps the profoundest and most sublime work which the world has ever known," and said of his first reading of the Gītā: "my permanent feeling was gratitude to the fate that I could live to read this work." The accomplished poet Friedrich Ruckert (1788-1865) has won immortal fame by his congenial and absolutely perfect translations from the Sanskrit. He has bestowed his attention on the Vedas, the Epics and the Purāṇas and also, above all, to the Kāvya or learned poetry. Of all the versions from Indian originals the best known is perhaps that of *Nala and Damayanti* episode from the Mahābhārata; but his art of translation is best proved by his translation of the *Gītāgovinda*. Here he has succeeded in giving a true version of the original text and also in recreating the rhythm and the plays on words and rhymes in perfect imitation till no wish is left unsatisfied. As a poetic interpreter of Indian poetry, Ruckert is still supreme in Germany, and the attempts of others to metrically render Indian works show plainly that Ruckert is not to be surpassed. (I am thinking of Adolf Holtzmann (1810-1870) and count A. F. von Schack).

It is unnecessary to show the obvious intimate connection between literature and philosophy of Germany, which has been influenced more and more as time advanced, from India. The father of modern philosophy in Germany, however, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) has hardly known anything of Indian philosophy, as his chance expressions on Oriental thoughts show. That some results of Kantian thought often coincide with the doctrines of Indian philosophical systems, cannot be denied, but we cannot assume that Kant was influenced by Indian thought. It is the case rather of thinkers arriving at similar conclusions from totally different paths. For instance Kant's theory of knowledge with its differentiation between the physical world conceived in space and time and the *unknowable* thing in itself lying beyond these forms of conception, are similar to a certain extent with the *Māyā*-doctrine of Śāṅkara, so that according to Paul Deussen, Kant may be said to have "given the scientific basis for the intuitive doctrine of Śāṅkara"*. We also find certain parallels between the Kantian and the Buddhist philosophy. It is for instance, a fact that Kant declared a number of questions to be unsolvable ("antinomies of the rational cosmology"), which is comparable to Buddha's refusal to answer questions like "Has the world a beginning or not." Is it finite or eternal and

* Paul Deussen: On the Philosophy of the Vedānta in its Relations to Occidental Metaphysics. Bombay 1893. Dissimilarities between Kant and Śāṅkara: F. O. Schrader points out in his treatise "Māyā and Kantianism." Berlin 1904.

so on *. Th. Stcherbatsky has called our attention to similarities between the lines of thought of Kant and of later Buddhist thinkers like *Chandrakīrti* †. To the same Russian scholar we also owe the proof that Kant's doctrine of the *categorical imperative* has its counterpart in Brahmanic philosophy ‡ Besides, Kant has had predecessors, in his *aesthetics*, in Indian writers on Poetics, as Hermann Jacobi has shown §.

All these interesting and important, but not everywhere accepted, items I mention to show you how manifold were the relations between Kant's modes of thought and Indian philosophy can be adduced. To the subject treated here, i.e., the influence of Indian thought on the philosophy of Germany, everything mentioned here is only loosely connected; because Kant, as I have said before, had no direct knowledge of the Indian doctrines, to which many parallels can be found in his works. In his time Sanskrit philology was still so backward, that it was quite impossible for him to know personally anything about it.

It is a similar case with Kant's successors. In Fichte's (1762-1814) essay *Anweisung zu einem seligen Leben* (Hints for a blessed life) a number of sentences may be quoted in which he comes near to the *Advaita* doctrine most amazingly. These analogies are partly so strong, that Rudolf Otto has even attempted to give whole passages of Fichte in the language of Śāṅkara **. In Hegel (1770-1831) we can also find parallels to Indian philosophy***; and especially his *dialectics* and of Nāgārjuna's. Hegel's *Phaenomenologie des Geistes* challenges common sense to point out some object which is certainly known for what in our experience it is, and solves the question by stating that all we really know of the object is its *This-ness* and all its remaining content is *relative* (Stcherbatsky).

This is the exact meaning of the *Tathatā* or 'suchness', of the Mahāyānist, and relativity, as we have seen, is the exact meaning for the term *śūnyatā*. We further see the full application of the method which maintains that we can truly define an object only by taking explicit account of other objects with whom it is contrasted; that, debarring this contrast, the object becomes 'devoid' of any content; and that, both the opposites coalesce in some higher unity which embraces them both. The facts are knowable only as interrelated, and the *universal law of Relativity* is all that is properly meant by relativity. Both philosophers assure us that relativity or *śūnyatā* is the Soul of the

* R. O. Franke: Kant und die altindische Philosophie in Erinnerungen und Immanuel Kant, Halle, 1904, p. 137-139.

† Th. Stcherbatsky: The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāna. Leningrad, 1927, p. 107, 153-154, 160-161, 208.

‡ Th. Stcherbatsky in an essay of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Petrograd, 1918, p. 359-70.

§ H. Jacobi: "Die Poetik und Aesthetic der Inder." Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst u. Technik. 4th year [1910].

** Otto: "Westöstliche Mystik," Gotha, 1926, p. 30 etc.

*** Stcherbatsky: "The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāna", Leningrad, 1927, p. 53.

Universe ; *Negativität ist die Seele der Welt*. Reducing the world of fact to a realm of universal relativity, thus implies that every thing cognisable is false, transient and illusory ; but that the constitution of the real work depends upon this very fact. Even sensation and sense data or *rūpa* first appeared as ultimate realities, which we then gradually discover to stand in relations without which they prove to be meaningless. Relativity or negativity is really the Soul of the Universe.

Hegel has evolved his system independently. The parallels with Nāgārjuna, which Stcherbatsky has discovered, are mere coincidences of some particular results, which he has arrived at from totally different starting points. If Hegel lived still, he would have been astonished at Stcherbatsky's comments ; for all that he heard of Indian philosophy—of Nāgārjuna he knew nothing—had made no impression on him at all, so that in his writings he rejected everything Indian more or less roughly.

The case is quite different with Schelling (1775-1854). As it is well known Schelling has during his long life laid down more than one system. His interest for India was very lively, especially in his later life, when he worked at his "*Philosophie der Mythologie und Offenbarung*" (Philosophy of Mythology and the Revelation) and lived absorbed in theosophical ideas. He admired the Upanishads, thought them the oldest wisdom of mankind and induced Max Muller to translate some of them for him in 1845*. He placed the Upanishads *higher than the Biblical books* and said of the latter that "they can in no way be compared, as regards real religious feeling, with many others of earlier and later times, especially the sacred writings of India".

Of the philosophers mentioned hitherto we could only trace an isolated parallelism of ideas ; and as to Schelling †, Indian influence on his system can be found only for a time. But we see in Schopenhauer ‡ (1788-1850) a thinker who openly acknowledges that he has received from India a powerful stimulation for his own system. Schopenhauer was first introduced, whilst he lived in Weimar, in 1814, to Indian antiquity by the Orientalist Friedrich Majer. Since that time he has never lost his interest in Indian thought. The library, which he left at his death, contained numerous Indological works. He admired the Upanishads highly, which he used to read in the Latin translation made by Anquetil Duperron from the Persian "*Oupnekhat*" as a *devotional* book. The enthusiastic words with which he praised the "*Oupnekhat*" are well known. He said : "It is wonderful how the "*Oupnekhat*" breathes the holy spirit of the Vedic thought ! It is wonderful how he who reads this Persian-Latin version of this incomparable work diligently and assiduously is affected and stirred by this spirit in his inmost heart ! Every line is so full of firm, well defined, and

* Max Muller, "*Damala und Jetzt*", *Deutscheundschau* KLI, 1884. p. 416.

† O. Pileiderer : "*F. W. J. Schelling*", Stuttgart 1875, p. 36.

‡ Max Hecker : "*Schopenhauer und die Indische Philosophie*, Köln, 1897.

throughout consequential meaning ! And on every page we discover deep, original, sublime thoughts, whilst a high and holy earnestness hovers over the whole. We breathe Indian air and original, spontaneous existence. And how the spirit is purified of all Jewish superstition, drummed into us in youth, and all philosophy slaving to support it ! It is the most profitable and elevating reading (except the original texts) possible in the world ; it is *my comfort in life and will be my comfort when I die.*"

Besides the Vedānta he occupied himself especially with Buddhism. He signified this outwardly by placing a Tibetan Buddha statue in his study. The backward state of Indian studies in this time makes it excusable that Schopenhauer did not always clearly distinguish the various Indian systems and that he commits mistakes now and then. Although we of to-day see many things in a different light to what Schopenhauer did a century ago, we cannot but marvel at the deep insight into Indian thought this great thinker acquired, if we consider the small means that were at his disposal. He often gives enthusiastic expression of his admiration for Indian wisdom. In the doctrines of the old Rishis he sees "almost superhuman conceptions" ; in the Indian religions he finds the "oldest wisdom of humanity", and *predicts even a return to Indian wisdom*, which "would cause a revolution in our ways of thought and science.*"

Schopenhauer says of himself. "I acknowledge that I owe the best part of my development, beside the impression of the outward world, to the works of Kant and to the holy scriptures of the Hindus and to Plato."† More than once he points out that his own system accords with Indian doctrines. If we wish to ascertain how far this assertion of Schopenhauer is true, we must first of all give a short review of his system. Schopenhauer is an adherent of the subjective idealism of Kant. He says : "The world is my conception". The thing in itself, which appears in subjective perception of space and time, is according to him, not an unrecognisable something, but that within us manifests itself as will. This will appears in the world in various stages of objectivation. In itself it is independent of every cognition. Only at the stage of the *animal kingdom* it produces the intellect, lights for itself the candle that makes it conscious of the outward world ; now the world is seen as something objective, i.e., as something cognisable for the recognizing subject. Thus the whole of nature from the inorganic to mankind is a number of stages of various forms of objectivation of a single *undivided world-will*. As the centre of all existence is the will i.e., after the definition of Schopenhauer—a groundless, blind impulse, an unconscious instinct towards existence and all *life is suffering*. The will never finds a lasting content ; for a short time a desire may be fulfilled and thereby a temporary want of cheerlessness may be caused but this state does not last long ; because a new desire awakes, which

* "Welt als Wille und Vorstellung", II, p. 187.

† "Welt als Wille und Vorstellung", I, p. 533.

strives for gratification. From the suffering of existence one may become free by reducing the will to silence. This is possible for a certain time in aesthetical contemplation. In the disinterested, self-contained contemplation of a work of Art, the subject forgets for a moment his distress. As soon as he returns to the world, he is seized all the stronger by the sorrow of existence. A really lasting liberation from the sorrow of existence is therefore only possible, if the will to live is radically denied. Not suicide, which destroys the body and not the will, but only *detachment* from all human desires brings liberation. The asceticism of holy men brings salvation ; with the free negation of the will to live, appearances disappear by which the world exists "No will, no power of conception, no world". The state of him, from whom the many-coloured deceitful dreams of the world has departed, is the *Nirvāna* ; what remains after the total *annihilation of the will* is, for those who are still full of will, merely nothing. But on the other hand for those with whom the will is transformed and denies itself, this our so real world with all its suns and milky ways, is nothing.

This short sketch of the fundamental ideas of Schopenhauer shows clearly that his doctrine forms in itself an independent, original work in its totality, it cannot be compared with any European and Indian system. Nevertheless we find in it, besides thoughts which are derived from Kant and Plato, also a number of Indian ideas. The pessimistic view of the world of Schopenhauer is Indian, his recommendation of asceticism is Indian as is also his doctrine of the *Nirvāna*. The theory of the power of the *Karma* which is closely connected with the doctrine of salvation and rebirth, we also find in Schopenhauer, although he only hints at them *. A very important conformity, above all we find in Schopenhauer's conviction of the *unimportance of the world's history*, in which he is in accordance with all Indian systems. In opposition to the Christian doctrine and the teaching of most European philosophers, who regard the world as a process of development limited by time, Schopenhauer sees in the world something which is in continual motion but which in its inner self always remains the same. There is a development of single individuals from the lowest stages of existence to asceticism, to the *Nirvāna* ; but there can be no creation of the world out of nothing and no state of the final perfection, to which the cosmos strives to attain. If one likes one can find in Schopenhauer also certain parallels to *Indian æsthetics* ; he regards the æsthetic contemplation as a temporary relief from the chains of the will. One may refer here to some occasional formulations in the *Alaṅkāra* literature, where the superpersonal superhuman desire of him who enjoys a work of Art is compared with the perception of the oneness of the Self and the universal spirit, which the *Yogi* reaches on the summit of religious concentration † Schopenhauer, however,

* "Welt als Wille und Vorstellung", II, p. 590.

† *Rasagangādhara*, Bombay 1894, p. 23.

could have no knowledge of this ; he based his views on the Platonic doctrine of Ideas.

As we have already seen, Schopenhauer believed that two systems were intimately allied with his own : the Vedānta and Buddhism. Let us therefore shortly ascertain what his doctrine has in common with them and in which points they diverge.

With the Vedānta of Śāṅkara Schopenhauer is persuaded that the world may be described as having empiric reality, but that in the highest sense it possesses not transcendental reality. All the variegated appearances are for him only a delusion ; the only real thing is the "thing in itself," which knows no separation by space and time. Whilst, however, for the Vedānta what exist is our eternally blessed spirituality the *Brahman* that is characterized by the attributes *Sat Chit* and *Ananda*, it is for Schopenhauer a blind and therefore unblest will. Thought is an instrument produced by the will, there is no immaterial soul. Therefore Schopenhauer can not acknowledge the transmigration of souls, but only the manifestation of the will of a deceased person. Salvation does not consist, as the Vedānta teaches, in the realisation of the all-embracing *Brahman*, which is pure blessedness, but in the self-negation of the eternally, unfulfilled and therefore eternally sorrowful will. On the other hand Schopenhauer's foundation of morality resembles that of the Vedānta ; the metaphysical basis of all morality is according to him the doctrine of *monistic pantheism*, the doctrine of *tat twam asi*. He says himself that his metaphysics of ethics had been the fundamental thought of Indian wisdom, thousands of years ago, to which he returns, as Copernicus did to the world-system of the Pythagoreans, deposed by that of Aristotle and Ptolemy. As a proof he quotes the celebrated verses 13, 27, 21 of the *Bhagavadgītā* :

"Who, however sees the supreme God live in all beings... who sees Him, is really seeing. For he who sees the same God live in everything, will not hurt himself through himself, and would thus walk the highest path".

Like the Vedānta, Schopenhauer assumes a higher and lower cognition, to which latter he counts the doctrine of salvation taught by the great religions in a mythical form. Accordingly Christianity as well as Brahmanism and Buddhism are a sort of popular metaphysics ; they are supposed to contain the chief points of the philosophy of affirmation and negation of the will. Schopenhauer, however, has not developed this point of his system in the same way as Śāṅkara, so that in his teaching, although he occasionally talks of Providence, all theistic under-currents are missing.

Although Schopenhauer often refers to Buddhism and his doctrine has often been called "Buddhistic", the resemblances to special Buddhistic doctrines are not so numerous with him as those to the Vedānta. Much of that which reminds one of Buddhism in his system is not a special property of the religion of Gautama, but rather of general Indian origin. The characteristic points of the Buddhistic system, as the doctrine that there is no existence but only

continual change, the denial of a Self, the theory of the *Dharmas*, which co-operate according to certain laws, exist only for a moment and are continually renewed, all this we do not find in Schopenhauer. A certain parallel we find in his doctrine of re-birth without adopting the transmigration of souls, in which he directly refers to Buddhism but does not go into details about it. His "will" doubtlessly has some traits in common with the Buddhistic *Trishṇā*, but we do not find in the original Buddhism, which denies the idea of the Absolute altogether, the tendency to convert the *Trishṇā* to the thing in itself that manifests itself in the outward world of sorrow and change. We may, however, point out that some interpreters of Buddhism, as for instance F. O. Schrader * regard the *Trishṇā* as a metaphysical centre-point of the Buddhistic doctrine and thus give it a position which coincides with Schopenhauer's will as the pith of every individual. This interpretation does not, in my opinion, correspond with the facts. The Buddhistic conception, however, of *Nirvāṇa* is closely allied with Schopenhauer's view (as the above mentioned quotation shows) in so far as our conceptions cannot be applied to the *Nirvāṇa*, as they are incommensurable with them. Further points of comparison are the denial of the assumption of a world-ruling god, the condemnation of an outward, self-tormenting asceticism, and above all the moral laws, the fulfilling of which is the necessary condition for the attainment of salvation. We have so far only brought the older Buddhism *Hīnayāna* into comparison. Further parallels with the *Mahāyāna* Buddhism can be adduced, as it comes very closely to the *Vedānta* in its doctrine and has some features in common with Schopenhauer's morality of Compassion in his altruistic ethics.

What we have said shows that Schopenhauer's philosophy has received many an impulse from Indian systems and harmonises with them in many respects. It is however, not allowable to identity it with any particular doctrine. All that we have said proves that Schopenhauer's metaphysics of the will are neither identical with the teaching of the *Vedānta* nor with that of Buddhism; and further we must consider and keep before our eyes the fact that philosophic systems, which take birth at different times in different countries and arise from different assumptions, though they may lead to similar results, can never be totally the same.

Since the middle of the last century Schopenhauer has exercised a great influence on German thought. It is due to him more than to any other that the interest of the German mind for the grand conceptions of Indian philosophy was awakened. From Schopenhauer on, we trace a number of thinkers who have followed up his system in various ways. Among the disciples of Schopenhauer it is fitting that we first mention the great Indologist, the late Paul Duessen who was the professor of philosophy in the University of Kiel.

* F. O. Schrader : "Ueber den Stand der indischen Philosophie aus der Zeit Mahāvīras and Buddhas". Strassburg, 1902. p. 5.

In his *Elemente der Metaphysik* and in his works devoted to the history of philosophy he has especially insisted on the similarities between Schopenhauer and the Vedānta system. In opposition to him, the well-known translator of the Pali dialogues of Gautama Buddha, Karl Eugen Neumann denies the close relationship between Schopenhauer's metaphysics and the Buddhistic-doctrine. Among the thinkers who started from Schopenhauer's philosophy but developed his doctrine independently we will make special mention of Philipp Mainlande (pseudonym for Philipp Bat, 1841-1876,) who wrote a *drama of Buddha* and thought to promulgate the esoteric gist of the Buddha-doctrine in his *Philosophie der Erlösung* (Philosophy of salvation); but he only gave a clear construction of his own, which had little to do with Buddhism. Schopenhauer's influence on Eduard von Hartmann (1842-1906) can only be regarded as moderate. Hartmann tries to give a synthesis of the idea of Hegel and Schopenhauer in an independent way in his *"Philosophie des Unbewussten"* (Philosophy of the Unconscious). He rejects asceticism and his philosophy of history, in which he regards the world-process as the incarnation the passion and the finally expected salvation of the Absolute, is opposed to the doctrines of most Indian systems. Still he must be mentioned here because Indian influence can be traced in his writings. In his Philosophy of History he teaches that the religion of the future will be a "concrete Monism," which will be a combination of the abstract pantheism of the Vedānta and the Judaeo-Christian monotheism. That parallels can be found in various points of his system and in Indian doctrines, he has shown himself; when he declares that in one place of the Vedānta work "*Pañcadaśaprakaraṇā*" his "world-principle, the Unconscious, is characterized better and more exactly than by any one of the latest European thinkers."

Through Schopenhauer, Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) also became acquainted with Indian ascetic philosophy, but was afterwards a strong opponent of it. He had always a high regard for the social philosophy of the *Manu Smṛiti*. Richard Wagner (1813-1883), the great composer, who was at first an admirer of Nietzsche, but became his enemy later on, remained an ardent admirer of Indian religions all his life, thus following Schopenhauer; although he has vacillated a good deal in his personal views. In his *Operas* we meet with many Buddhistic ideas; in 1855 he made a sketch of a great musical drama *die Sieger* (the Victors), the source of which was the story of *Dīvyāvadāna*. Buddhistic subjects have later been treated more than once in operas. I only mention here Max Vogrich's "Buddha" (1901) and Adolf Vogl's "Maja" (1905). Of the rather large number of dramas based on Indian subjects I mention Michael Beer's tragedy "Der Paria," Ferdinand von Hornstein's "Buddha" (1899), Gottfried von Bochm's "*Rischjasrynga*" (1909), Leopold von Schroeder's "*Dara oder Schah Dschehan und seine Sohne*", and especially Karl Gjellerup's "*Das Weib des Vollendeten*" (The wife of the Perfect 1907). Of the poems which treat of Buddha's life in epic form, Josef Victor Widmann's "Buddha" must be mentioned first of all. Among the authors who treat Indian subjects

in novels the most remarkable are Karl Gjellerup in his "Pilger Kamanita" and "Die Weltwanderer" and Hermann Hesse in his beautiful story "Siddhartha." In German lyrical poetry we also frequently meet with Indian ideas, but the limit of my essay forbids me from investigating it further.

The scholars, philosophers and poets, who endeavoured to propagate Indian ideas in Germany were few and they talk to a few. There are, however, a number of associations with more or less firm organisations, which regard it as their task to spread Indian doctrines directly and indirectly. Of these I mention first of all the spiritualistic, occultistic, and especially theosophic societies which appeal to large circles and strive to make Indian religions widely known. The percentage of ideas derived from India varies according to the different groups and schools very much. The *theosophists* of the school of Mrs. Besant show the greatest loyalty to Indian thought; whilst with the *anthroposophy* of Dr. Rudolf Steiner, claiming more adherents in Germany, the Indian element is kept more in the background. Indian views of the world are directly propagated by societies like that of the "Friends of Indian Wisdom" in Hagen, Westphalia. They lay especial emphasis on the Vedānta philosophy. A regular Vedānta Society, which performs divine service does not exist in Germany as it does in New York. Buddhism however, has small communities in Germany, which are pretty numerous. It is a proof of the great interest which is taken in the doctrine of Gautama, that Buddhistic periodicals appear which interpret the "Dharma" of the Lion of the Śākya race, in various ways. Most German Buddhists belong to the laity, but some have tried to go "the path from home to homelessness." Some have adopted the yellow garment in Ceylon or Burma, and others endeavoured to practice the ascetic principles of Buddha in their house. In Frohnau, near Berlin a Buddhistic monastery was founded some years ago, the members of which devote their time to ascetic exercises. They were directed by a physician, Dr. Paul Dahlke, who also wrote a good deal on the subject.

As is shown by what we have said, the German public is especially interested in the religious, the philosophical systems and the classical literature of ancient India. But the extraordinary success Rabindranath Tagore had with his lectures in Germany, the many readers also of the works of Gandhi have found in German translations, prove that the interest of the German people in the spiritual *élite* of modern India is also very great. It is little more than a century that Indian wisdom and Indian poetry have extended their *Digvijaya* (world conquest) to the West. At the beginning of the last century India was no more than a word, except to a few; but to-day its spiritual treasures are well known to all the educated people and are estimated at their full worth.

APPENDIX

Among the prominent philosophers of Germany Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) was the first who dealt at large with India. One will be surprised to hear this, for in Kant's philosophical writings, such as in his three famous *Critiques*, there is no mention of India and in his work '*Religion within the limits of bare reasoning*' he only speaks in some passages of India. But Kant was not only a professor of Philosophy but also a professor of Geography. For forty years, from 1756 to 1796, he delivered lectures on '*Physical Geography*' at the University of Königsberg. In these lectures he not only spoke about the mountains and rivers, the plants and animals of the Indian subcontinent, but tried also to give an idea of the character of the Indians, their customs, manners and religions. Though the knowledge in his time was still very limited and he was entirely dependent on secondary sources, such as narratives of travels, etc., with the glance of a genius he was able to find out some of the salient points of Hinduism. He was especially impressed by *Hindu tolerance*. So he said, 'It is one of the principles of the Hindus that they believe that the religions of other nations are also good. For this reason they never compel others to embrace Hinduism. When Christian missionaries tell them about Christ and His doctrines they lend an attentive ear to them and proffer no objections. But they are astonished and do not understand that the missionaries are not equally eager to learn something of their religion.' About Hindu Ethics he said that they do not contain anything noxious to man. According to his opinion, Hindu religion had a great purity in its beginnings ; but later on it became intermingled with superstitious rites and notions. These were originally meant *symbolically* but were later on understood in a literal sense. In the whole writings of the Hindus, he says, one finds traces of a pure conception of God one may not easily meet with elsewhere. So they say that God's being is unfathomable and that it is therefore better for man to live a godly life than to *speculate* dogmatically about God's nature. Kant was very much interested in the Hindu doctrine of *transmigration* which corresponded in some respects to his own teaching about the destiny of the Soul after death. For Kant was of opinion that life is imperfect because man is not able to attain to the highest virtue. So he thinks that man has to continue his road of gradual progress in a *new incarnation*.

At Kant's time Europe knew very little about Indian philosophy, it is therefore natural that Kant had no idea of Śankara's doctrine of *māyā*. The more surprised one feels that Kant arrived independently, and in his own way, to a conception of the phenomenality of the empirical world, which in some respects corresponds with the ideas Śankara had on the relative unreality of Time and Space.

Among the philosophers of our century Georg Misch and Charles Jaspers occupied themselves with Indian thought ; of great importance are also the

writings of the Protestant theologian Rudolf Otto and of the sociologist Max Weber which betray a deep insight into the network of Indian religious and social thinking. Oswald Spengler in his great work on the decay of the Occident refers only accidentally to Indian history ; but his knowledge about the forces that shaped Indian destiny are poor and the inferences he drew from them are therefore of little value.

A trait of Indian thinking which occupies more important attention from day to day are the Indian theories of meditation. German psychologists try more and more to adapt the Indian methods of absorption in thought to the European mentality. So J. H. Schultz has tried to make Yoga fit for use of psychotherapists in the form of the so-called '*autogene training*'.

The best that has been said about the Indian way of interpreting the riddles of the universe has been said by Count Hermann Keyserling who showed, in his much read book '*A philosopher's travel-diary*', a rare insight into the depths of Indian thought.

He wrote : 'The Indians do not suffer from the superstition that metaphysical truths are able to be incorporated in one system only ; they have overcome the static conception of truth and put in its place a dynamic conception. This tolerant insight which tries to transcend the narrow limits of dogmatic systems is the great achievement of Indian thinkers. This development has begun in India, hence her depths of insight and wisdom. It will be for us to follow them and to continue along this path.'

In the realm of German literature India had her place at an early date. I have already mentioned that some legends of Christian saints widely read in Germany betray Indian influences, as do also some German fairy-tales. When after the re-discovery of the sea-route to India the interest in the countries of the East was revived, some now forgotten poems and novels appeared of which India was the scene. But the great importance India has won in German literature did not begin until the beginning of the nineteenth century when Kalidasa's *Śakuntalā* and other Indian works became known by translations. The great herald of India was Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803). In his famous '*Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*' he applied the genetic method to the whole of human development and gave an account of Indian civilization and religions. India was also a favourite topic in many of his essays and poetical works. The Hindus appear to him entirely in the light of high spirituality and natural goodness, he sees in them the true champions of human ideals. This picture drawn by him, all light and with almost no shadow, was authoritative for all romantic poets of the years to come. For Novalis, Sanskrit is the secret symbol of antiquity, the language of a primordial people of the highest innate purity and wisdom. Friedrich August von Heyden (1789-1851) wrote several dramas whose scene is laid in India ('*Magandola or the Pearl of the Ganges*', '*The Mirror of Akbar*') ; in them he glorifies Indian tolerance. India appears also in a magic light in some of the novels of E. Th. A. Hoffmann and Jean Paul.

Heine, too, speaks of the Hindus as of calm and pious men who kneel before lotus-flowers. In the well-known story of the struggle of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra he sees a foreboding of the struggle of the Popes and Emperors that raged in the German middle Ages.

To Goethe we owe some of the most beautiful and thoughtful poems on Indian life that have ever been written: the god and the Bayadere (i.e., *devadās*) and the three poems on the Pariah. In these Goethe tries to demonstrate that God has shown a way to salvation even to the lowest and most despised human beings.

In his poem "The Brahmin" which he wrote shortly before his death, Friedrich Hebbel has given touching expression to the Indian idea, that the life of an animal has the same value as that of man. Hebbel deals with the king of the Śibis, renowned for his liberality and unselfishness. According to the legend told in the *Mahābhārata* and some *Purāṇas* this prince saved a dove from a hawk by offering his own flesh.

Hindu ideas are the subjects of many poems, novels, and dramas written by German writers, like Franz Werfel's 'Der Spiegelmensch'. In this novel the poet deals with the Vedāntic conception of *Māyā*. Thomas Mann in his novel 'The Exchanged Heads' gives a brilliant interpretation of the well-known ancient story of the *Vetālapañchaviṃśati*.

The work of many German poets was inspired by the imposing personality of Gautama Buddha. The composer Richard Wagner had intended to write an Opera on a legend of the *Divyāvadana* in which Buddha appears, but this work was never finished. Joseph Victor Widmann, Karl Bleibtreu, Karl Gjellerup, Fritz Mauthner, Hans Much, Albrecht Schaffier, Hermann Hesse (Nobel laurate) and others have been more or less successful in this endeavour.

The problems of *yoga* and meditation have been dealt with in their manifold aspects in Hermann Hesse's 'Glasperlenspiel' (the Game of the Glass-Beads) and in the phantastic stories by Gustav Meyrink.

There are also some dramas that deal with Indian history. I may mention 'Shahjahan and his Sons' by the late Indologist of Vienna University, Leopold von Schroeder. A beautiful poem on the emperor Jahangir we owe to Count Maurice von Strachwitz (1822-1847)

A subject much in favour with German writers has been the problem of castr. The first of these writers was Michael Beer (1800-1833) who wrote a successful drama 'The Pariah.' The real objective of this work was to advocate the emancipation of the Jews. In his novel 'The Redemption of the Brahman' (1894) my predecessor on the chair of Indology in Königsberg and Tübingen, Richard Garbe, has tried to depict the conditions that prevailed in Benares about a hundred year ago.

I may conclude this short survey, which in no way claims to be complete, by mentioning two works which, though not of high literary value, have found many readers because of their exciting tale of adventurous events: 'Nana Sahib

or the Rebellion in India' by a German, Hermann Goedsche, who wrote under the pseudonym of Sir John Retcliffe (1816-1878), was widely read by our fathers, and many German boys including myself, got their first impressions on Indian princes and jugglers from Sophie Worishoffer's novel 'Kreuz und quer durch Indien' ('Rambles in India').

When Professor Paul Deussen visited India in 1893 he delivered many lectures on *Vedānta*, which, as he became aware of with joy, is still living in the mind and heart of every thoughtful Hindu. He called the system of the *Vedānta* one of the greatest achievements of the genius of mankind in his research of eternal truth. According to him Kant in Germany has given the scientific sub-structure of the Advaita, which the Hindus formed by intuition. 'For Kant has demonstrated that space, time and causality are not objective realities, but only subjective forms of our intellect. The unavoidable conclusion of this conception is that the world, as far it is extended in space, running on in time, ruled throughout by causality, is merely a representation of my mind and nothing beyond it. Śankara has found a wonderful way to combine the pluralism of the empirical world which surrounds us with the one absolute Being which we become conscious of in meditation. According to him the world has to be explained according to two systems. One exoteric, theological for the common man who wants helping gods, a cult of images and elaborate worship; and the other an esoteric, philosophical monism for the few, rare in all times and countries, who are able to grasp the metaphysical Truth'. Deussen thinks that this doctrine of the two forms of truth is the way out of the embarrassments of theologians and deserves not only the attention but also the imitation of Christian dogmatists.

In German science, in German philosophy and in German literature we meet with many traces of Indian influence. If we ask what is the reason of this fact and what is the feeling that is behind it, we may say: the Germans have always shown great interest in India because of the deep-rooted sympathy they have always had for the land and people of the Ganges. This sympathy is firmly founded on the conformity of their adherence to lofty ideas. In the words of a verse in the *Panchatantra*: *samāna-shīla-vyasanēsu sakhyaṃ*. Friendship exists only among those who are alike in character and endeavours.

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES IN FRANCE

BY

Prof. SYLVAIN LEVI

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES IN FRANCE*

India, involved in the current of European politics, in the course of the 18th century, immediately attracts and retains our attention. The "wisdom of India", consecrated by Greek and Latin testimonies, excites curiosity. The Church, as well as the Encyclopaedists, propose to draw arguments from it, either to defend the Revelation or to condemn it. A twenty-year old Frenchman, Anquetil du Perron, eager to rediscover the Vedas of the Brahmins, as well as Avesta the Zoroastrian Scriptures, does not hesitate to sail as a volunteer in the service of the *Campagne des Indes*, in 1754. Almost half a century afterwards, faithful to his programme, in a world which had undergone such drastic changes, he reveals to the élite of learned and patient readers, the mystical and theological speculations of Ancient India; worded in implacably literal Latin, his work is the translation of a Persian version of the Sanskrit originals. Anquetil had not succeeded in obtaining from the Brahmins the knowledge of Sanskrit their sacred idiom.

Without living Paris, and with no other materials than the collection of Manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Chezy masters the Sanskrit language and a chair in the Collège de France is created to consecrate his success. Between the disasters of 1814 and Waterloo, France, faithful to her traditions, welcomed Sanskrit into the glorious institution Collège de France—which had formerly been the first centre of Greek and Hebrew studies. Endowed with a romantic temperament, Chezy was especially sensitive to the exotic charms of Indian poetry; he delivered, as his opening lecture, a "Discourse on the excellence, beauty and richness of the Sanskrit language, and on the utility and pleasures which can be derived from its study". But this distinguished dilettante did not shirk the most arid labours of the philologist to satisfy his taste. A passionate admirer of Śakuntalā, which had been revealed by William Jones and enthusiastically greeted by Goethe, he succeeded in mastering the original by means of the materials at his disposal; the "Princeps" edition that he has given, is already almost a definitive edition.

After Chezy, Burnouf, who succeeds him in the Collège de France, carries the gifts of the philologist to the point of genius. His marvelously balanced personality combines scrupulous exactitude, long patience and powerful labour with unfailing intuition, a very fine sense of realities and an accurate and pleasing style; he animates old texts anew, he revives life in the same way as the artist creates it. Whether he edits and translates a Brahmanic text, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, or undertakes to study Buddhist literature with the *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, or again, elaborates a vast synthesis of unpublished materials in

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his *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, Burnouf builds up imperishable monuments. He still remains, and shall continue to remain, the model and the guide. On the threshold of an immense literature, where curiosity, attracted from every side, runs the risk of losing its way, he discerns and indicates the two directions that French science will most willingly follow after him : interpretation of the *Vedas* and the study of *Buddhism*. The choice is not arbitrary. It bears on the two fields through which India has come into contact with the rest of the world. If the *Vedas* are not the "Aryan Bible" as some ardent imaginations had complacently pictured them to be, they nevertheless throw a unique and remarkable light on the religious past of a vast human group which reaches from the Atlantic to the Ganges. Not only are the *Vedas* the starting points of religious development known to humanity, but they bring, to the comparative study of religious phenomena, an indispensable contribution. On the other hand, Buddhism propagates the genius of India outside the natural boundaries of the country ; it links the peoples of the Far-East as Christianity links those of the West ; while its action is evident in Tibet, in China, in Korea, in Japan, and in Indo-China. It is traceable on Iranian soil, and is even attached, by Manichaeism at least, to the destinies of primitive Christianity. Chezy had come into contact with India through Persia ; he taught Persian in the School of Oriental Languages. Burnouf annexes to Sanskrit not only Pali, But Tibetan, Siamese and Burmese ; and at the same time he deciphers, with almost unfailing accuracy, the old Texts of the *Avesta*, which had been brought to Paris by Anquetil, but had as yet not found interpreter.

We need not survey here in detail the development of Burnouf's influence and the numerous works due to his initial inspiration ; even outside France, the most famous names are linked to his teaching. As regards this period, we shall mention two names and two books only, because of the special memories which they evoke : The Memoir on the *Prātisakhyā* of the Rig-Veda, by Adolphe Regnier, published at the same time as Max Muller's edition, and which stands, with honour, the test of such a redoubtable competition ; and the Memoir on the *Sāṅkhya* by Barthelemy Saint-Hilaire, whom the whimsical ebb and flow of politics swept up to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at a subsequent date.

The creation of *Ecole des Hautes Etudes* (School of Higher Studies) in 1868 opens a new centre of Indological studies. The edition of the *Grammaire palie de Kāccāyana* by Emile Senart ; the essay of Paul Regnaud on the poet *Bhartṛhari* ; the edition of the *Bhāminivilāsa* by Abel Bergaigne ; and the review of this work published in the *Revue Critique* by (a co-worker still unknown) Auguste Barth, heralded the birth of a Pleiads of Indologists. The study of the problems of religion was a favourite pursuit with this generation of workers. The spirit of Romanticism had invaded the field of erudition and tended to falsify its results. But the French school appeals to critical reasoning against arbitrary sentimentalism. Opposed to all sweeping generalisations, it proposes to study the religious movements of India within the frame-work of Indian civilisation.

Barth's work on the *Religions de l' Inde* is the most powerful attempt which has been made to link up, in one continuous series, the religious manifestations of India, from the Vedic hymns down to the contemporary reformers. The *Bulletins des Religions de l' Inde*, the scattered reviews and memoirs by Barth in several journals, at present put together in his collected works attest to the extraordinary variety of his erudition as well as the vigorous fecundity of his critical powers. Bergaigne brings about a complete revolution in the sphere of religious history by a tireless series of works grouped around the Rig-Veda. The Vedic hymns, which had been interpreted as songs of spontaneous adoration towards the forces of Nature, reveal, at his hands, an artificial pedantic religion surcharged with liturgy and rites. The primitive man, who was supposed to reveal himself through these Vedic Hymns, vanishes altogether and leaves, in his place, the priest, the minister of a culture, more formal than inspired. At the other extremity of Vedic literature, Paul Regnaud shows, in the later Upanishads, the rudiments of the great philosophical systems. Senart devotes most of his energy to the study of Buddhism. He tries to discover, in the legendary figure of the Buddha, traits of Vedic origin, as well as those common to the divinities of the Hindu pantheon. In a sphere better protected than all others against any preconceived ideas, Senart demonstrates how, through the tangle of fusion, the legends evolve the figure of a Man-god. His edition of the *Mahāvastu* offers to scientific research a biography of the Buddha particularly rich in mythical elements. It is also under the inspiration of Buddhism that Senart applies himself to the study of the *Inscriptions of Piyadasi*, the Constantine of Buddhism, which furnish the earliest positive materials for researches on *paleography, linguistics* and the political and religious history of India.

Entrusted with the work of coaching students in the Ecole des Hautes Etudes and the Faculty of Letters, Bergaigne had to prepare an elementary work for the beginners: his *Manuel* reminds us of Pāṇini, the father of Indian grammar, on account of its brevity, at once rigorous and lucid. In collaboration with one of his favourite students, Victor Henry, he prepared also a *Manuel de Sanskrit Vedique*. Even after the premature death of this incomparable master his tradition continues to inspire Indological studies; directly or indirectly all Indological studies in France to-day have their origin in Abel Bergaigne. It is under his encouragement that appear the works of Victor Henry on the ritual of the *Agnistoma* (in collaboration with the Dutch scholar Caland); and on ancient Indian magic Sylvain Levi's work on the *Doctrine of Sacrifice* in the *Brāhmaṇas* is inspired by the same revered master.

Bergaigne opened up another new field of research before his premature death. The conquests of France have opened up Indo-China to the explorers; Aymonier, a captain of the Colonial Infantry, has discovered an immense *epigraphic literature* in Sanskrit, which has been classified and scientifically dealt with by Bergaigne, and from which he has brought to light an unknown chapter of universal history. Indo-China owes her civilisation to

India; the literature, the sacred language, the institutions and the arts of India have flourished in Indo-China from the first centuries of the Christian era. Suddenly attention is drawn, to the role of India in the civilisation of the Far East and on her importance for the civilisation of the whole Humanity. The brilliant revival of Sinological studies in France favours this new orientation; the French scholars, who had given to the Science of Indology the invaluable accounts of the voyages of Fa-Hien and Hiuen T'sang, find now fitting successors. The creation of the *Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* at Saigon in 1899 definitely joins Indology to Sinology and its annexes. The historical importance of India shines forth, from that date, in all its glory; connected with the group of original Indo-Europeans by her language and rituals, with Iran by an even closer bond of linguistic and religious relations, attached to Persia by the Achaeminian conquest and to the Hellenistic world by Alexander and his successors, to China by Buddhism, to Tibet, Indo-China and Polynesia by the civilisation she has given to them, India is the connecting link between the two sections, apparently isolated, of the Antique world. The recent discoveries in Central Asia, to which France contributed her glorious share through the Pelliot Mission, have added a new chapter to the already vast history of the cultural expansion of India. More than any other country in the world, India enriches our civilisation clearly as the result of the collective labour of the whole Humanity, where every historical group has its own story of its loans and borrowings. It is from this fundamental conception of Indian civilisation that proceed most of the Indological works published in France during the last twenty-five years; it is a fundamental and characteristic feature of the *Melanges dédiés à Sylvain Lévi*. In the field of literary history it has inspired the *Theatre Indien* of Sylvain Lévi and Lacote's essay on *Guṇādhya et l'histoire des contes indiens*; in the field of history, in the narrow sense of the word, it has inspired Sylvain Lévi's work on *Nepal*, the Hindu Kingdom on the border of Tibet and with opening into China; in the field of archaeology it inspires the beautiful studies of Foucher on Greco-Buddhistic art and the iconography of Buddhism.

The onerous task of editing texts was not neglected during this period; thus the *Ratnaparīkṣā* of Buddhabhatta and the *Rāstrapālaparipreccā* were published by Finot, and the *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṅkāra* by Sylvain Lévi; the *Bṛhatkathāślokaṣaṅgraha* by Lacote.

To confine India to Sanskrit and the allied languages is to reduce her arbitrarily. Sanskrit, the sacred language, is also a dead language; and India has used for a long time various other living languages to convey her thoughts. France has evinced the same interest in India's present as in her past. Between the *Śakuntalā* of Chezy and the *Bhāgawata* of Burnouf, Garcin de Tassy published his admirable *Histoire de la littérature hindoue et hindoustani*. The recent work of Jules Bloch on the *Formation de la langue Marathe* commemorates in a magnificent manner the entry of modern dialects into the domain of the rigorous science of linguistics.

A considerable portion of the Indian literature, almost the whole of the Sanskrit-Buddhist literature, has come down to us mainly through Chinese or Tibetan versions ; the originals have perished in India with Buddhism. The science of Indology may, therefore, well take pride in such works as the *Rgya tch'er rol pa* of Foucaux, the Fragments extracted out of the Kanjur by Leon Feer, and the Index of the *Bstan-hygyur* by P. Cordier, the *Satrāṅkārā* by Huber and the *Cinq cents contes et apologues* by Chavannes. The part played by France in deciphering the languages of Central Asia in recent times should be mentioned also in this connection : Eastern Iranian (Gauthiot, Pelliot), Kucchean (Sylvain Levi and Meillet), Sogdian (Gauthiot).

It will be unjust to entirely pass over in silence the work of the translators ; some of them are works of erudition, as they facilitate to the specialists an easy access to the most difficult texts, and to others, the purpose of which being to initiate the public into the masterpieces of Indian literature and contribute to enrich the common treasure of human civilisation. The art of the Far East has profoundly influenced contemporary taste ; the Indian way of thinking, too, is slowly penetrating into the Occident. Without going into an interminable nomenclature, it will suffice here to mention Loiseleur Deslong-champs (*Lois de Manou*) Langlois (*Harivaṃśa* : the untiring Fauche (*Rāmāyana*, *Mahābhārata* (incomplete), *Oeuvres de Kālidāsa*, *Daśakumāra* of Victor Henry, for the Collection Orientals, *Rāmāyana* of Roussel for the *Bibliothèque Orientale* and *Vāsavadattā* of Baston for the *Bibliothèque Orientale Elzevirienne*.

All those articles, whose importance cannot be overestimated, published special periodicals, such as the *Journal Asiatique*, the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, the *T'oung Pao*, the *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, the *Journal des Savants*, etc., have been purposely left out of consideration in this article, for the material of Science is not the Science itself. A work of definitive nature demands an effort of composition which is nothing but another form of exactitude. The Science does not exist without the precincts of organised knowledge.

From 1914 onwards Indological studies have flourished in France without any interruption or set-back. Even though French Indology has lost her revered leaders Barth (*1916) and Senart (*1928) and even though the War has entailed on her untold losses, young recruits have always brought into it new and vigorous forces. Przyluski, who combines in his ingenious researches the knowledge both of India and Indo-China, enriched the comparative study of Buddhist traditions by means of two important works : la *Légende de l'empereur Asoka* (*Asoka-Avadāna*) in Indian and Chinese versions, and the *Conceil de Rājagṛha*, introduction into the history of the canons and the sects of Buddhism (1926). In the same field Demieville has given the Chinese versions of the *Milindapaṇha*, with notes and memories, which has greatly enhanced the merit of this translation, as useful as it is valuable. M. Louis Renou has risen to the very highest rank of the scholars in the field of

Indology, and through his various publications as abundant as they are irreproachable ; la Valeur du parfait dans les hymnes Vediques ; les Maîtres de la philologie Vedique (1928) ; his translation of the Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa ; and his Grammaire Sanskrite in two volumes. In the meantime he has completed the edition and translation of the Brhatkathā-Ślokaṣaṃgraha which was lying half-finished after the sudden death of Lacote (1925). M. Masson-Oursel, in the capacity of an Indologist as well as a philosopher, has drawn the *Esquisse d'une histoire de la Philosophie indienne*. M. René Grousset has proved himself to be a past master in the difficult art of presenting to the cultured public, in a form whose elegance does not interfere at all with scientific accuracy, the progress of knowledge scattered among the various technical publications of the specialists ; let us mention his *Sur les traces du Buddha*, Histoire de l'Extreme-Orient, 2 vols. ; and les Philosophies indiennes. M. Courtillier has condensed into one lucid and substantial volume les Anciennes Civilisations de l' Inde and given a tasteful summary of Rāmāyana.

The vigorous growth of Indological studies has been gloriously manifested by the creation of the Institute of Indian Civilisation at the University of Paris. Founded at the beginning of 1929, this Institute has already initiated a series of publications, both of original texts and translations, in the manner of the Collection Bude for the Classical languages. This collection, which is topped by the name of Emile Senart, has started with one of the major Upaniśads, la Chāndogya,—a posthumous work of Senart, seen through the press by Prof. Foucher. Under the auspices of the Institute of Indian Civilisation, M. Renou, assisted by Mme Stchoupak and Mlle Nitti, has undertaken to publish a Dictionnaire Sanskrit-Français, the urgent need of which was felt by generations of students, and M. Courtbin has published a Grammaire elementaire du Sanskrit classique with texts and a lexicon.

The activity of the Ecole Française d'Extreme-Orient of Hanoi is closely connected with the Paris School of Indology which has given to it most of its directors and research-workers. It has, moreover, trained up the first directors of the French archæological delegation to Afghanistan : the beautiful work on the Antiquites bouddhiques de Bamiyan, which is the result of collaboration between Mon and Mme Godard and M. Hackin, and the results of the excavations executed by M. Barthou, all these show how much new light can be thrown on Indian antiquities by this obscure region, so long closed to Occidental Science. It is the same Paris School of Indology which has given the Maison Franco-Japonaise, founded at Tokio in 1926, its first directors ; it is the work of this school which is being continued in the *Dictionnaire encyclopedique du Bouddhisme* according to Chinese and Japanese sources, published under the direction of M. Sylvain Levi and M. Takakusu, of which the chief editor is M. P. Demieville.

One of the most salient features of the *modern period*, which begins with 1915, is the first appearance, and soon the rapid multiplication, of the *theses* for

doctorate of Indian Scholars written in French. The value of these works, if an average is taken, is certainly above the level of mediocrity. A simple chronological list will suffice to indicate the diversity of interests evinced in these works : *Kālidāsa et Art poétique de l' Inde*, by Hari Chand Sastri, *Vedānta*, study of the *Brahmasūtra* and their five commentaries, by V. S. Ghate ; *Vārtika de Kātyāyana*, study of style, vocabulary and philosophical postulates, by V. G. Paranjpe ; *Etudes sur Āryadeva*, et le *Catuhśataka*, by P. L. Vaidya ; *Les Theories Diplomatiques de l' Inde ancienne et l' Arthasāstra*, by Kalidas Nag ; *le Rasa*, essay on Indian aesthetics, by S. C. Mukherjee ; *le Canon bouddhique en Chine*, les traducteurs et les traductions, by P. C. Bagchi ; *les Chants mystiques de Kānha et de Saraha*, by M. Shahidullah ; *l' Inde mystique au moyen age*, by Y. Husain ; *les Fleurs de rhétorique dans l' Inde*, by H. R. Diwekar ; *le Pensee de Rabindranath Tagore* by S. C. Mitter ; *les Sikhs*, by Miss Ramakrishna, the first thesis presented at Paris by an Indian lady-student. It would be unjust not to mention also the charming and valuable thesis of an English lady from India : *la Femme Bengalie dans la littérature du moyen age*, by Miss J. H. Rowlands.

APPENDIX

Progress of Indological studies in France

Through the kindness of Mlle. Suzanne Karpeles, General Secretary of The Buddhist Institute and Curator of the Royal Library of Cambodia, who reached Calcutta, we are in a position to announce a number of important publications by French scholars in recent times. Professor L. Renou has published two works on Sanskrit grammar : *Terminologie grammaticale du Sanskrit* (three volumes) and *La Durgatavṛtti de Śaraṇadeva* : Text and French translation, (vols. 1-4 already published, vol. 5 in the Press). Other works undertaken by the same scholar are : *Śāṅkarabhāṣya* in French translation (vol. I in the Press), (ii) *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* in French translation (in the Press), (iii) *Littérature sanscrite répertoire et Phonétique* (alphabetical index of Sanskrit literature), (iv) *Manuel des Etudes indiennes* (vol. I in the Press).

Recently Professr Jean Filliozat has been making important contributions to the study of Indian Medicine. His works include *Magie et médecine* Paris 1945 ; *La formation de la médecine indienne* (in the Press) ; and *Les doctrines essentielle de l'Āyurveda et la médecine grecque*. Other works from his pen are *Bibliothèque nationale. Catalogue du fonds Sanscrit (manuscrts)*. (1st fascicule) Paris 1941, and *L'Inde Classique, Manuel des etudes indiennes* (avec M. Renou), vol. I. The field of Indian archaeology is going to be enriched by a translation of the edicts of Aśoka from the pen of Professor

Jules Bloch. As regards Pali studies mention may be made of the publication of an edition *de luxe* of the *Digha Nikāya*, *Suttas 1-13*; (Pali text established by the Tipitaka Commission of the Buddhist Institute of Cambodia). French translation by Jules Bloch, Jean Filliozat and L. Renou under the auspices of the Institut de Civilisation Indienne of Paris University. In the sphere of Outer India, the place of honour belongs to the work called *La vieille route de l'Inde, de Bactres à Taxila* by Professor A. Foucher, forming the long-expected Volume I of the *Mémoires de la Délégation française en Afghanistan*. We note also with interest that the posthumous work of the late lamented J. Hackin will be published in a joint English and French edition with the aid of Warburg Institute of London. Mention may be made in this connection of Professor Filliozat's work : *Fragments de Textes Koutchiens de médecine et de magie*.

Among works on Art and Archaeology of south-east Asia special mention may be made of *L'Art Khmer, les étapes de son évolution* by the late lamented Gilberte de Coral Remusat (1940). Two other works by the same scholar on Khmer decoration and the fantastic Animals of the Far East are going to be published posthumously. In South-east Asia the French School of the Far East was able, in spite of the difficulties of the Great War, to publish two volumes of its *Bulletin*, namely, *BEFEO*, tome xli. Fasc. 1-2, (Hanoi 1941 and 1942), *Ibid*, vol xlii (Hanoi 1943).

A very important work by George Coedès called *Histoire Ancienne des Etats Hindouisés d'Extrême-Orient* was published from Hanoi in 1944. We have lastly to mention a work on the Comparative Architecture of India and the Far East by Henri Marchal.*

* *Greater India Society Journal*, July, 1945.

INDO-EUROPEAN CULTURAL
RELATIONS AND FRANCE

BY

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FRANCE AND THE ORIENT*

In 2nd and 1st centuries B. C. the Romans made the political conquest of Greece. But they admired so much the Greek civilization that they tried to imitate it. Thus Greece became the teacher of Rome and consequently, with the Roman conquest, of the whole of Europe. Virgil and Pliny knew India.

The Romans developed commercial relations with West Asia and India. According to Strabo, more than hundred ships went every year from the Red Sea to the shores of India and their cargoes made their way towards Rome through Egypt. With the decadence of the Roman Empire a new Greek Empire and Orthodox Church was formed with Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, Asia Minor and Anatolia. This Empire was known as the Byzantine Empire after the name of its capital Byzance or Constantinople. It remained for nine hundred years the principal 'foyer' or centre of civilization. Through its missionaries, artists, scholars, diplomats, it spread its mixed civilization and culture into Western and Eastern Europe, specially among the Serbs, the Bulgarians, Slavs and Russians. Byzance situated at the very gate of Asia received the products of India and China through caravans. It was the 'carrefour' or crossing of the East and of the West. Here all cultures and civilisations had once commingled.

After the spread of Christianity rose Islamism. Mohammad had preached Holy War against all infidels. The Arabs accepted this war willingly. They built up an empire extending from the Indus to the Atlantic Ocean. For many centuries, the Muslim civilization shone with a bright lustre. It was just like a renaissance of the old Persian empire and civilization, mixed with Byzantine and Hindu cultures. The Muslim world had historians, philosophers, poets and writers of dazzling imagination and fancy. The big cities had well frequented Muslim universities. The savants studied there the Scientific works. They added to them the thoughts and practical Sciences imported from India. The Arabs introduced into Europe a great number of plants and trees which were unknown there : rice, sugarcane, mulberry-tree, apricot, asparagus, artichoke, beans, hemp, and also some flowers like jasmin and camellia found in Dante. They developed throughout the Empire the old arts and crafts of the East and the industries of fancy goods. They spread their commerce, from China and India, to all parts of the Mediterranean world. They created a taste for the Oriental goods among the Europeans long before the Renaissance.

The Crusades had not the expected result : the liberation of Jerusalem, the Christian Holy Land, from the hands of the Turks. But they had other very

* Prof. K. C. Karmakar, M. A. was the India Government research scholar posted in France where he compiled this valuable paper which I publish on behalf of our *Société Indo-Latine* and *Les Amis de Paris* which functions in Calcutta and Chandernagore, ever since our return from France in 1923.

important results. They developed greatly the Mediterranean commerce. The Oriental products began to flood the Occidental market. The Crusaders became more refined with the contact of the Orientals and took quickly to the taste for luxury. The use of Oriental carpets, mirrors, fine pieces of furniture, nicely decorated arms, precious cloths, silken articles, velvet goods, were introduced into the Occident. Indirectly the Crusades contributed to the decadence of the feudalism in France and Europe. Thousands of feudal lords gave their lives to save their Holy Land. The 'bourgeois' of the towns and the merchant class became powerful and rich. Though the princes and knights of all European countries took part in the Crusades the French had a preponderant place. The nobles who settled down at Byzance Syria and Palestine were mostly Frenchmen imbibing Oriental Culture.

The Mediterranean Sea became then the most active centre of commerce and culture. The Crusades and the foundation of the Christian princedoms in the East had given impulse to the expansion of *maritime commerce*. The merchants of Italy, France and Spain went to Alexandria, Cyprus, Beyrouth and Byzance for getting the Oriental goods such as spices, sugar, perfumes, silk, muslin, carpet, cotton materials, pearls, porcelain, glasswares, wheat and leather. Especially two occidental towns, Genoa and Venice, flourished by this commerce with the Orient. Venice alone possessed about 3,300 ships. More than 16,000 workers daily worked in its naval yards. Venice had also a flourishing industry. She manufactured glass, laces, jewels and pharmaceutical products imitated from those of the Muslims and the Indians. The capture of Constantinople, (1453) with the routes and markets of the Orient, by the Turks marked the beginning of a new order, the decline of Venice and the rise of Spain, Portugal and Western Europe.

In the Middle Ages (500—1500), the ports lying on the Mediterranean Sea quickly developed. When the navigation became less perilous with the construction of light-houses, introduction of maps and charts, the use of compass and axial rudder, new Western ports were opened in the Atlantic Ocean. The Europeans discovered meridional Africa, the coastal regions of the Indian Ocean and then the new continent of America (1492). The voyages of discovery in the 15-16 centuries were all inspired principally by the ardent desire of finding out the sea-route to India, and of capturing from the Venitian and Arab merchants, the lucrative business of spices and valuable merchandise like gold, silk and precious stones. The Portuguese were the first to reach the Cape Verde in 1445, and the mouth of the river Congo in 1482. In 1487, Bartholemew Diaz discovered the extreme point of South Africa, the Cape of Good Hope. Ten years after, Vasco da Gama followed the same route and went up along the eastern coast of Africa upto Zanzibar, and from there, guided by an Arab or Indian pilot and following the South-west monsoon, he landed at Calicut (1498). Thus the sea-route to the country of the Spices was found after a struggle for about one century. The Portuguese captured the

vast business of the Indian Ocean. They mercilessly waged war against the Arabs and the Venitians. Albuquerque founded at Cochin in 1504 the first European establishment in India. François de Almedia became the Viceroy after the conquest of Diu (1509) and Albuquerque was the second Viceroy who conquered Goa.

The Mongols invaded Europe and penetrated the West, upto the Oder and the Danube. The Pope Innocent IV, in accordance with the decisions of the Council of Lyon, decided to send, to the successor of Jenghis Khan, his ambassadors having mission to protest against the ravages done by Mongols. In the age of Dante and Marco Polo the mission of the Franciscan monk Jean Plan Carpin in 1245-1247 and that of the Dominican Ascelin in 1246-1249, were not successful in bringing recognition to the spiritual sovereignty of the Pope. Saint-Louis sent also ambassadors to the Great Khan, first André de Longjumeau (1248-1251), then Guillaume de Rubreuck (1253-1254).

Marco Polo left Italy in 1271, at the age of seventeen, to go to Khan-Balik (Peking) the town of Kublai Khan. He lived near the Great Khan Kublai for seventeen years and came back to Venice in 1295 after the voyage of four years. He published in French in 1296 his *Livre des Merveilles de Monde*, a fascinating account revealing to Europe the splendours of the Far East.

Jean de Monte-Corvine was sent to the Far East by the Pope Nicolas V in 1289. He came to India and then to China, where he founded the archbishopric of Peking in 1307; soon after he had three suffragans; and in 1314 China possessed fifty convents of Minorites.

On 22nd December 1330 the Emperor of the Mongols of Persia granted to the Venitians the freedom of commerce in his domains and assured them his protection. In 1321 Marine Sanude offered to Jean XXII, at Avignon, then the Holy Seat of Papacy, in southern France, his *Liber Secreterum Fidelium super Terræ Sanctæ recuperatione*.

Towards 1327 Charles IV le Bel tried to have friendly relations with the Sultan of Egypt with a view to ameliorating the fate of the Christians in the East and to facilitating the commerce with the Orient. In 1329 a Catholic bishopric was created in South India with brother Jourdain de Severac as first bishop.

In 1378 broke out the revolt of the Chinese, led by Hongwon, against the Mongols. The Ming dynasty was thus founded. The Mongol Empire spreading from the Pacific Ocean to the Black Sea collapsed. The route of the caravans ending in the Black Sea and Russia was abandoned. Genoese colonies declined. In 1395 Tamerlane devastated the Genoese colony Tana on the sea of Azov. In 1396 (25th Oct.) a treaty was signed with France by the Genoese Aristocratic Party who surrendered the sovereignty of the Republic of Genoa to the French King. Consequently France became a power directly interested with the affairs of the Black Sea routes and of the Orient. Waleran de Luxembourg, Count of Ligny and of Saint-Pol, the first Governor took possession of the town on 27th November 1396, after the ravages of Timur.

In this period of reorganisation of the Christian Church, there appeared new religious Orders. The most important one was the Compagnie de Jesus, (Jesuits) founded by the Spanish Ignace de Loyola (1534). This order of Jesuits was governed by the severest discipline. It was created for social work and for fighting against heresy. The Jesuits were scholars and good teachers. They controlled then the education in France. They put at the base of their teaching the study of Ancient languages. They went to the different parts of the world to convert the peoples into Christianity. A companion of Ignace de Loyola, Francis-Xavier, came to India, and then went to China and Japan to preach Catholicism.

The French sailors who frequented the Western coast of Africa from the XIVth century tried to find out the sea-route to India. The first European expedition to the Western coast of Africa was attributed to a Frenchman Lancelot Maloizeb. He explored the Canary Isles in 1275. In 1402 Jean de Bethencourt, a Norman gentleman with some adventurous youths, went to those Islands and ruled over them. After his death the Spanish took possession of them. In 1403 Paulmier de Genneville, a captain of Honfleur, started for the Indian Ocean with his ship *Espoir*. But he was caught by a tempest and was thrown on the coast of Brazil! The celebrated private of Dieppe Jean Ango equipped for an expedition to China two ships which were commanded by the two brothers Jean and Raoul Parmentier. The expedition reached Sumatra where the two brothers died of fever. By two successive declarations in 1537 and 1542, Francis I tried to develop among the Frenchmen the taste for adventures. But in the meantime, Religious wars darkened the sky of France. Henry III encouraged the commerce with India by a declaration in 1558. But there was little response of the public to this royal interest. It was in the reign of Henry IV, when peace was restored to France by the famous Edict of Nantes (1598), the first French East India Company was founded in 1604. This is a great event in the annals of France. This led to the great exploring of Asia and will last for two centuries, in different names in different regions; and colonial system will be the highest expression of the maritime glory and commerce of France. It will lead to the direct contact of the French merchants, sailors, soldiers, priests and savants with the peoples of India. It will bring new light to France, and to Europe new relations through India.

The Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, the British and the Danes, who came to India successively, founded their settlements on her soil. But soon cupidity, ambition and jealousy brought among them violent dissensions. They waged wars against one another either to protect their commerce or to defend their rights. Sometimes the flail of European wars spread upto India. These apparently distant hostilities, with their causes and their results, acquired a much more imposing political importance when France and England, the two great rival nations in the XVIIIth century, transformed India into an arena of their outrageous colonialism. India had had to suffer a great deal. She again lost her freedom. But the direct contact with the West was thenceforth established

and the communions assuredly imposed. New Oriental sources were open to the writers of the West, where they could freely quench their intellectual thirst. Translation, paraphrase, direct imitation, subtle adaptation, all processes were appropriated with respect to the Eastern texts found. Thus Orientalism a new intellectual world was annexed to the so-called Greco-Latin world in which all the Western nations exclusively lived for the past few centuries.

The following list of French writers with their works of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries will show how the writers were greatly influenced by the opening of the new intellectual world of the Orient :—

- Mairet—Soliman (1630)
- Tristan l'Hermite—Mort d'Osman (1656)
- Racine—Bajazet (1672)
- Rotrou—Wencelas
- Mlle de Scudéry—Ibrahim ou l'Illustre Bassa
- Segrais—Divertissement de la Princesse Amélie
- Voyages de Tavernier (1676-1677)
- Voyages de Chardin (1686)
- Voyages de Bernier (1699)
- Antoine Gallaud—Mille et une Nuits (1704)
- Petis de la Croix—Mille et un Jours
- Montesquieu—Lettres Persanes (1721)
- Favert—Les trois Sultanes
- L' Abbé de Voisenon—Sultan Misapouf
- Diderot—Les Bijoux indiscrets
- Dufresny—Siamois
- Marquis d'Argens—Les Lettres Chinoises (1754)
- Grimm—Lettres édifiantes
- Quesnay—Essai sur le despotisme de la Chine.
- Voltaire—Zaire (1732), Mahomet (1741), Zadig (1741), La Princesse de Babylone, Essai sur les Mœurs, Orphelin de Chine, La Vision de Babouc, Lettres d'Amabed.

The first translations of the Oriental books to the West were through the Jews and the Arabs. The Muslim science and philosophy attacked the theological studies dominating Christian Europe before the XIIth century. The propagation of the Arabic-Aristotelian notions, due to relations of the Christians with the Arabs of Spain and of Sicily, was the signal of a revolution in Western studies. The transmission of Sciences like Medicine and Chemistry, to the Europeans by the Arabs substituted the rational researches to the dogmatic beliefs of the Orthodox church. The theologians had to be Orientalists to fight against the Muslims. They first studied the Semetic languages : the Hebrew and the Arabic.

In the XII century Gérard de Crémone began to translate the Arabic literature into Latin. The Dominican Albert le Grand came from Germany to

Paris to explain Arab versions of Aristotle. He was dressed like an Arab. When he wrote something on the rational philosophy he always kept with him treatises or commentaries of Avicenna, Al Farabi, and Al Gazali.

The British monk, of the Age of *Magna Carta*, Michel Scot, lived at Toledo in 1217. There he learnt Arabic and did much translation work.

The English Franciscan Roger Bacon and then the Dominican Raymond Lull drew, in the XIIIth century the attention of their contemporaries to the importance of the Oriental studies for Philosophy and Science.

The Pope, on his side, tried to diffuse the Christian civilization in the East. To do so he sent, to the schools of Paris, twenty Oriental ecclesiastics to initiate them into theological knowledge and to spread in Asia the seeds of Christianity. Raymond Lull, who had visited as a missionary the Muslim countries, solicited the foundation of a college where Oriental languages would be taught so that the conversion of the infidels might be easy. The General Council of Vienna, held in 1311 and 1312, under the presidentship of Clement V, with a view to ameliorating the Oriental studies in Europe, decided to appoint at Rome, Paris, Bologna, Oxford and Salamanca, professors for teaching there Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldean. At Rome professors were to be maintained by the Pope, at Paris by the King of France, at Oxford by the King of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales; and in other towns by the monasteries, convents, colleges etc. The professors translated faithfully into Latin the works written in three languages; and they used to teach their disciples in such a way that the students would be able to speak the languages fluently at the time of propagating their Christian faith. In the Middle Ages very few Christians knew Hebrew well. Raymond Martini, Nicolas de Lire, Paul de Bourges were converted Jews.

Pierre le Vénérable, the celebrated French abbot of Cluny, was a great Arabic scholar. He translated the Koran into Latin. During the reign of Philip the Fair, the Pope Honorius IV wanted to establish an Arabic chair at Paris. In 1255, Predicant Friars began to study Greek, Arabic and Hebrew at Paris.

In 1506, Reuchlin, Greek and Hebraic savant, published his *De rudimentis hebraicis*. It was one of the first regular grammars written for the use of the Christians and it contained the technical terms used in the European schools.

With the invention of the printing press Italy was, first to establish the Hebraic typography in 1480. In 1519, Francis I called from Genoa the bishop A. Giustiniani to teach Hebrew and Arabic in the College of Reims. The Hebraic typography was then established at Paris. In 1530, Francis I founded the College de France and established chairs for Greek Arabia and Hebrew languages. In his reign Guillaume Postel published a sort of *grammar of Oriental languages*: Hebrew, Samaritan, Ethiopian, Arabic, Syrian, Georgian, Illyrian, Armenian. He prepared for each language its own text and type and this work was probably unique of its kind. Postel abnegated everything for his study. He travelled much in Africa and in Asia, where he learned Arabic well. He spent all that he had for buying rare manuscripts and books. He was comple-

tely ruined. He solicited for monetary help to print his work, but he was refused. He had to rely entirely upon his own energy and economy. He studied all the main religions of his days. He was spirited, bold and independent. His bold ideas which he expressed in his public lectures at Paris, provoked against him the hatred of the narrow theologians. He studied the basis of harmony of the world, and, a strange thing of his days, also the history of women. There was in Paris a person who considered himself to be the St. John coming new and whom Postel called his brother, as he pretended to have in him the soul of Adam! The latter was burnt alive at Toulouse, and as to Postal, he was confined in a cloister where he died like a true martyr.

III

In 1587, Henry III founded a chair for Arabic language in the Collège de France. Gregory XIII who died in 1595, founded colleges and a printing press for the Oriental languages. The establishment of Latin missions at Paris and at Rome, which was adopted by some other non-Latin European nations, became the deffusing centres of the oriental literature and thoughts.

In 1591 Savary de Brèves succeeded his uncle as Ambassador of France at Constantinople. His remarkable services for twenty two years, brought France to a closer relation with the East. He was constantly honoured with the confidence of the Sultans, Amurat III, Mahomet III, Achmet I. His great energy, his love for letters, his taste for the Oriental languages and especially his knowledge of the widespread Turkish languages, made him a prominent figure in the East. Thanks to him Henry IV concluded the famous treaty of 1604 with the Sultan Achmet. All the advantages conceded to France by the previous treaties were confirmed again. Thus Oriental literature owes much to Savary de Brèves. He formed a plan of establishing in France a printing press where the original books in *Oriental types* would be printed. He made a good collection of type of different oriental languages such as Arabic, Syriac, Persian, Armenian Ethiopæan, and also of rare manuscripts in Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Syriac. Unfortunately he could not fulfil his great plan. He died at Paris. His types and manuscripts were sold by auction and bought by the King Louis XIII as the highest bidder. The French printing of the Oriental languages was thus greatly improved.

Louis XIV sent to the East French savants and missionaries who brought into light new branches of the Oriental literature till then unknown, especially the Siamese and Chinese literature. Louis XIV was the first to introduce French interpreters in the East for the better management of the political and commercial affairs. This work was done formerly by the natives. By a decision in the Council on the 8th November 1669, Louis XIV ordained that six young boys of French birth, would be sent to the convent of the Capuchins, at

Constantinople and at Smyrna, where they would receive the instruction on the Oriental languages so as to become afterwards expert interpreters. On 7th June 1718, the number of students was raised to twelve. The maintenance charges of these students were paid by the Chamber of Commerce at Marseilles. On the other hand the State bore the entire cost of the training of *twenty two young Orientals*, most of them were Armenians, who studied at the Jesuite College of Paris. After the training period these young Orientals had to fulfil double mission. They had to serve France as interpreters for the diplomatic relations and as missionaries for the propagation of Catholicism. The consequences of the use of foreigners in the negotiation of the interests of the country brought the following changes in the school: The Armenians were replaced by ten young men of French birth, who, after having at Paris, the elementary knowledge on the Arabic and Turkish languages, had to go to the convent of Constantinople for their perfection. The Ecole de Paris, annexed to the College Louis le Grand, was placed under the control of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and under the direct supervision of the first Secretary-Interpreter to the king. It was settled later on, that sons, grandsons and nephews of the interpreters would have the preference for the posts of '*jeunes de langue*.'

It was only from the XVIIIth century that the resurrection of the Oriental literatures seriously began. The Orientalists, freed from all ideas hostile to the Church, devoted themselves to the Oriental studies for studies' sake. Then the savants like Buxtorf began the *comparative studies* of the languages, and thereby opened the field of researches in other branches of Oriental literature.

We give below a list of books on Orientalism published in different countries in the XVIIIth century when the French Academy was founded (1635)—

Author	Name of Book	Year & Place of publication.
Erpenius	... Arabic Grammar & Arabic text with Latin translation of the Historian EL MACIN	1636, Leyden
Du Ryer	... Turkish Grammar and Translation of the Koran	1660, Paris 1636, Paris
François Rivola of Milan	Armenian-Latin Dictionary Japanese Grammar & Japanese Dictionary	1633, Paris 1632, Rome
	and later on, Tibetan grammar and Tibetan dictionary and many pieces on Indian Languages were published from Rome.	
Louis le Dieu	... Persian Grammar	1639, Holland
Golius	... Arabica text of the History of Tamerlane	1636, Leyden

Pococke	... Historiæ Arabum	1650, Oxford
	Universal History of Abdul Faradje	1663, Oxford
Le Jay	... Polyglot Bible	1654, Paris
Gentius	... Persian text of Gulistan of Sady with a Latin translation	1654, Amsterdam
Walton	... Polyglot Bible	1657, England
Castell	... Heptaglot Dictionary (a masterpiece of erudition and of comparative method)	England
Vansleb	... A Grammar and a Dictionary of Ethiopean Language	1661
D'Herbelot	A Turkish & Persian Dictionary	1668, Paris

In the XVIIIth century the works of the Western orientalists became more and more serious and important. In 1730, Bayer printed at Saint-Petersburg a Chinese grammar and a Chinese Vocabulary. In 1732, E. Fourmont founded in France the study of Chinese language in which French scholars dominate.

Anquetil Duperron was the most remarkable figure among all the celebrated Orientalists of the XVIIIth century. His life was full of adventures. More space will be required to write on him. I simply mention here that he opened new intellectual horizons to the West. India became the aim of his studies. He unearthed the Iranic Zend Avesta and immortalized it. He was one of the greatest linguists of the XVIIIth century. Besides French, Latin, English he knew many other European and Eastern languages. He had a knowledge of Persian and Sanskrit and he knew also the major Indian languages. He translated the *Persian Upanishads* into Latin. None had travelled like him so extensively through India and had studied so minutely the Indian manners and customs, the Indian temples, the Indian geography, the Indian agriculture and industry, the Indian culture. He discovered the hidden treasures of Hindu wisdom. He was, so to say, an Indianised Frenchman, a "Gallo-Indian", to quote H. Beveridge. He was worthy to be ranked, for devotion and acceptance of hardship, with St. Jerome. To have close relations with the different nations of the world he wanted to create *mobile academies* consisting of only savants by profession, 'savants Voyageurs'. He traced out also a plan for this purpose. When he returned to Paris from India in 1762, he was penniless but enriched with hundred and eighty manuscripts and other rare things which he deposited in the Bibliothèque Royale (Bibliothèque Nationale). He wrote and published the following books :

- (1) Voyage aux Indes, auquel est joint le Zend-Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre, Paris. 1771, 3vol.
- (2) Legislation orientale. Amsterdam, 1778
- (3) Dignité du commerce et de l'état du commerçant, Paris, 1789.
- (4) L'Inde en rapport avec l'Europe, Paris, 1790, 2vol.
- (5) Recherches historiques et géographiques sur l'Inde, Berlin, 1786
- (6) Oupnek'hat ou Theologia et philosophia, Paris et Strasbourg ; 1784.

Before concluding my article I must pay my homage to the immortal soul of Augustin Aussant, French interpreter of Persian, Arabic and Bengali languages, who is still little known to the intellectual world. I intend to write on his life and works elsewhere. His monumental works are still unpublished. He was a silent worker. As a French prisoner of war in the New Jail of the Fort William in Calcutta, he began to compile a *French-Bengali Dictionary* on 10th March 1781 and he finished his work, in the same place, on 31st August 1781. He compiled another French-Bengali dictionary containing about 11,000 French words and 30,000 Bengali words; and a Vocabulary of French, English, Indian Portuguese, Persian, Arabic and Bengali, containing between 3700 to 3800 words; the latter was written at Chandernagore, in 1782. He wrote also Bengali Primers for the foreigners. He made a very rich collection of rare Bengali manuscripts which are still lying unexplored in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris.

The knowledge of India will renew the religious studies, says Voltaire, in his *Fragments sur l'Inde* (1773). Indian literature, from the Vedas to the Purāṇas, is essentially a religious literature. This knowledge of India has become, since the direct contact, indispensable to the Europeans. Christianity and Islamism cannot be understood historically without some knowledge of Indian religions which are mostly descended from the Indo-Iranian religion, according to Darmesteter. The discovery of this new intellectual world will lead to the foundation of *Ecole speciale des langues orientales vivantes*, in the precincts of Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, on 29th April 1795. France will attract all the philologists from Germany, Italy, Sweden, Finland etc., to hear the lectures of Silvestre de Sacy. It is from this school that will come out learned professors who will render their countries illustrious in the Oriental studies: Fleischer, Freytag G. Weil, Kosegarten, Flugel, Max Muller in Germany; Toronberg at Upsala, Peyron at Turin, Humbert at Geneva, de Gayangos at Madrid etc. The Tsar of Russia invited the students of this school to create at Saint-Petersbourg the first Oriental Institute. With the progress of the oriental studies Asiatic Societies will be established in different parts of Europe and in Java (1778) and India (1784). The Orientalists will occupy themselves with the resuscitation of the four great civilizations on the banks of the Ganges, of the Euphrates, of the Nile and of the Mediterranean coasts. W. Jones, Hamilton, Celebrooke, Wilson, Chezy, Burnouf, Max Muller, Bopp, Lassen, Weber etc...will show, by their works on comparative Philology and Literature, the affinity of the European races with those of India. The cradle of Humanity will thus be reconquered by the holy Crusade of intelligence.

INDOLOGY IN RUSSIA

BY

Prof. G. N. ROERICH

INDOLOGY IN RUSSIA*

Early Indo-Russian cultural relations remain shrouded by an impenetrable veil. Our information is exceedingly scanty and for some of the periods non-existent. Stray finds of Buddhist images in the burials of the South Russian steppes attest the presence, in the pre-Mongol period, of nomad tribes, probably of Central Asian Turkish origin, professing Buddhism. We have little Russian information about cultural contacts prior to the XV-th century. India for a long time remained a favourite theme of fables and tales, many of which belonged to the so-called Alexander Cycle, and some (like *Betāla*) had penetrated into Russia through Byzantium, Irān and the Arab World. Thus in the Russian Primary Chronicle (XIth cent. A. D.) mention is made of the "rakhmans, pious men" (PSRL, 1, 6; V. 85). Under 1352 A. D. the Novgorod Chronicle (PSRL, IV, 61) speaking about the "black death" (plague), adds that "this pestilence came from the Indian countries, from the City of the Sun." Widely read in ancient Russia were the "Acts of St. Thomas in India", an apocryphal version translated from the Greek. Well known was the "Legend of the Kingdom of India", which became popular in Russia since the XIII-th century, and it preserved its popularity among the Russian peasant masses till the XIX-th century. The "Legend" gives a description of the tropical nature of India, its inhabitants, fabulous riches and an account of the country's theocratical rulers. To the same cycle of legends belongs the Legend about the fabulous kingdom of Belovodye (lit. "White Water"), said to be inhabited by Christians, which became popular among the Russian Old Believers in the XVII-th century. Throughout the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries, bands of Old Believers went in search of it, visiting Eastern Turkestan, Mongolia, Tibet, and even India and Indo-China.[†] To the XIIIth century belongs the Russian version of the "story of Alexander's conquest in India" (the so-called "Alexandriya").[‡] Mention should also be made of the "Story of Barlaam and Joasaph, the Indians", the famous Christian Life of Buddha.[§]

In the XV-th century Russia obtained first-hand information about India and the Indian peoples. In 1466 A. D. Athanasius Nikitin, a merchant from Tver, joined the embassy sent by Ivan III to Shīrwān. Nikitin after visiting Shīrwān, continued his journey and sailed across the Caspian to Māzandarān,

* Journal of the Greater India Society, July 1945

† "Bukhtarminskiye Staroobryadtsi", Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad, 1930, pp. 36 ff. G. T. Khokhlov, "Puteshestviye uralskikh kazakov v Belovodskoye tsarstvo", Imp. Russian Geographical Society. St. Petersburg, 1903.

‡ M. N. Speransky. "Indiya v staroy russkoy pis'mennosti", "Symposium in honour of S. F. Oldenburg", Leningrad, 1934, pp. 465 ff.

§ P. Alfārīch: "La Vie Chretienne du Buddha", J. As. X, pp. 269-288. Les Ecritures Manicheennes, II, pp. 216 ff.

from where he visited Rayy, Kāshān and Yazd. While in Persia, he heard about the profitable Indian trade, and decided to visit India. He embarked at Ormuz, and sailed for India, where he first disembarked at Diu and then at Chaul. After spending some time at Bidar, Nikitin made a tour of the Bahmani dominions. He returned to Russia through Persia and Trebizond, his journey having lasted about six years (1466-1472). Nikitin died in Smolensk; and though his journey was barren of results, his unfinished diary is still a valuable source of information, and compares favourably, in the opinion of Professor Minayev, with that of Nicolo Conti.

In the XVI-th century Russia's knowledge of India was still scanty; and when in 1532 Khwāja Husain, an envoy of Sultan Bābur, arrived in Moscow, the authorities in the Russian capital hesitated to conclude a treaty, and suggested a trade agreement. In 1676/7 Muhammad Yūsuf Kasimov, a Russian Tartar, came to Kabul and intended going to Delhi, but failed to obtain the necessary permit. In 1695, in the reign of Peter the Great, a Russian merchant Semen Malinkov was deputed to visit India. He travelled through Persia and in 1696 disembarked at Surat. Malinkov visited Agra and Delhi, and was received by Emperor Aurangzeb. On his journey, he revisited Persia, but died at Shīrwān, without leaving behind any notes on his journey. In spite of the failure of these repeated attempts at establishing direct trade relations with India, many in Russia must have possessed direct information about India from *Indian traders and artisans, who resided in Russia* in the XVII-th century. In the XVII-th century an Indian colony was established in Astrakhan on the Volga estuary, and Indian traders sailed up the Volga to Yaroslavl and Tver. A local Astrakhan chronicle* says the first traders from Armenia, Persia and India came to Astrakhan about 1615/16 in the reign of the Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich. The same chronicle adds that in 1625 a *caravanserai for Indian traders* was built in Astrakhan by order of the Russian *voyevoda* Prince Semen Prozorovsky. The Indian colony consisted of traders, artisans (metal workers and weavers) and occasional *sādhus*, who must have come to Astrakhan from Bakū, the city's Fire Temple being known to Indian *sādhus* as Boṛi Jvālāmukhi, and which till recently was a well-known place of pilgrimage.† In the "*Memorandum Book*" of the Secret Chancery we read under 1665 about the despatch to Astrakhan of a messenger with a letter addressed to the *voyevoda* Prince Odoyevsky instructing him to send to Moscow "*Indian artisans*". In the same year Prince Odoyevsky was commissioned to depute to India, an Astrakhan trader to invite *Indian weavers to come to Moscow*.‡ From legal documents preserved in the

* N. N. Pal'mov: "*Astrakhanskiye Arkhiivi*", *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniia*, 11, 4, Leningrad, 1934, pp. 162-182.

† According to Professor V. V. Barthold, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, p. 609, fire-worship was introduced into Baku in the XVIII-th century by Indians and Indian Parsees. The other Jvālāmukhi is situated in Kāngra.

‡ Pal'mov, *ibid.* p. 164 ff.

Astrakhan Provincial Archives; and studied by Professor Pal'mov, it appears that some of the Indian traders could speak Russian, and even read and write (Pal'mov, *Ibid.* p. 172). The Astrakhan Archives contain information on the arrival in Astrakhan of "Indian religious men.* Many of the Indians settled in the region, married and became subjects of the Russian Tsar. George Foster, who undertook in 1782-4 an overland journey from Bengal to England, speaks in his "Travels" (p. 303) about a small society of Hindoos in Astrakhan: "The Hindoos also enjoy at Astracan very fair indulgence; nor could they, in the most celebrated places of worship in India, perform their rites with more freedom. They are not stationary residents, nor do they keep any of their females in this city; but after accumulating a certain property they return to India, and are succeeded by other adventurers. Being a mercantile sect of their nation, and occupied in a desultory species of traffic, they have neglected to preserve any record of their first settlement and subsequent progress in this quarter of Russia; nor is the fact ascertained with accuracy by the natives of Astracan. In the *karavansara* allotted to them, which is commodious and detached, they make their ablutions and offer up their prayers, without attracting even the curiosity of the Christians; and they do not fail to gratefully contrast so temperate a conduct with that of Persia, where their religion, persons and prosperity, are equally exposed to the attacks of bigotry and avarice."† (*Vide* also "Indian temple in Surakhany, Azerbaijan" with Nāgari and Gurumukhi inscriptions; *Soviet Land* No. 12, June 1959).

In the middle of the eighteenth century the famous Russian scientist Mikhail Lomonosov was instrumental in organizing the first *Polar expedition* to Spitzbergen which had as its object the finding of a *sea-passage to India*.

The first Russian translation of Sanskrit text was the translation of the *Bhagavad Gītā* published in 1787 by the eminent Russian Rosicrucian and publisher N. I. Novikov. The Russian version did not represent a direct translation from the original Sanskrit, but a Russian rendering of the English translation by Charles Wilkins (London, 1785).

At the end of the eighteenth century a Russian musician Gerasim Lebedev came to England on the staff of the Russian Embassy. After a stay in England, he embarked for India, and spent there twelve years (1785-1797), working as a clerk at the Fort William. His role in the *renaissance of the Bengali theatre* is well-known. He founded (1795) a theatre in Calcutta which performed plays written by Lebedev himself in Bengali, as well as plays by European dramatists which Lebedev translated. He applied himself to the study of Sanskrit; and on his return to England, published in 1801 his "*Grammar of Pure and Mixed East-Indian Dialects with Dialogues*". On his return to Russia, he cast the first Devanāgarī type in St. Petersburg by command of the Emperor Alexander I.

* Pal'mov, *ibid.* p. 180 ff.

† D. B. Diskalkar, "Hindus in Afghanistan, Persia and Russia in 1783", *Journal of the Greater India Society*, vol. IV, fasc. 2 [July, 1937], p. 148 ff.

In 1805 he published in Russian a survey of the religious and philosophical systems of India, entitled "An impartial survey of the systems of Brahmanical East India". (*"Bespristrastnoye sozertsaniye sistem vostochnoy Indii bramgenov"*).

The beginning of Sanskrit studies in Russia is closely linked with the name of Count S. S. Uvarov. In 1810 this enlightened statesman, while serving on the staff of the Russian Embassy in Paris, drafted, with the assistance of Klaproth, a Memorandum on the founding of an Asiatic Academy in St. Petersburg ("Project d'une Academie Asiatique"), the programme of which was to include the teaching of Sanskrit. When later Count Uvarov became Minister of Public instruction and President of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, he began to carry out his project. One of his first tasks was to establish a Chair for the teaching of Sanskrit in St. Petersburg. Great difficulties had to be overcome, for Sanskrit scholars were not to be found in Russia, and young scholars had to be trained to enable them to occupy the *chair of Sanskrit*. Count Uvarov selected Robert Lenz (b. 1808-d. 1836) a student in the University of Yuryev. Lenz was sent to Germany to study Sanskrit under the famous Franz Bopp in Berlin. While in Berlin Lenz published in 1834 the first critical edition of Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśī—Urvasā jabula Cālidasi*, with a Latin translations of the text, after the *Calcutta* edition of 1830. This was followed in 1834 by "*Apparatus criticus ad Urvasiam*", Berlin. After completing his studies in Berlin, Lenz went to Oxford and London, where he met Prof. E. Burnouf. He returned to Russia in 1835 and was appointed adjunct of the Academy of Sciences, and Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology. He did not however succeed in establishing a school of the Russian Indologists, and died in 1836.

The work of Lenz was continued in Kazan and Moscow by Professor Pavel Yakovlevich Petrov (d. 1876), the teacher of a number of Russian philologists and linguists, and among them Professor F. Korsch, F. F. Fortunatov and V. F. Miller. Pavel Petrov after graduating from the Moscow University in 1832, continued his studies of Oriental languages, both in Moscow and St. Petersburg, where he studied Sanskrit with Lenz. In 1836 Petrov published a translation into Russian of the *Sītāharṇa* episode of the *Rāmāyana* (Book III), with a glossary and a grammatical analysis. This work was recommended by the academician Ch. D. Frahn (1832-1861) to Count S. S. Uvarov. Frahn suggested that the young scholar should be sent abroad to continue his Sanskrit studies. Petrov was accordingly given a scholarship and sent to Berlin to pursue his studies of Sanskrit with Fr. Bopp. The latter suggested to Petrov to proceed to England, where facilities for the study of Sanskrit were greater than in Berlin, and where he could avail himself of the large collections of Sanskrit MSS in Oxford and London. Petrov's trip to England did not materialize; though he was able to spend some time in Paris and examine the local collections of Indian MSS. In 1841 Petrov returned to Russia, and was appointed to the chair of Sanskrit at the Kazan University (known to Tolstoy),

one of the oldest seats of Oriental learning in Russia. Between 1852 and 1875 Professor Petrov occupied the chair of Sanskrit at the University of Moscow, and greatly fostered the study of Sanskrit in Russia. His interests were many. Besides the ancient India Epics, he was interested in Sanskrit drama, proposed to translate Kalhaṇa's, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, and even to study the spoken languages of India, as well as the old Avestan of Persia.

In St. Petersburg the teaching of Sanskrit was continued by Professor C. Kossowicz, the author of a well-known book on ancient Persian inscriptions—*"Inscriptiones Paleo-Persicae Achaemenidarum"*. Petropoli, 1872. In 1846 he published in the periodical *"Sovremennik"* ("The Contemporary") a translation into Russian of the three acts of Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodhacandrodaya*, which was followed by a translation of the whole drama published in 1847 in the *"Moskovskiy Sbornik"* (Moscow Symposium). In 1849 Professor Kossowicz published in the periodical *"Moskvityanin"* (The Moscovite) his translation of the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*.

From the very beginning of Sanskrit studies in Russia, the study of the classical language of ancient India was closely linked with the study of Buddhism, specially its later phase—the *Mahāyāna*. All along the Asiatic borders of Russia, the Russian Empire was in daily contact with powerful and warlike Mongol tribes professing Buddhism, and the importance of the study of the Mongol language and of Tibetan was early recognized. Most of the Russian *Mongolites* were naturally attracted to the study of Buddhism, a tendency which was strongly pronounced in the valuable scientific work done by the Russian Orthodox Mission in Peking, which was started in 1716, and officially recognized by the Treaty of Kyakhta in 1728. The first authentic information on Buddhism was obtained by the Russian academician Pollas who, in *Sammungen historischer Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Voelkerschaften*", II, St. Petersburg, 1801, gave an excellent account of Buddhist cosmogony, mythology, iconography and hierarchy, as well as the contents of several Buddhist texts in Mongol and a full Biography of Buddha. A short life of Buddha was given by the Russian traveller Timkovsky (*"Puteshestviye v Kitay, cherez Mongoliyu v 1820, 1821 godakh"*. St. Petersburg, 1824, vol. II, pp. 409-433).

The first half of the XIX-th century saw the appearance of a number of eminent scholars in the fields of Indology and Buddhology, and the allied fields of Sinology and Tibetology. Rev. Hyazinth Bichurin, the Father of Russian Sinology, left a number of important works on the history and geography of China, Tibet, Turkestan and Mongolia. In this field he was a forerunner of Bushell, Ed. Chavannes and W. W. Rockhill. Among his works on the history and the geography of Central Asia, we shall mention his valuable *"Istoriya Tibeta i Khukhunora"* ("The History of Tibet and Kukulnūr"), two volumes, St. Petersburg, 1833, containing translations of the chapters of the Chinese Dynastic Annals relating to Tibet and the Tangut (Hsi-Hsia) kingdom, and excerpts from the *T'ung chien kang-mu*; his *"Istoriya o*

narodakh obitavshikh v Sredney Asii" ("History of Central Asian tribes", 3 volumes St. Petersburg, 1851, containing translations of Chinese Dynastic Annals; his "*Opisaniye Tibeta*" ("Description of Tibet", St. Petersburg, 1828) and the valuable "*Opisaniye jungari i Vostochnago Turkeстана*" (Description of Jungaria and East Turkestan", St. Petersburg, 1829). Towards the end of his life Bichurin began the study of Mongol, and published two articles on Buddhism—"The Exposition of Buddhist Religion" (*Russkiy Vestnik*, No. 3, St. Petersburg 1841) and "Buddhist Mythology" (*Russkiy Vestnik*, No. 7 pp. 136-160).*

In 1800 Isaac Jacob Schmidt (1779-1847) came to Sarepta from Amsterdam to become a member of the local Moravian Mission. He was placed in charge of the trading activities of his Mission; and in his capacity of trade-agent made several trips to the camps of Kalmuck princes in the steppe country of the lower Volga (between 1804 and 1806). Having become a Russian subject (Yakov Ivanovich Schmidt), he applied himself to the study of Mongol and Tibetan. In 1829 he was elected member of the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences. The Russian Academy of Sciences was already in possession of a large collection of Oriental MSS and books. To house this collection the Asiatic Museum was founded in 1818.† The Tibetan collection of the Academy of Sciences was considerably enriched by the acquisition of the large collection, of Tibetan MSS and xylographs, made by Baron P. L. Schilling von Canstadt in 1830 in Buryat Mongolia.‡ This collection included a number of MSS indexes of the *bKa'* 'gyur and *bsTan*'gyur, prepared by Buryat lamas under the supervision of Baron Schilling von Canstadt. In 1845 one of these indexes was edited by Schmidt ("*Index des Kandjur*", St. Petersburg, 1845). Besides several important works in the Mongol field, Schmidt wrote a number of essays on Buddhism. In the *Mémoires de l'Académie de St. Petersburg* we find his "*Ueber einige grundlehren des Buddhismus*". In 1834 he published an article entitled "*Ueber die sogenannte dritte Welt der Buddhaisten*", and "*Ueber das Mahājāna und Pradschnāpāramitā der Bauddhen*" (*Mémoires de l'Académie*, vols. III and IV, 1815-37). In 1846 he prepared, in collaboration with O. N. Boehtlingk (1815-1904) a catalogue of Tibetan xylographs in the collection of the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences. Mention must also be made of Schmidt's "*Tibetan Grammar*" (St. Petersburg, 1839), and his "*Tibetan-Russian Dictionary*" (St. Petersburg, 1843), both of which were largely based on A. Csoma de Ko'r's "*Tibetan Grammar*" and "*Tibetan-English Dictionary*". §

* S. A. Kozin: "*Ueber die unveroeffentlichen Arbeitend. H. Bitschurin*", *Monumenta Serica*, III (1938), pp. 628-44.

† Ch. D. Fraehn, *Vorläufiger Bericht*, St. Petersburg, 1819.

‡ A part of Schilling von Canstadt's collection is preserved in the Library of the Institute in Paris. See J. Bacot, "*La collection tibétaine Schilling von Canstadt à la bibliothèque de l'Institut*", *J. As.* 1924, pp. 321-349.

§ A Grammar of the Tibetan Language. Calcutta, 1834. Essay towards a Dictionary, Tibetan and English. Calcutta, 1834.

The great Russian Mongolist Osip Mikhyalovich Kowalewsky belongs to the same period. In 1824 he was sent to Kazan to study Oriental languages, from where he proceeded in 1830 to Buryat Mongolia and Peking, where he continued his studies, with the Mongol and Tibetan lamas residing in the Lamaist monasteries of the Chinese capital. His great "*Dictionnaire Mongol-russe-française*", in three volumes (Kazan, 1844-46-49),* based on the polyglot dictionaries printed in Peking, gives the Sanskrit and Tibetan equivalents of many Mongol words and philosophical terms. His "*Mongol Chrestomathy*", in two volumes (Kazan 1836-7) includes a number of Buddhist texts accompanied by commentaries.† In 1833, on his return to Russia, Kowalewsky was appointed to the chair of Mongol at the University of Kazan. In 1855 the chair of Mongol was transferred from Kazan to St. Petersburg, and was entrusted to Professor Golstunsky.

In 1844 the Asiatic Society of Bengal presented to the Russian Emperor fourteen rare books in Arabic, Sanskrit and Tibetan which were later deposited in the Asiatic Museum.

A pupil of Kowalewsky was the great Russian Buddhologist Vasilii Pavlovich Vasilyev (1818-1900). In 1840 Vasilyev was sent to the Russian Orthodox Mission in Peking for the study of Chinese and Tibetan languages, and spent there ten years, till 1850. In Peking he was able to study Tibetan and Tibetan exegetical literature with the Tibetan and Mongol lamas, and lay the foundation of his extraordinary wide knowledge of Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhist texts. Although not a Sanskritist, his publications include a number of works on Buddhological subjects. It is a matter of deep regret that the greater part of his works in the field of Tibetology still remains unpublished, being preserved in the Archives of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences‡ and among them a "*Tibetan-Russian Dictionary*", and a *Tibetan Grammar*. Vasilyev's great work on Buddhism which earned for him world-wide fame, has been translated into French and German (V. P. Vasilyev "*Buddhizm ; ego dogmati, istoriya i literatura*" vols. I-III, St. Petersburg, 1857-69 ; "*Der Buddhismus ; seine Dogmen, Geschichte und Literatur*". St. Petersburg, 1860. A French translation by Comme, Paris, 1865). The third volume of his "*Buddhism*" contains his Russian translation of Tāranātha's *rGya-gar chos byuri*, or "*History of the Buddhist Doctrine in India*." Important for the study of Tibetan literature is Vasilyev's article "*Die auf den Buddhismus bezueglichen Werke der Universitaets-Bibliothek zu Kasan*" (*Mélanges Asiatiques*, II, St. Peters-

* Kowalewsky's Dictionary was reproduced by Henri Vetch, Peking, in 1934.

† The same is true of A. Porov's "*Mongol Chrestomathy*", Kazan, 1834.

‡ M. I. Tubyansky, "*Preliminary report on the MS legacy of V. P. Vasilyev and V. V. Gorsky*", DAN, 1927, p. 64. S. A. Kozin, "*Bibliographical survey of the published and unpublished works of the Academician V. P. Vasilyev*", IzAN, 1931, pp. 759-774, A. I. Vostrikov, "*S. F. Oldenburg and the study of Tibet*", *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, IV (1935), p. 69.

burg, 1855, pp. 347-386). In 1895 Vasilyev published the chapters on Tibet and India from the large "Universal Geography" or 'jam-glin rgyas-bśad by the b Tsan-po Nam-un qan bs Tan-'dzin chos-kyi Ni-ma, also known by the title of Minjul qutuztu (Vasilyev; *Geografiya Tibeta*". St Petersburg, 1895).

Y. I. Schmidt's place in the Academy of Sciences was taken by the Indologist and Tibetologist A. A. Schiefner (1817-1879), who became a Member of the Academy in 1854. A. A. Schiefner published a number of essays on Tibetan Grammar and Lexicography. He also edited several Tibetan texts and Catalogues of the rapidly growing Tibetan Collection of the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences. Thus in 1859 he edited a vocabulary of Buddhist terms in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongol ("*Buddhistiche Triglotte d. h. Sanskrit-Tibetisch-Mongolisches Woerterverzeichnis*", St. Petersburg), brought back by Schilling von Canstadt, and representing an abridged edition of the well-known Buddhist polyglot dictionary. In 1868 he edited the Tibetan text of the *rGya-gar chos'byun* by Tāranātha (1575-1635) which was followed by a translation of the chronicle in 1869 ("Tāranātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*". St. Petersburg, 1869).^{*} Schiefner was interested in Buddhist folklore, literature, and his collection of Buddhist fables and tales appeared in London ("*Tibetan Tales derived from Indian Sources*". London, 1906).

The growth of the St. Petersburg school of Indology is made famous by the compilation of the monumental "St. Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary", in seven volumes, published by the Academy of Sciences between 1855 and 1875, and compiled by O. N. Boehtlingk (1815-1904) and the great Vedic scholar Rudolf Roth. O. N. Boehtlingk also published an abridged edition of the same Dictionary between 1879 and 1889, which was likewise published by the Academy of Sciences ("*Sanskrit Voerterbuch in kuerzerer Fassung*", in seven parts, St. Petersburg, 1879-89. This Dictionary was reprinted by Messrs Markert and Petters (Leipzig in 1923-25).

To the same period belongs the eminent Russian Sinologist, the Archimandrite Palladius Kafarov, who headed the Russian Orthodox Mission in Peking in 1849-59; and again in 1864, he is the author of the *Chinese Russian Dictionary* in two volumes, invaluable for the study of Chinese Buddhist texts. The Memoirs of the Russian Orthodox Mission contain two of his articles on Buddhism—"Life of Buddha". ("*Zhizneopisaniye Euddi*), *Teudi clenov Ross, Dukhovnoy Missii*, I. Peking, 1909, pp. 222 ff. and "*Istoricheskii ocherk drevnego Buddizma*", *Trudi*, II, pp. 57-99.

Professor C. Kossowicz was succeeded at the University of St. Petersburg by the great Russian Indologist and Buddhist scholar Professor Ivan Pavlovich Minayev (1840-1890).† Professor Minayev began his Sanskrit studies with

^{*} Schiefner's German translation follows closely on the Russian translation by Professor V. P. Vasilyev, which appeared in 1869.

† A short biographical sketch of Prof. Minayev by Miss A. Schneider appeared in the *Indian Hist. Quarterly*, Calcutta vol. X fasc. 4 (Dec. 1934), pp. 811-826.

Professor Kossowicz ; and at the same time he attended the Chinese classes given by Professor V. P. Vasilyev, from whom he inherited a deep interest in Buddhism. After graduating from the University of St. Petersburg, Minayev spent six years abroad, studying under Franz Bopp, Steinthal, Weber and Benfey. He resided in Paris and London, and pursued his studies at the Bibliotheque Nationale and at the British Museum. On his return to Russia, he was appointed to the chair of Sanskrit at the University of St. Petersburg in 1869. In the same year he published his *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*. This was followed by his Pāli Grammar (*"Ocherk fonetiki i morfologii yazika Pali"* St. Petersburg, 1872). This work was translated into English (*"Pali Grammar"*, London, 1882) and French (*"Grammaire Pali"*, Paris, 1874). In 1874/5 Professor Minayev made his first journey to India, and made a prolonged stay in Ceylon, after which he visited Bihār, the Nepalese borderland, and Almora in the Himalayas. His impressions were vividly told in his *"Sketches of Ceylon and India"* in two volumes, St. Petersburg, 1878. Besides pursuing his Buddhist studies, Professor Minayev collected folktales ; and his collection of popular tales was subsequently published in a volume entitled *"Indian Tales"*, containing 47 tales and 25 legends collected in Kumaon (St. Petersburg, 1875).

In 1880 Professor Minayev visited India for a second time. This time he travelled through Hyderābād, where he visited the cave-temples of Ajantā and Ellorā, and then went on to Golkonda, Lahore and Delhi. In 1886 he again visited India, and this time he spent some time in Darjeeling, and journeyed to Burma and Mandalay. His planned fourth overland journey to India, through Afghanistan, did not take place. The greater part of Professor Minayev's published works deals with Buddhism. In his *"Buddhism. Izsledovaniya i materyl"* (vol. I, fasc. 1 and 2. St. Petersburg, 1887), he questioned the authenticity of the Pāli Canon, and upheld the antiquity of the Sanskrit Northern tradition (this work was translated into French and published in the *Annales du Musée Guimet* : *"Recherches sur le Bouddhisme"*, 1894). The second fascicule of the work contains Minayev's edition of the *Mahāvīyūtpatti* (a second edition of Minayev's *Mahāvīyūtpatti* was prepared by Professor N. P. Mironov and published in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, vol. XIII), and the *Mañjuśrī-nāmasaṃgīti*. The Sanskrit texts edited by Professor Minayev include the *Śiṣyalekha-dharmakāvya* of Candragomin (*Zapiski* of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, IV, 1889, pp. 29-52), the *Suprabhātastotra*, a hymn in praise of Buddha (*Zapiski*, II, fasc. 3, pp. 236 ff.) and the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* by Śāntideva (*Zapiski*, IV, 1889, pp. 153-228) ; a second edition appeared in 1890 edited by Professor S. F. Oldenburg. Among the Pāli texts edited by Professor Minayev, we find : the *Shakesadhātuvaṃsa* (JPTS, 1885, pp. 5-46), the *Gandhavaṃsa* (JPTS, 1886, pp. 54-80'), the *Anāgatavaṃsa* (JPTS, 1886, pp. 33-53), the *Simāvivāda-vinichaya-kathā* (JPTS, 1827, pp. 17-34) the *Kathāvatthupparakana-atthakathā* (JPTS, 1889, pp. 1-199). Throughout his journeys in India and Ceylon, Professor

Minayev had collected an extensive collection of Indian MSS, a catalogue of which has been compiled and edited by Professor N. F. Mironov in 1918. Besides his interest in Buddhist India, Professor Minayev was deeply interested in the historical geography of the Indian borderland and Central Asia. Thus in 1878 he published a monograph entitled "*Description of the countries of the Upper Amu-darya*", St. Petersburg; and in 1881 he gave a commentary on the "*Travel beyond the Three Seas*" of Athanasius Nikitin ("*Old India*", St. Petersburg, 1811). Professor Minayev also published an edition of Marco Polo accompanied by his commentary (posthumously edited by Professor V. V. Barthold, St. Petersburg, 1891). Throughout his scientific career Professor Minayev stressed the importance of the study of contemporary India and of the living languages of India. Thus he collected materials for a Newāri Dictionary which were later edited by A. Conrady ("*A Sanskrit-Newari Dictionary*", from the writings of the late I. P. Minayeff, prepared for print by Aug. Conrady, ZDMG, vol. 47, pp. 539-573). His views on the problem were defined in his well-known speech at the Annual Convocation of the University of St. Petersburg in 1884 ("*The study of India in Russian Universities*"). Professor Minayev died at the early age of 49, leaving many of his works unfinished. His work and traditions were continued by a band of brilliant pupils. In 1879 Alexey Putyata, a pupil of Professor Minayev, published a translation of Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā*. In the second half of the XIX-th century and the beginning of the present, Indology made rapid progress in Russia, thanks to the labours of a number of brilliant scholars, among whom we find Professor S. F. Oldenburg, Fedor I. Stcherbatskoy (often written Sreherbatsky) Baron A. D. von Stael-Holstein, N. D. Mironov, D. Kudryavsky, V. F. Miller, Fedor I. Knauer and others. In 1890 the study of Sanskrit was made obligatory for students of the Slavic and Classical Departments of the historical-philological faculties of Russian Universities. To meet the growing demand for text-books on Sanskrit, Professor V. F. Miller and F. I. Knauer published a Sanskrit Manual ("*Rukovodstvo k izucheniyu Sanskrita*", St. Petersburg, 1891), and Professor D. Kudryavsky a Sanskrit Reader with Grammar (Yuryev, 1903).*

To Professor Sergev Fedorovich Oldenburg (1863-1934) belongs the merit of being not only an eminent Indologist, but also the inspirer and organizer of Oriental research in Russia. A pupil of Professor Minayev, S. F. Oldenburg was, like his teacher, attracted to Buddhism, and distinguished himself in the fields of Buddhist Art, archaeology and folklore. After completing his studies of the University of St. Petersburg, where he attended lectures by Professor Minayev and V. P. Vasilyev, Oldenburg was sent abroad and spent three years

18 Other works by Prof. Kudryavsky: "*Izsledovaniya v oblasti drevneindiyiskikh domashnikh obryadov*". Yuryev, 1904 ("*Researches in the domain of ancient Hindu domestic rites*"); "*Hitopadesa dobroye nastavleniye. Sabornik drevne-Indyiskikh razskazov*". Yuryev, 1898.

in Germany, France and England. His first work was devoted to the Indian folklore, in which he analysed the contents of two Buddhist collections of edifying tales—the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna*, and the *Jātakamālā* ('*Buddiyskiye Legendi*'), I *Bhadrakalpāvadāna*, *Jātakamālā*, St. Petersburg, 1896). The problem of Indian folklore was the subject of numerous articles published by him in the *Zapiski* of the Oriental Section of the Russian Archaeological Society, and other Russian periodicals. He was early attracted to the study of Buddhist Art and identified some of the *Jātaka* scenes on the famous Bharhut *stūpa* and many of the sculptures of Borobudur in Java ("Notes on Buddhist Art", *Zametki o buddiskusstve O nekotorykh skh skulpturnikh i zhivopisnykh izobrazheniyakh budd. Jātak*. Vostochnye Zametki, St. Petersburg, 1895). Professor Oldenburg was also interested in the great Indian epic—the *Mahābhārata*. His studies in this field did not form the subject of a large work, except for a short article on the *Mahābhārata* in Buddhist literature (*Zapiski*, X (1897), p. 193 ff), which was later printed in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*.

One of Oldenburg's greatest achievements, which earned the Russian Academy of Sciences a well-deserved honour, was the founding in 1897 of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, a series devoted to the publication of Buddhist texts and monographs on Buddhist subjects. The series comprises thirty volumes (up to 1937), and it is hoped that, with the end of the War, its publication will be resumed by the Academy. Perhaps his greatest contribution to Oriental learning was Oldenburg's archaeological explorations of Eastern Turkestan, and his participation in the organization of Russian scientific exploration of Central Asia. Russian explorers were the first to report the existence of extensive ruined sites on the northern and southern fringes of the Taklamakan desert. The great Russian explorer of Central Asia N. M. Przhevalsky, in the account of his Fourth Central Asian Expedition (N. M. Przhevalsky: "*Ot Kyakht na istoki Zheltay Reki*", St. Petersburg, 1888, pp. 353 ff., 356. 365 ff.) described the ruined sites in the vicinity of Charchan-daryā. Professor Minayev in his review of Przhevalsky's book (*Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, vol. 264, pp. 168-189) stressed the importance of archaeological exploration along the ancient caravan route from Khotan to Lob-nūr. The botanist Regel, who visited Eastern Turkestan in 1879, was the first to report on the existence of ruined cities in the Turfan oasis. In 1889-90 the brothers G. and N. Grum-Grzhimaylo visited Turfan and gave a detailed account of the ruins of Idikut-shahr, mentioned the Buddhist cave temples of Sengimaghiz and the ruined Buddhist temple near Lukchun ('*Opisaniye puteshestviya v Zapadny Kitay*', vol. I. St. Petersburg, 1896). Further information on the ruined sites of Turfan was obtained by Capt. V. I. Roborovsky and Lt. P. K. Kozlov during their expedition of 1893-95. The explorers discovered the cave-temples of Toyuk-māzār and the ruins of Yār-khoto ("Trudi ekspeditsii Imp. Russkago Geograficheskago Obshchestva," vol. I. St. Petersburg, 1899). Professor K. I. Bogdanovich, a geologist attached to the Tibetan Expedition of General M. V. Pevtsov in 1889-90, also mentions

ruined sites in the Tārīm Basin (*Trudi Tibetskoy Ekspeditsii*, vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1892, pp. 151-160). In 1898 the Russian Academy of Sciences sent out an archaeological expedition headed by Dr. Dmitri A. Klementz to Turfān. The expedition investigated the ruins of Yār-khoto (W. of Turfān City), the ruins of some ancient temples, situated East of the modern town of Turfān, the ruined sites of Idikut-shahri, Astāna, Sengim-Aghiz, Murtuk, Toyuk-māzār, Surkhāb and the ruins of a Buddhist vihāra south of Lukchun.

The scientific results of expedition were published in a monograph entitled "*Turfān und seine Alterthümer. Nachrichten ueber die von der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg im Jahre 1898 ausgeruestete Expedition nach Turfān.*" Fasc. I, St. Petersburg, 1899. Professor Oldenburg, from the very beginning of the archaeological exploration, became deeply interested in the antiquities and the MSS remains from Eastern Turkestan. In 1893 the Russian Academy of Sciences received from the Russian Consul-General in Kashghar, N. F. Patrovsky, a collection of MSS discovered in the sand-buried ruins south of the Taklamakan desert. Professor Oldenburg published a preliminary notice on a Prakrit MS of the Dharmapada, belonging to the Petrovsky Collection ("*Predvāritel'naya zametka o buddiyskoy rukopist, napisannoy pis'menami kharoshī.*" St. Petersburg, 1897). His large work on the subject, though ready for print, has not been published. Collections of antiquities and MSS from Eastern Turkistān have also been received from Monsieur N. N. Krotkov, the Russian Consul-General in Urumchi, the provincial capital. The general interest aroused by the archaeological discoveries of Eastern Turkestan led to the formation of an "*Association Internationale pour l'Exploration de l'Asie Centrale et de l'Extreme Orient,*" proposed at the XII-th International Congress of Orientalists held in Rome in 1899. The Russian Section of the Association was established in 1903 under the chairmanship of Professor V. V. Radlov, the eminent Turkologist. Professor Oldenburg, as Vice-chairman of the Section, contributed greatly to its scientific activities and the despatch of scientific mission to Central Asia and the Far East. In 1900 he published a notice on the organization of an archaeological expedition to Eastern Turkestan (*Zapiski of the Oriental Section of the Russian Archaeological Society*, vol. XIII (1900), p. ix ff). Oldenburg also participated in the organization of the expeditions of P. K. Kozlov to Eastern Tibet in 1900-1, and Southern Mongolia and Amdo in 1906-8, during which the eminent Russian explorer Kozlov made his remarkable discovery of the Tangut ruined city of Khara-khoto in the Etsin-gol basin. His excavation of this ruined site yielded a large collection of Tangūt (Hsi-hsia) MSS, most of which contained Buddhist texts, written in the Hsi-hsia script, adopted since 1037 A.D. This unique discovery proved the existence of a literary Tangut language, akin to the dialects of the Tibetan North-East, into which most of the Buddhist Canons had been translated between the XII-th and XIV-th centuries A.D. The large collection of Buddhist paintings and drawings brought back by P. K. Kozlov

from Khara-khoto, were studied by Professor Oldenburg in a special monograph, in which he stressed the importance of the finds for the history of Tibetan Art (*Materiaux pour l'iconographie bouddique de Khārkhoto*" *Memoirs of the Ethnographic Section of the Russian Museum of the Emperor Alexander III*, Fasc. II Petrograd, 1914).

Professor Oldenburg was also instrumental in sending two Buryat Mongol scholars, mGon-po skyabs Tsibikov and Badzar Baradiyan, to Central and North-Eastern Tibet (Amdo). Professor Tsibikov's expedition was organized by the Russian Geographical Society, and lasted three years (1899-1903), during which Tsibikov visited Central Tibet, and resided for some time in Lha sa. The Preliminary Report of his expedition appeared in the *Journal of the Russian Geographical Society* (vol. XXXI, fasc. 3 (1903), pp. 187-227, and English translation of the above appeared in the *Smithsonian Report for 1903*, pp. 727, 746. Washington, 1904). The Detailed Report of Professor Tsibikov's journey was published in a large volume by the Russian Geographical Society in 1919 (*"Buddhist Palomnik u svyatin' Tibeta"*. Petrograd, 1919), and contains by far the best description of the temples and monastic establishments of Lha-sa, Tashi-lhun-po and bSam-yas. Badzar Baradiyan's journey in 1905-7, on behalf of the Russian Section of the International Association for the study of Central and Eastern Asia, covered Mongolia and North-East Tibet (Amdo), where he spent some time in the large monastery of bLabran bKra-śis 'khyil (founded in 1710). Professor Oldenburg gave a Preliminary Report of the journey in the *Bulletin of the Russian Section of the Association for the study of Central and Eastern Asia* (No. 8, 1908, pp. 17-21). Baradiyn's Report was published in the *Journal of the Russian Geographical Society* (vol XLIV, fasc. 4, 1908, pp. 183-232. See also Badzar Baradiyn : *"Statuya Maitreyi v Zolotom khrame v Davrane."* *Buddhica*, vol. XXI, 1924).

In 1906-07 Professor Oldenburg participated in the organization of the archaeological expedition of N. M. and M. M. Berezovsky, who excavated and photographed a number of ruined sites in Kucha the birth place of Kumārajīva.

In 1909-10 Professor Oldenburg headed a Russian Archaeological Expedition to Eastern Turkestan, during which he investigated the ruined sites in the neighbourhood of Shikchin in the Karashahr district, the Turfan oasis (Yār-khoto, Old Turfan, Idikut-shahr, Astāna, Sengim-aghiz, Bezeklik, Chikan-ko"l, Toyuk-māzar, and Sirkip), and in Kuchā (Subāshi, Simsim, Kizil-kargha, Kumtura and other localities). Oldenburg himself called this expedition—an "archaeological reconnaissance". Before leaving for Eastern Turkestan Professor Oldenburg consulted Professor Gruenwedel, and determined with him the areas in which the Russian expedition was to work, in order not to interfere with the work of the German expedition. However when Professor Oldenburg's expedition arrived in the field, the Russian scholars discovered that the sites allotted to the Russian expedition had been already excavated by the German expedition

under von Le Coq.* The Results of the Russian expedition were published in a large volume entitled "*Russkaya Turkestanskaya Ekspeditsiya 1909-1910 goda*" (St. Petersburg, 1914). In 1913-14 Professor Oldenburg led his second archaeological expedition to Eastern Turkestan. The task of this second expedition was to explore and make a complete photographic survey of the famous cave-temples of Tun-huang in Western Kansu. The results of this expedition are deposited in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad, but the Scientific Report has not been fully published.†

Professor Oldenburg also participated in the building of the Buddhist Temple in St. Petersburg, which was solemnly consecrated in 1913. This temple, built in Tibetan style, was begun in 1910. The building was supervised by a Committee consisting of Professor V. V. Radlov, chairman, mkhan-po cha-ma Vagtdbañ-Do-rje, Professor V. L. Kotwicz, Professor S. F. Oldenburg, Professor Nicholas C. Roerich (Painter), Professor A. D. Rudnev, Professor F. I. Stcherbatsky, Miss Alexander Schneider and the architect Baranovsoy. At the suggestion of Professor Stcherbatsky the Committee proposed to purchase in India a complete Indian temple and to rebuild it in St. Petersburg, but the first World-War put an end to these plans.

In 1916 Professor Oldenburg was appointed Director of the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences. In 1930, after the transfer of the Museum's collections to the recently built Oriental Institute of the new institution, and until his death in 1934 he acted as the planner and organizer of Oriental Research in Soviet Russia. His manifold official duties prevented him from publishing some of his larger works. Most of his articles written between 1917 and 1934 represent reports on the organization of scientific explorations and Oriental research in general, a work with which he had selflessly identified himself. To this period belongs his article on the Gandhāra sculptures in the Hermitage Museum which appeared in the *Zapiski* of the College of Orientalists, vol. V (1930), pp. 145-186.

The death of Professor Fedor Ippolitovich Stcherbatsky (b. 1866) during the fateful winter to 1941 of the Leningrad seige, was a cruel loss to science. After graduating from the University of St. Petersburg, where he studied Sanskrit and Pāli with Professor Minayev and Oldenburg, Germanic under Professor F. A. Braun and Slavonic under Jagić, Stcherbatsky proceeded to Vienna in 1888, and studied Sanskrit Poetics (*alankāra*) with George Buehler. His studies resulted in two monographs, one in German—"Ueber das Haihayendra-carita", and one in Russian on the Indian Theory of Poetry—"Teoriya

* F. I. Stcherbatsky, "S. F. Oldenburg kak indianist", *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, V (1935), p. 26. This volume dedicated to the memory of Professor Oldenburg contains several articles by Professor A. N. Samoylovich, I. Y. Krachkovsky, V. N. Alekseev and A. I. Vostikov.

† S. F. Oldenburg, "The caves of the Thousand Buddhas" (in Russian), "Vostok", I (1922), pp. 57-66.

poezii v Indii" (St. Petersburg, 1899). In 1902, after attending the International Congress of Orientalists in Rome, Stcherbatsky went to Bonn, and read Indian Philosophy with Prof. Jacobi. From that date his interest centres on Indian Philosophy, and particularly on Buddhism. In 1903 Stcherbatsky published his first important work on Buddhist Logic and Epistemology—"Theory of Knowledge and Logic in the Doctrine of later Buddhists" ("Teoriya poznaniya logika po ucheniyu pozdneyshikh buddistov", Part I. St. Petersburg, 1903; Part II St. Petersburg, 1909). This fundamental work which contained a Russian translation of Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu* and its Commentary by Dharmottara, as well as an exposition of the stand of Buddhist Logic, appeared also in German ("Erkenntnistheorie und Logik nach der Lehre der späteren Buddhisten", Munich, 1924) and in French in the *Annales de Musée Guimet* ("La Théorie de la Connaissance et la Logique chez les Bouddhistes Tardifs", Paris, 1926). In 1910-11 Professor Stcherbatsky made a long sojourn in India, studying Sanskrit with Indian pandits in Banaras and Poona, as well as visiting Calcutta and Darjeeling, where he met the thirteenth Dalai Lama, then in exile. In 1918 Professor Stcherbatsky was elected Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences. His next important work was his monograph "The Central Conception of Buddhism and the meaning of the word DHARAMA" (Royal Asiatic Society Prize Publication Fund vol. VII. London, 1923), in which he expounded the Hinayānistic stage of Buddhism. This was followed by his "The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa" (Leningrad, 1927), invaluable for the study of Buddhist Monism, represented by the *Mādhyamika* school. In 1935 appeared his monumental "Buddhist Logic" in two volumes (*Bibliotheca Buddhica*, vol. XXVI. Leningrad, 1930, 1932), which represents an English version of his earlier work on the subject, completely rewritten and greatly enlarged. This work will for a long time remain the foundation of further studies in this difficult, but essential branch of Buddhist philosophic literature. Besides these works, Professor Stcherbatsky published and edited a considerable number of Tibetan and Sanskrit texts in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, some in collaboration with foreign scholars and his own pupils. The *Bibliotheca Buddhica* includes his edition of the Sanskrit text and Tibetan translation of Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu* with the Commentary by Dharmottara (*Bibl. Buddhica*, vols. VII and VIII), the Sanskrit text of the *Nyāyabinduṭīkāṭippant*, a commentary on Dharmottara's *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* (*Bibl. Buddhica*, vol. XI, fasc. I), the Tibetan text of Dharmakīrti's *Samtānantarasiddhi* with Vinītadeva's Commentary, and a commentary by the well-known Mongol scholar Nag-dbañ bsTan-dar Lha-rams-pa of Alashan (b. 1758) (*Bibl. Buddhica*, vol. XIX, fasc. I-II). Dharmakīrti's *Samtānantarasiddhi* and Vinīta Deva's Commentary were translated by Professor Stcherbatsky into Russian, and published in the series "Pamyatniki Indijskoy Filosofii" ("Monuments of Indian Philosophy"), edited by the Russian Academy of Sciences ("Obshchovaniye chizhoy odushevlenosti", St. Petersburg, 1922).

Professor Stcherbatsky also collaborated in the large international undertaking concerned with the editing of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharma-koṣa*. The edition of the *Abhidharma-koṣa*, was to be undertaken by a group of scholars who met in Paris in the winter of 1912. The edition of the Tibetan text of the *Abhidharma-koṣa*, the *kārikās* and the *bhāṣya*, was to be undertaken by Professor Stcherbatsky and Professor Louis de la Vallée Poussin (the first *koṣasthāna* and the greater part of the second of the *kārikās* and *bhāṣya* have been edited by Professor Stcherbatsky in the *Bibl. Buddhica*, vol. XX, fasc. I-II). An edition of Yaśomitra's *vyākhyā* was to be prepared by Professor S. Lévi (the first *koṣasthāna* was published by Professor Stcherbatsky and Lévi in the *Bibl. Buddhica*, vol. XXI, fasc. I; fasc. II ed. by Professor U. Wogihara and Professor Stcherbatsky in 1931). An edition of the Uighur version of the *Koṣa*, discovered by Sir Aurel Stein, was planned by Sir E. Denison Ross. The Japanese scholar Professor U. Wogihara was to give an edition of the Chinese translations of Paramārtha and Hsuan-tsang. Since then a French translation of the *Abhidharma-koṣa* was published by Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin (Paris, 1923-31, six volumes), and a systematic exposition of the philosophy of the *Koṣa* by Professor O. O. Rosenberg (*"Problem Buddiyskoy Filosofii"*), Petrograd, 1918). Russian and English translations of the text of the *Abhidharma-koṣa* by Professor Stcherbatsky and Rosenberg were also foreshadowed.

In 1929 Professor Stcherbatsky published, in collaboration with his pupil E. E. Obermiller, the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-Prajñāpāramitā-updeśa-śāstra* (*Bibl. Buddhica*, XXII), and thus inaugurated the systematic study of the vast *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, undertaken by the Buddhist Institute of the Academy of Sciences, a work continued for some time by E. E. Obermiller.

Professor Stcherbatsky's last work, which likewise appeared in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* (vol. XXX, 1936), was a translation of Asaṅga's *Madhyānta-vibhāṅga-śāstra*, a work belonging to the third and last stage of Buddhist philosophic thought.

Mention must also be made of several articles by Professor Stcherbatsky, such as his *"Contribution à l'histoire du matérialisme aux Indes"* (*"Vost. Zapiski"*, vol. I, Leningrad, 1927, pp. 1-9), *"Ueber die Nyāyakanikā des Vācaspatiṃśira und die indische Lehre vom kategorischen Imperative"*: *Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens*, Festgabe Hermann Jacobi, Bonn 1926 pp. 369-380), (*"The 'Dharmas' of the Buddhists and the 'Gunas' of the Sāṃkhyas"* (*The Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. X, fasc. 4 (1934 pp. 737-760), and *"The Doctrine of the Buddha"* (*BSOS* vol. VI, 4 pp. 867-896), Professor Stcherbatsky also published a translation of the *Daśakumāracarita* by Dandin in the Journal *"Vostok"* (Petersburg, 1923).

Professor Stcherbatsky was deeply interested in the remarkable discoveries of Sanskrit MSS, in Tibetan Monasteries by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana in 1934 and

1936* ; and he hoped to arrange the publication of the newly discovered MSS in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*. Let us hope that this work will be carried out, now that Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana has been invited to join the staff of the Oriental Institute of the *Academy of Sciences*. Before his death in the winter of 1941, Professor Stcherbatsky was planning a translation of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārtika*.

In 1928 the *Academy of Sciences* inaugurated a *Buddhist Institute* and Professor Stcherbatsky was appointed to direct the scientific work of the new institution, assisted by E. E. Obermiller. In 1930 the *Buddhist Institute* was affiliated with the Oriental Institute of the *Academy of Sciences*.

Till his death in 1941 Professor Stcherbatsky continued to occupy the Sanskrit chair at the University of Leningrad.

In the person of Baron A. A. von Stael-Holstein, who died in Peking in 1937, Russian Indology lost another of its distinguished scholars. Born in 1871 at Testama, near Pernau in Esthonia, he studied Sanskrit and Indian literature at the Universities of Yuryev (1894-6) and Berlin. His doctoral thesis was devoted to the second part of the *Karmapradīpa*. After a brief period of study at Oxford and Bonn, he entered the Russian Foreign Service and was appointed secretary of the Imperial Russian Consulate-General in Bombay (1903-4). He related his researches in India in a paper entitled "*Putevnye vpečatleniya iz Indii*", contributed to the *Journal of the Russian Geographical Society* (vol. 40 (1905), pp. 557-83). After his return to Russia, he was appointed Assistant Professor of Sanskrit in the University of St. Petersburg, and participated in the work of the Russian Section of the International Association for Exploration of Central and Eastern Asia. He journeyed to Central Asia and like many of his colleagues devoted much of his time to the study of Buddhism and Central Asian problems. Thus he published several articles dealing with the Tokharian problem ("*Tocharisch und die Sprache II*" *Izv. Imp. Akademii Nauk*, 1908, pp. 1367-72; "*Tocharisch und die Sprache I*" *Izv. Imp. Ak. Nauk*, 1909, pp. 479-84; "*Was there a Kusana race ?*", *JRAS.* 1914 pp. 79-88; "*Kopano und Yvehshih*", *SPAW*, XXI (1914), pp. 643-650), in which he advanced the opinion that the name Tokharian should be applied to the so-called "Language II" of the Central Asian MSS, which had been spoken and written in the region of Khotan in Eastern Turkestan. Now a Tibetologist and a Chinese scholar as well, he dedicated himself to the publication and reconstruction of Sanskrit texts with the help of extant Tibetan and Chinese translations of Indian originals. In 1913 he published a reconstruction of the Sanskrit text of the *Gaṇḍistotragāthā* of Aśvaghōṣa with the help of the Chinese and Tibetan versions (*Bibl. Buddhica*, vol. XV, 1913). In 1916 he was sent, on a scientific mission, on behalf of the Russian Academy of Sciences, to Japan. In 1917 he settled in Peking, and in 1922 was appointed Professor of Sanskrit at

* R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana, "Sanskrit Palm-Leaf MSS in Tibet", *JBORS*, XXI, 1, pp. 21-43; "Second Search of Sanskrit Palm-Leaf MSS in Tibet", *JBORS*, XXIII, 1 (1937), pp. 1-57.

the National University of Peking. During his residence in China, Baron von Stael-Holstein was able to complete his edition of the Sanskrit MSS of the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, a Mahāyāna sūtra of the *Ratnakūṭa* class, discovered in the vicinity of Khotan (*"The Kāśyapaparivarta, edited in the original Sanskrit, in Tibetan and in Chinese"*, Shanghai, 1926). In 1931 this was followed by an edition of Sthiramati's Commentary on the *Kāśyapaparivarta* in Tibetan and Chinese (*"A Commentary to the Kāśyapaparivarta"* Peking, 1933).^{*} In 1927 he was appointed Director of the newly formed "Harvard Institute of Sino-Indian Research, a position which he held till his untimely death in 1937. The first volume of the Series published by the Institute (*"Harvard Sino-Indian Series"*) contains Professor Fr. Weller's *"Index to the Tibetan translation of the Kāśyapaparivarta"* (Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass 1933). In 1929 Baron von Stael-Holstein was appointed Professor of Central Asian Philology at the Harvard University. While in Peking, Baron von Stael-Holstein was assisted by the Russian Mongolist Professor B. I. Pankratov.

In connection with Russian researches in the field of Northern Buddhism, mention must be made of the work of the Russian Mongolists Professor A. M. Pozdnev and Professor B. Y. Vladimirtsov. Professor Pozdnev (1851-1920) was the author of a well-known work on the Buddhist Monasteries and Clergies in Mongolia (*"Ocherkibita buddhiyskikh monastirey i buddiyskogo dukhovenstva"*, St. Petersburg, 1887),[†] which still remains the only exhaustive work on the subject. In 1880 he published a monograph on the Grand Lamas of Urga (*Urginskiye Khutukhtii*, St. Petersburg), Mongol Buddhist texts are included in his *"Mongol Reader"* (St. Petersburg, 1900), and his *"Kalmuck Reader"* (Petrograd, 1915). Professor Pozdnev also published in 1897 the Account of a journey to Tibet undertaken by Bāza Baxši a monk of the Dundu-khurul of the Baxa Do"rbo" principality of the Astrakhan Kalmucks, in 1891-94 (*"Skazaniye o khozhdenii v Tibetskuyu stranu Malo-Do"rbo"iskago Pāza-bakshi"*, St. Petersburg, 1897). Professor Pozdnev also edited the Mongol text of the *"Journey to Tibet"* by the Buryat Lama blo-bzan Mi-skyod, which was to be published by the Academy of Sciences. In 1892-3 Professor Pozdnev undertook an extensive journey throughout Outer and Inner Mongolia, and his *"Diaries"*, published by the Russian Geographical Society under the title of *"Mongolia and the Mongols"* (*"Mongoliya i Mongoli"*, vol. I, 1896; vol. II, 1898) contain much valuable information on Buddhist monasteries and monuments in Mongolia and the Sino-Mongolian borderland.

The great Russian Mongolist Professor B. Y. Vladimirtsov (1884-1931), historian and philologist, devoted many of his works to Buddhism. He was particularly interested in Buddhist folklore and literature. In 1921 he published

^{*} For a fuller bibliography, see *Monumenta Serica*, vol. III (1938), fasc. I, pp. 286-289.

[†] A chapter from Pozdnev's work on the Buddhist Monasteries in Mongolia, was translated into German by W. A. Unkrig *"Dhyāna und Samādhi im mongolischen Lamaismus"* (Hannover, 1926).

the Mongol text, and a Russian translation with an exhaustive commentary of a number of tales from the *Pañcatantra* ("Mongol'skiy Sbornik rasskazov iz Pañcatantra", Petrograd). This was followed in 1923 by a translation of the *Siddhi-kur*, a Mongol version of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* ("Volshebnyi Mertvets" St. Petersburg-Moscow, 1923). Professor Vladimirtsov edited in 1929 the Mongol text of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Śāntideva, translated into Mongol by Kun-mkhyen chos-kyi 'od-zer (*Bibl. Buddhica*, vol. XXVIII). To Tibetan Buddhism were devoted his articles "Buddhism v Tibete i Mongolii" (St. Petersburg, 1919), "Mila-ras-pa's Lyric poetry" ("Iz liriki Mila-aibt". "Vostok", II, pp. 45-47), "A magic tale" ("Rasskaz o volshebste". "Vostok", II, pp. 55-57), the "Tibetan-Mongol Dictionary Li-si'i gur-khan (*Comptes rendus de l' Académie des Sciences*, Leningrad, 1926, pp. 27-30), and "The Mongol *bstan-'gyur*" (*ibid*, pp. 31-34). Important for the study of the Indo-European languages discovered in Eastern Turkestan, is his article "Mongolica I" (*Zapiski of the College of Orientalists*, I, pp. 305-341), which studies Central Asian loan-words in Mongolian. Professor Vladimirtsov's work at the University of Leningrad is continued by Professor S. A. Kozin, who has to his credit a number of extremely valuable works on Mongol folklore and Epic literature ("Geseriada", Moscow-Leningrad, 1935; "Jangar", Moscow-Leningrad 1940).

A number of Buddhist texts in Mongolian have been published in Urga (now Ulān Bātor Khoto) in Mongolia by the Mongol Scientific Committee. Among the books on Buddhist subjects, printed in Urga, mention can be made of the *Burqan sigemuni-yin cedig orusibai* (a translation into Mongol of L. N. Tolstoy's "Life of Buddha" by the well-known scholar Ts Jamtsaran), and the "Foundations of Buddhism" in Russian (Ulān-Bātor Khoto, 1926).

Buddhist texts in the Uighur language, discovered in considerable numbers in Turfan, have been studied by Professor V. V. Radlov, the eminent Turkologist (1837-1918). In 1910 he published an Uighur version of the well-known story of Buddha's meeting with the merchants Trapuṣa and Bhallika (*Tisastvustik*, *Bibl. Buddhica*, vol. XII), the XXV-th chapter of the Chinese version of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* (*Kuan-si-im Pu-sar*, *Bibl. Buddhica*, Vol. XIV, 1911), and, in collaboration with Professor S. E. Malov, the Uighur version of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* (*Bibl. Buddhica*, XVII). Radlov's translation of the Uighur text was published with an introduction by Professor Malov (*Bibl. Buddhica*, XXVII), who in 1910 was sent on a scientific mission to Eastern Turkestan and Kansu by the Russian Section of the Association for the Exploration of Central and Eastern Asia. Fragments of Buddhist texts in Uighur, brought back from Turfan by Roborovsky, Klementz, Krotkov and Oldenburg, have been edited by Radlov in a volume entitled "Uigarische Sprachdenkmaeler" (Leningrad, 1921); this edition was completed after the author's death by Professor Malov who also published the Uighur MSS brought back by the expedition of Professor Oldenburg ("Uigurskiye rukopisnye dokumenty ekspeditsii S. F. Oldenburga", *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, I (1932), pp. 129-151). A general exposition,

of Buddhism, its doctrine and history was given by I. A. Podgorbunsky who drew his information mainly from Buryat and Mongol sources ("Buddizm", Irkutsk, 1902). A number of studies on Buddhism were published by members of the Russian Orthodox clergy, some of them polemical in character. Suffice it to mention Archbishop Nilus' "Buddizm" (St. Petersburg, 1858), Methodius' "The Buddhist Creed or Lamaism" (*Buddiyskoye mirovoztreniye iiii lamaizm*), St. Petersburg, 1892), and Archimandrite Guriy's monograph on Mahāyāna Buddhism, based on information collected by the author in the Kalmuck steppe, and translated by W. A. Unkrig into German ("Der Buddhismus des Mahāyāna", "Anthropos", vols. XVII-XVIII-XIX, 1922-24). A monograph on Indian asceticism was given by V. Kozhevnikov ("Indiiskiy Asketizm v do-buddiyskiy period", *Bagoslovskiy Vestnik*, Sergiyev Posad, 1914).

Since the end of the last century the Russian general public has evinced considerable interest in Indian philosophy and literature. The poet Baltrusaitis gave a beautiful rendering into Russian of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. The names of Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa and Svāmi Vivekānanda became familiar to many. A good Russian translation of the English version of the "Gospel of Rāmakṛṣṇa" ("Pravozvestiye Ramakrishni. St. Petersburg, 1914) appeared in 1914; and Russian translations of Svāmi Vivekānanda's lectures were numerous. Painters like Vereshchagin and Nicholas Roerich dedicated many of their canvases to Indian subjects. Russian poets also felt the spell of Indian literature. Already the poet Zhukovsky (1783-1852) gave a Russian translation of the rightly famous poem of Nala and Damayanti ("Nal' i Damayanti").* The Russian Āśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* ("Zhizn' Buddi", Moscow, 1913, with a preface by Professor S. Lévi), and the dramas of Kālidāsa with the assistance of Professor Oldenburg ("Kālidāsa Drami", Moscow, 1916), were published with an introduction by Professor Oldenburg on Kālidāsa and his work. The volume contains the *Śakuntalā*, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Vikramorvaśi* and the elegiac poem *Meghadūta*. In 1914 Professor Pavel Ritter translated again Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* ("Oblakovesniuk", *drevne-indiyskaya elegiya Kālidāsi*, Kharkov, 1914), and in 1928 he gave a translation of Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* ("Pokhozhdentiya desyati yunoshey", Kharkov, 1928; also by the same author: "Daṇḍin and his Daśakumāracarita" (in Russian), Kharkov, 1898). Russian translations of the works of Rabindranath Tagore are numerous, and some of them of a very high order, as for example Tagore's *Gītāñjali*, beautifully translated into Russian by the poet Baltrusaitis.

After Minayev, Russian scientific missions to India were few. The Russian archaeologist Victor Goloubev (later Member of the *Ecole Française de l'Extreme-Orient*) completed in 1906-7 a photographic survey of the Ajanta frescoes. The photographic record is deposited at the Musée Guimet in Paris.†

* Mahābhārata III, 52-79. Zhukovsky's Russian translation was made from a German rendering of the poem.

† V. Goloubev: "Peintures bouddhiques aux Indes", *Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque de vulgarisation*, vol. XL (1913); "Ajanta, les peintures de la première grotte", *Art Asiatique*, X, Paris, 1931.

In 1914-18 a Russian Ethnographic Expedition directed by A. M. Merwarth and L. A. Merwarth, and organized by the Russian Academy of Sciences, worked in India and Ceylon. Professor Merwarth made a special study of the South Indian languages, and published in 1929 a Grammar of colloquial Tamil (Leningrad, 1929).*

Speaking of recent times, two names deserve our attention : Professor O. O. Rosenberg and Dr. E. E. Obermiller. The lives of both of them were cut short by fatal illness, but their contribution to science was great. Professor Rosenberg (1888-1917) studied Sanskrit and Chinese at the University of St. Petersburg. He also read Sanskrit with Professor Jacobi in Bonn, and Japanese with Professor Lange in Berlin. After graduating in 1910 he decided to specialize in Buddhist philosophy, the study of which he had begun under Professor Stcherbatsky at the University of St. Petersburg. In 1912 he was sent on a scientific mission to Japan to study Japanese Buddhist tradition, with special reference to Vasubandhu's *Abhidharma-koṣa*. The result of a four years' stay in Japan were considerable. He published a Vocabulary of Buddhist terms under the title of "*A Survey of Buddhist Terms and Names arranged according to radicals with Japanese readings and Sanskrit equivalents, supplemented by addition of terms and names, relating to Shinto and Japanese History*" Tokio, 1916. Rosenberg suggested an alphabetical arrangement of Chinese characters, and published in 1916 a dictionary entitled "*Arrangement of Chinese characters according to an alphabetical system with a Japanese Dictionary of eight thousand characters and a list of twenty-two thousand characters.*" Tokio, Kobunsha. In 1916 Rosenberg returned to Russia, and, two years later, presented to the University of St. Petersburg his Doctoral thesis—"Problems of Buddhist Philosophy," which was published by the University under the title of "*Problemy buddiyskoy filosofii*" (Petrograd, 1918), and represents a first-rate contribution to our knowledge of Buddhist philosophy, with special reference to the *Dharma-theory*, overlooked by so many modern students of Buddhism. A German translation of Rosenberg's work appeared in the "*Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus*" edited by Professor M. Walleser ("*Die Probleme der Buddhistischen Philosophie*". Heidelberg, 1934.) In the Series appeared his essay on modern Buddhism in the Far East—"*Die Weltanschauung des modernen Buddhismus im fernen Osten*" (Heft 6, Heidelberg, 1924), representing the German translation of his Russian lecture "*O mirosozertsanii sovremennogo Buddizma na Dal'nem Vostoke*" (Petersburg, 1919), read at the First Buddhist Exhibition held in St. Petersburg in 1919. Appointed Professor at the University of St. Petersburg, Rosenberg died the same year, leaving many of his works unfinished.

Dr. E. E. Obermiller (1901-1935), a pupil of Professor Stcherbatsky, during the eight years of his scientific life produced a number of remarkable works,

* See also A. M. Merwarth : "*Le sujet de Śakuntalā dans le drame Malabarieri populaire*", *Vost, Zapiski*, I, pp. 117-131. L. A. Merwarth, "*Obyedoviyte ubori Kashmirskikh brakhmanov*", *Sbornik Muzeya Antropologii i Etnografii*, vol. VI. Leningrad, 1927, pp. 165-209.

thanks to his extraordinary command of Sanskrit and Tibetan. Dr. Obermiller undertook several journeys to Buryat-Mongolia, and was able to benefit by the advice and assistance of Buryat-Mongol learned monks, who introduced him to the intricate field of Tibetan exegetical literature, and the method of philosophical disputation adopted in the monastic colleges of Tibet and Mongolia. This collaboration of Russian scholars with Mongol scholars is a characteristic feature of Russian researches in the domain of Northern Buddhism. Obermiller's first work was the compilation of two extremely useful Indexes to Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu* and Dharmottara's *Nyāyabindutīkā* (*Sanskrit-Tibetan Index, Bibl. Buddh.* vol. XXIV. *Tibetan-Sanskrit Index, Bibl. Buddhika*, XXV). He collaborated with Professor Stcherbatsky in editing the Tibetan texts of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* (vol. XXIII, 1929). In 1931-2 he published in the "*Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus*", a translation of the "*History of the Buddhist Doctrine*" (*bDe-bar gsegs-pa'i gsal-byed chos-kyi 'byuñ-gnas gsuñ-rab rin-po-che'i mdzod-ces-bya.ba*, vol. XXIV (Ya) of the collection of works of gsuñ-'bum) by Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1293-1364), one of the best known works on Tibetan historiography ("*Bu-ston's History of Buddhism*", Part I, Heidelberg, 1931; Part II, Heidelberg, 1932).^{*} In 1931 he gave a translation into English of the *Uttaratantra* of Maitreya-Asaṅga ("*The Sublime Science of the Great Vehicle of Salvation, being a Manual of Buddhist Monism. The work of Ārya Maitreya with a Commentary by Āryāsaṅga*"; Translated from the Tibetan by E. E. Obermiller, *Acta Orientalia*, vol. IX, 1931, pp. 81-306). The other works of Dr. Obermiller were chiefly concerned with the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature. He gave a general exposition of the Doctrine of the *Prajñāpāramitā* according to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* in *Acta Orientalia*, vol. IX (1933-5). This was followed by a detailed analysis of the eight principal subjects and the seventy topics of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* published in the *Calcutta Oriental Series* ("*Analysis of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra*" fasc. I, *Calcutta Oriental Series*, No. 27, 1936; fasc. II, *Calcutta Oriental Series*, No. 27; 1936; fasc. III, *Calcutta Oriental Series*, No. 27, 1946). In 1937 appeared his edition of the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of the *Prajñāpāramitā-ratnagunasamcaya-gāthā*, published posthumously in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* (vol. XXIX, 1937). Many of Dr. Obermiller's articles appeared in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* of Calcutta: "*The Account of Buddha's Nirvāṇa and the first councils according to the Vinayaśūdraka*" (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. V, 3); "*A study of the Twenty Aspects of Śūnyatā*" (*IHQ* vol. IX 1933); "*Nirvāṇa according to the Tibetan tradition*" (*IHQ*, 1934), and "*On the meaning of the term śūnyatā*" (*Journal of the Greater India Society*, July, 1934).[†]

^{*}See Obermiller: "*Bu-ston's History of Buddhism and the Mañjuśrīmūlātāntara*". *JRAS*, 1935; containing corrections of reconstructed Sanskrit names in the translation of the "*History of Buddhism*".

[†] For a fuller list see Professor Stcherbatsky's Obituary Notice of Dr. E. E. Obermiller in the *IHQ*, vol. XII, 2 (June, 1936), pp. 380-2.

Looking at the modern period, one notices a considerable swing of interest from the traditional fields of Sanskrit and Buddhism towards Sanskrit *belles-lettres* and modern Indian languages and literature. However the old tradition did not exhaust itself, and there are signs that it will again reassert itself. Among the scholars of this period one name stands foremost—Professor A. A. Barannikov (b. 1890), elected to the Academy of Sciences in 1939. In the early days of his scientific career Professor Barannikov did not escape the Russian traditional interest in Buddhism; and at least two of his early articles deal with Buddhism and Buddhist Art ("Zabaykal'skiye datsani" (Buddhist Monasteries in Buryat-Mongolia), *Materyali po Etnografii*, vol. III, fasc. I. Leningrad, 1926, pp. 123-31; "Stetuetka dokshita iz Sobraniya Khara-khoto" (An image of a drag-gsed from the Khara-khoto Collection"), *Materyali po Etnografii*, vol. III, 2, pp. 113-4. In recent years Professor Barannikov has given us several manuals of Hindustani: "A Grammar of Hindustani" (Leningrad, 1926), "Modern Hindustani Prose" (Leningrad, 1927), "Modern Hindustani Prose" (Leningrad, 1930), and "A Manual of Hindustani". In 1937 Professor Barannikov published an excellent translation of Lallū ji Lāl's *Prem Sāgar* with an exhaustive introduction on the author, the modern Indian languages and the evolution of Hindi ("Legendi o Krishne", vol. XXV. Leningrad-Moscow, 1937). Professor Barannikov has also completed a translation into Russian of Tulsi Das' *Rāmāyana*, which is in the process of publication. Among the articles by Professor Barannikov we may mention the "Synonymic repetition in Hindustani" (in Russian, *Vost. Zapiski*, I. Leningrad, 1927, pp. 71-91), "On the dialect of the Gypsies of Belgorod" (*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS*, 1929, pp. 121-128), "Saptasaroj Prem Chanda" in the *Symposium in Honour of Professor S. F. Oldenburg* (Leningrad, 1934, pp. 73-83), "Problems of Hindi prose" (In Russian, *Zapiski of the Oriental Institute*, vol. VII, 203-54), etc. Among Professor Barannikov's pupils we must mention Professor V. Beskrovniy, one of the leading authorities on modern Indian languages in the USSR.

Among the works of this period one must mention Boris Larin's translation of some Rg-Veda hymns, which appeared in the periodical "Vostok" (Leningrad, 1922), a translation into Russian of Kālidāsa's greater *kāvya* the *Raghuvamśa*, by Professor Igor Serebryakov. Prof. R. I. Shor's study of the different recensions of the *Vetālapañcavimsatika* (in "Symposium in honour of S. F. Oldenburg", Leningrad, 1934, pp. 611-23), and his article on the Vedic aorist (in the "Symposium in honour of Professor N. Y. Marr", Leningrad, 1935, pp. 433-51). The great Russian Arabist Professor I. Y. Krachkovsky wrote on the cultural influence of India on Arabic civilisation in the VIII-th century ("Un fragment de rhétorique indoue en reproduction arabe", *Vost Zapiski*, I. pp. 26-37).

As stated above, the collections of MSS and books belonging to the Asiatic Museum were transferred in 1930 to the newly created Oriental Institute (*Institut Vostokvedeniya*) of the Academy of Sciences, and all Oriental researches became centralized in Moscow, under the guidance of this new institution. The

unique collection of MSS and Oriental books belonging to the Institute have been saved from destruction during the siege of Leningrad by a band of heroic and self-denying men and women. One of the major undertakings of this Institute is the translation into Russian of the whole of the *Mahābhārata* undertaken by Professor V. I. Kalyanov, the publication of which will be eagerly anticipated.

The tradition of Professor Stcherbatsky is being maintained by Professor M. I. Tubyansky (b. 1893) and Professor Andrey I. Vostrikov. Professor Tubyansky's interests lie in the field of Indian philosophy and Bengali. In 1922 he published a volume on Bengali literature ("*Obratzi bengalskoy literatur* ". Petrograd, 1922). His edition of the Sanskrit text of the *Nyāyapraveśa*, with the Chinese Mongol and Tibetan versions, was to be published in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*. He was also preparing for publication in the same series an edition of the Chinese version of Dignāga's *Nyāyadvāra*, and a translation of the important *Grub-mtha' chen-mo* by 'jam-dbyaṅs bzad-pa (1648-1722).

Professor A. I. Vostrikov has been Professor Stcherbatsky's chief assistant in recent years. His interest lies chiefly in the field of Buddhist Logic. He has undertaken several journeys to the Buddhist monasteries of Buryat-Mongolia, and collected, on behalf of the Oriental Institute, Tibetan and Mongol xylographs. In 1935 he contributed an important article, on the *Nyāyavārtika* of Uddyotakara, and the *Vādanyāya* of Dharmakīrti, to the *Indian Historical Quarterly* vol. XI, I, 1953, pp. 1-31. Important for Tibetan bibliography are his "*Correction and critical remarks on Dr. Johan van Manen's contribution to the Bibliography of Tibet*," in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (vol. VIII, part 1 (1935), pp. 51-77). Professor Vostrikov collaborated with Professor N. N. Poppe in editing Buryat-Mongol chronicles ("*Letopis' Barguzinskikh Buryat* ", *Trudi Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, VIII, Leningrad, 1935). Translations of Vācaspati-miśra's *Nyāyavārtikatātparyatikā* and his *Tattvabindu* were scheduled to appear in *Bibliotheca Buddhica* as well as the Tibetan text of *Pramānavārtika* of Dharmakīrti.

For a long time the only book on Indian History in Russian were Z. A. Ragozin's "*History of India*" (St. Petersburg, 1905), concerned mainly with the Vedic period, and Dr. E. S. Schmidt's "*History of India*" in the well-known "*History of Mankind*" of H. Helmolt (vol. II, St. 1909, pp. 341-505). Professor Krimsky's "*History of Persia and her literature*" (Moscow, 1947, pp. 159-256) contains a chapter on the history of Ancient India and discusses at some length the Persian literature of the Mongol period. Since the discovery of the Indus culture, the inclusion of Ancient India in text books on the History of the Ancient East has become imperative. In 1941 Professor V. V. Struve (b. 1889) published a "*History of the Ancient East*" (Leningrad-Moscow, 483 pp.), which includes Ancient India and China*. It is a matter of great gratification that the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences has

* Prof. V. F. Minoritsky: "*Oriental Studies in the U. S. S. R.*" p. 82

undertaken the publication of a "History of India"; for the absence of a scientific work on this subject is a big gap in Russian historiography,

Political conditions have adversely affected the archaeological exploration of Central Asia since the first World War. Much important work has been done however in the excavation and preservation of the Mediaeval monuments belonging to the Muslim period, in the Central Asian republics of Uzbekistān, Turkmenistān and Tajikistān. Numerous sites belonging to the Buddhist period still await the spade of the explorer in the old Bactrian kingdom, Buddhist Sogdiana. In 1922 M. G. Vecheslov made a tour of Afghanistān and prepared a survey of Buddhist sites (*"Arkheologicheskiye pamyatniki v Afganistane"*, "Afghanistan", Moscow, 1924). The exploration of Buddhist sites in Tajikistān has been inaugurated by an archaeological expedition led by Professor B. Denike in 1927, sent out by the Museum of Eastern Cultures in Moscow, during which A. S. Strelkov discovered a Buddhist stupa and fragments of Greco-buddhist sculpture in limestone in the neighbourhood of Termez (B. Denike "Termez" in *Noviy Vostok*", No. 22 (1928), pp. 208 ff; A. S. Strelkov, "Buddhist monuments in Termez" in *"Kultura Vostoka"* ("Oriental Culture" Museum of Eastern Cultures, Moscow, (1928).

The cultural links between the countries of the Amu-daryā basin and the north-western borderland of India have long ago interested Russian scholars. Scytho-Sarmatian and Indo-Scythian antiquities were studied by Professor M. I. Rostovtsev—a subject which merits further attention on the part of the historians of India's North-West (*"Receuil d' études dédiées a la memoire de N. P. Kondukov"*, Prague, 1926, pp. 239-57). Another important work scheduled to appear shortly is Professor K. Trever's study on the Kushān period.

The recent excavations by Professor Sergey P. Tolstov of ancient sites in Khwārazm have furnished us with a wealth of new data, which point to close cultural relations between Khwārazm and the North-Western borderland of India during the Kushān Period (S. P. Tolstov's article in *"Vestnik drevney istorii"*, IV (1938), pp. 120-45). Professor Tolstov's larger work on Ancient Khwārazm was scheduled to appear in 1943. The excavation works were resumed in the spring of 1946.

We have attempted to give a very brief survey of the work done by Russian scholars in the field of Indology. We have seen that much of this work had been devoted to the study of Northern Buddhism; and that, in recent years, a sound foundation had been laid for the study of Modern India, her languages and literatures. Geographical proximity and historical ties made Russian scholars devote particular attention to the study and exploration of Central Asia (Turkestan, Mongolia, Tibet), a region which, throughout the first millennium A. D. had been a cultural province of a Greater Indian cultural whole, and many parts of which still preserve a priceless heritage of Indian civilisation and thought.

THE MALAY

BY

Dr. R. C. MAJUMDAR

THE MALAY

By philological researches Schmidt and other scholars have sought to establish a definite connection between the languages of some primitive tribes of India such as Muṇḍā and Khāsi with Mon-khmèr and allied languages including those of the Semang and the Sakai. They have presumed the existance of a linguistic family which is now called Austro-Asiatic.¹

Schmidt believes that 'the linguistic unity between these peoples which is now definitely established, points to an ethnic unity among them as well, though positive and satisfactory evidence on this point is lacking yet'.²

"Schmidt has extended his studies even further and proposed to connect the Austro-Asiatic family with the Austro-nesian" to which, as stated above, the Malays belonged. Schmidt thus seeks to establish a "larger linguistic unity between Austro-Asiatic and Austro-nesian and calls the family thus constituted 'Austric'." Here again, Schmidt indicates the possibility of an ethnic unity among the peoples whose linguistic affinity is thus definitely assured.

Schmidt thus regards the peoples of Indo-China and Indonesia³ as belonging to the same stock as the Muṇḍā and allied tribes of Central India and the Khāsis of North Eastern India. He regards India as the original home of all these peoples from which they gradually spread to the east and south-east. The following passage sums up his views in this respect :—

'In the same way as I have presented here the results of my investigations of movements of peoples who, starting from India towards the east, at first spread themselves over the whole length of Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and then over all the islands of the Pacific Ocean up to its eastern extremity,—my attention has for long been drawn to another current which, in my opinion, also, started from India, but turned more directly towards the south and touching only the western fringe of the Pacific Ocean proceeded, perhaps by way of New Guinea, towards the continent of Australia'.⁴

1. *Die Mon-Khmer Völker*, etc. (1906), pp. 35 ff. I have used the French translation in BEFEO., Vol. VII (pp. 213-63), VIII (pp. 1-35). A good exposition of Schmidt's view, so far as the linguistic aspect is concerned, is given in the introductory chapter in "*Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*" by Dr. P. C. Bagchi (Calcutta University, 1929) from which I have freely quoted. (The page marks within bracket in the text refer to this book).

2. Schmidt, *o. cit.*, cf. specially p. 233.

3. The Muṇḍā group of language includes Kol, the more eastern Kherwari with Santali Muṇḍari, Bhumiji, Birhor, Koda, Ho, Turi, Asuri, and Korwa dialects, and the western Kurku; Kharia, Juang; and the two mixed languages Śavara and Gadaba. (Dr. P. C. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. vi).

4. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-49. A critical summary of Schmidt's view is given by Blagden "*From Central India to Polynesia*". *J. Str. Br. RAS.*, No. 53, p. 63.

Schmidt's views, must be regarded as only provisional.¹ But several other scholars have supported this view on entirely different grounds. Among them may be mentioned the names of S. Lévi, J. Przyluski and J. Bloch. The relevant articles on this subject by these eminent scholars have been published together, in English version, by Dr. P. C. Bagchi. The following summary is derived almost entirely from his book entitled "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India." (University of Calcutta).

Prof. Thomsen first maintained that Mundā influence can be traced in the formation of Indian vernaculars. Recent studies have tried to establish that this influence can be traced further back. Prof. Przyluski has tried to explain a certain number of words of the Sanskrit vocabulary as fairly ancient loans from the Austro-Asiatic family of languages. Prof. Jules Bloch has proved that the question of the Mundā substratum in Indo-Aryan cannot be overlooked (pp. xi-xii). (This is corroborated by Prof. Burrows of Oxford).

"But the problem has other aspects too, and it has been further proved that not only linguistic but certain cultural and political facts also of the ancient history of India can be explained by admitting an Austro-Asiatic element. In 1923 Prof. S. Lévi tried to show that some geographical names of ancient India like Kosala-Tosala, Aṅga-Vaṅga, Kaliṅga-Triliṅga, Utkala-Mekala, and Pulinda-Kulinda, ethnic names which go by pairs, can be explained by the morphological system of the Austro-Asiatic languages. In 1926 Prof. Przyluski tried to explain the name of an ancient people, of the Punjab, the Udumbara, in a similar way and affiliate it to the Austro-Asiatic group. In another article, the same scholar discussed some names of Indian towns in the geography of Ptolemy and tried to explain them by Austro-Asiatic forms. (pp. xii-xiii).

"In another series of articles, Prof. Przyluski is trying to prove a certain number of Indian myths by the Austro-Asiatic influence. He studied the Mahābhārata story of Matsyagandhā and some legends of the nāgi, in Indian literature, compared them with similar tales in the Austro-Asiatic domain and concluded that these stories and legends were conceived in societies living near the sea, societies of which the civilisation and social organisation were different from those of the neighbouring peoples, the Chinese and the Indo-Aryans." (p. xiii).

The bearing of all these interesting investigations on the question under discussion has thus been admirably expressed by Sylvain Lévi :—

"We must know whether the legends, the religion and philosophical thought of India do not owe anything to this past. India has been too exclusively examined from the Indo-European standpoint. It ought to be remembered that India is a great maritime country, open to a vast sea, forming so exactly its Mediterranean, a Mediterranean of proportionate dimensions—which for a long

1. Recently Schmidt's view has been challenged by W. F. de Hevesy, who denies the existence of the Austro-Asiatic family of languages (JBORS., Vol. XX, pp. 251 ff.)

time was believed to be closed on the south. The movement which carried the Indian colonisation towards the Far East, probably about the beginning of the Christian Era, was far from inaugurating a new route, as Columbus did in navigating towards the West. Adventurers, traffickers and missionaries profited by the technical progress of navigation, and followed, under the best condition of comfort and efficiency, the way traced, from times immemorial, by the mariners of another race whom the Aryan or Aryanised India despised as savages." (pp. 125-26).

In other words, the cumulative effect of all these researches is to push back the first phase of Indian colonisation in the Far East to a time prior to the Aryan or Dravidian conquest of India. It will not perhaps be rash to imagine that that colonisation was partly, at least, the result of Dravidian and Aryan settlements in India which dislodged the primitive settlers and forced them to find a new home *across the seas*.¹

It may be noted, however, that conclusion of an almost opposite character has been arrived at by certain other scholars. Krom, for example, believes that the Indonesians had colonised India in primitive times, and that the later Aryan colonisation of the Far East was merely the reverse of that process.² This is in flagrant contradiction to the views of Schmidt and Levi and seems to be based mainly on the theory of Mr. J. Hornell. In his Memoir on "the origins and ethnological significance of the Indian Boat Designs", Mr. Hornell "admits a strong Polynesian influence on the Pre-Dravidian population of the southern coast of India. He thinks that a wave of Malayan immigration must have arrived later, after the entrance of the Dravidians on the scene, and it was a Malayan people who brought from the Malay Archipelago the cultivation of the Coco-palm." (p. xvii).

Two other observations by different scholars probably lend colour to this view. In the first place, Prof. H. C. Das Gupta "has brought out the striking analogy between some sedentary games of India (specially of the Central Provinces Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and the Punjab) and those of Sumatra." (p. xvii).

Secondly, we have the following remarks made by Dr. J. H. Hutton with reference to some proto-historic monoliths of Dimapur near Manipur. "The method of erection of these monoliths is very important, as it throws some light on the erection of pre-historic monoliths in other parts of the world. Assam and Madagascar are the only remaining parts of the world where the practice of erecting rough stones still continues The origin of this cult is uncertain, but it appears that it is to be mainly imputed to the Mon-Khmer intrusion from the east." In his opinion these monoliths take the forms of the lingam and yoni, and he thinks that they possibly originated in Indonesia. (pp. xvii-xviii).

In all these cases the similarity that undoubtedly exists may be explained by supposing either that India derived the practices from Indonesia or that

1. Kern also held a similar view, cf. *VG.*, Vol. XV, p. 180. He held that they came from India, their ultimate home being Central Asia. This is not in conflict with his original view that the home-land of the Malayo-Polynesians was the eastern coast of Further India.

2. Krom—*Gechiedenis*, p. 38.

Indonesia derived them from India. The recent discoveries at Mohenjo-daro¹, however, prove the existence of the cult of Liṅga and Yoni in the Indus Valley at least in the beginning of the third millennium B.C. Thus the migration of the cult towards the east seems most probable. Considering the whole course of Indian History, it seems more probable that the migration of the people and ideas was generally from India towards the east and no tangible evidence has yet been obtained that the process was just the reverse. On the whole, therefore the views of Schmidt and Sylvain Lévi appear far more reasonable than those of Hornell and Hutton.

In view of a possible pre-historic connection between India and Malayasia it is necessary to examine in all its bearings the word Malaya which has given the name to the dominant race and the dominant language in Malayasia. It is a well-known fact that an Indian tribe called Mālava (*var.* Malava) or Mālaya (*var.* Malaya) is known from very ancient times. The common form, of course, is Mālava, but the form 'Mālaya' also occurs on their coins. In a discussion of these coins Mr. Douglas maintained that Mālaya is the older form of the tribal name. His conclusion rests chiefly on the Greek form of the name. "The Greeks" says he "called them the Malloi. Had the name Mālava been in common use at that time, I feel sure that the Greeks would have transliterated the word as the Malluoi. This seems to me to show that the commoner form of the tribal name at the time of the Greek invasions was Mālaya."²

Whatever we may think of this view, there is no doubt that both the forms were in common use. The form Malaya occurs in Mudrā-Rākṣasa³ and Mālaya in an inscription found at Nasik.⁴ The interchange of *y* and *v* is also attested by the alternative names of a Śātavāhana king as Pulumāyi and Pulumāvi.

The antiquity of the Mālava-Mālaya tribe is proved by Pāṇini's reference to it as a clan living by the profession of arms (*āyudhajivīn*). There is no doubt also that the Mālavas were widely spread in different parts of India. Alexander met them in the Punjab, but their settlement in Rājputānā is also proved by the discovery of thousands of their coins at Nagar in Jaipur State⁵ and the reference in the Nasik inscription mentioned above.

The Indian literature also makes frequent reference to the Mālavas. The Mahābhārata knows of various Mālava tribes in the west, north and south.⁶ The Rāmāyana and Matsya-purāṇa include the Mālavas among the Eastern tribes⁷ while various other texts refer to them, as a people in one or other parts of India.

1. Marshall—*The Indus Civilisation*, pp. 58 ff.

2. *JASB.*, N.S. Vol. XIX, (1924), Numismatic supplement No. XXXVII, p. 43.

3. Act 1, verse 20.

4. Rapson—*Catalogue of the coins of the Andhras*, etc., p. LVII.

5. *Ibid.*, f.n. 1.

6. V. A. Smith—*Catalogue of coins of in the Indian Museum*, pp. 161 ff., 170 ff.

7. Cf. Mahābhārata II-32, III-51, VI. 87, 106.

8. Rāmāyana. IV. 40, V. 22. Matsyapurāṇa, Ch. 114, V. 34.

The wide spread of the Mālavas may also be guessed from Indian dialects or toponyms connected with them. Mr. Grierson has referred to a Malavia dialect extending from Ferozepur to Bhatinda in the Punjab and we have also the well-known Malayalam language of southern India. The well-known Indian provinces of Mālava in northern India and Malayabar or Malabar in southern India, still testify to the wide influence of that tribal name. The Malaya mountain, the main source of Sandalwood, is referred to in the Purāṇas and other ancient literature as one of the seven *Kulaparvatas* or boundary mountains in India. Lastly the famous era, beginning in 58 B.C. has been associated with the Mālavas from the earliest times.

The Buddhist literature also refers to Malaya country. The famous Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra is said to have been delivered by the Buddha in the city of Laṅkā on the summit of the Malaya mountain on the border of the sea. The Buddhist reference to Malaya has been regarded by some as purely imaginary; but the existence of a Malaya mountain in Ceylon is proved by Ptolemy and Mahāvamsa. That of a Malaya country and a Malaya mountain in the south of India also rests on definite grounds. The great Buddhist scholar Vajrabodhi, who came to China in A.D. 719, is described as a native of the Malaya country adjoining Mount Potalaka, his father being preceptor of the king of Kāñci. Hiuen Tsang places the country of Malakūṭa, 3000 li, south of Kāñci and refers to its mountains Malaya and Potalaka. Alberuni also places Malaya 40 farsakhs (about 160 miles) south of Kāñci. Thus we have both a Mālava country and a Malaya mountain in the extreme south of the Indian Peninsula.¹ There is no doubt that this name is preserved in modern Malabar which the Arab Geographers call either Malaya-bar or simply Malay.²

While the Mālava Malaya can thus be traced as tribal or geographical names all over India, up to its north-western, eastern and southern extremities, the spread of this name across the sea is no less conspicuous. On the east, the famous Malays of Malayasia, the place names Malay and Malacca in the Peninsula, Malayu in Sumatra,³ Mālā or Mālava for Laos and perhaps even the Molucca island in the eastern extremity of the Archipelago; and on the west (Maldives Māladvīpa), and Malay the ancient name of Madagascar⁴ also testify to the spread of the name in Indo-China and along the whole range of the southern ocean.

1 S. Levi in *JA.*, CCVI, pp. 65 ff. Watters—*On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 229-31. Ptolemy—(McCrindle) p. 249. Geiger—*Mahāvamsa*, p. 60. Sachau-Alberuni, Vol. I, p. 200, cf. also *BEFEO.*, Vol. IV, p. 359.

2 Ferrand—*Textes*, p. 38, f. n. 5. pp. 204, 340.

3 "The name Malayu is very common in Sumatra. There are a mountain and a river of that name; there are five villages called Malayu and a tribe of that name. T'oung Pao, series II, Vol. II, p. 115.

4 Ferrand—*Textes*, pp. 389, 396.

Now Mon. G. Ferrand has drawn our attention to the fact that the Indonesian language, mixed with Sanskrit vocabulary, was current in Madagascar. Combining this fact with other traditional evidences, he has come to the conclusion that Madagascar was colonised in ancient times by Hinduised Indonesians.¹ It is not necessary for the present to discuss the further implications of this theory as enunciated by Ferrand ; and I must rest content by pointing out the bearing of the account of Mālava Mālaya, as given above, on this as well as several other theories.

Now the theories of Schmidt, Lévi, Hornell and Hutton (as modified by the discoveries at Mohenjo-daro) referred to above, all presuppose or are at least satisfactorily explained by a stream of migration of Indian peoples towards the east and south-east, to Assam, Burma, Indo-China and Malaya Archipelago, both by land and sea. The migrations of the Mālava tribe, so far as we can judge from the occurrence of geographical names, follow, as we have seen above, exactly this course, as we can trace them from the Punjab to Assam on the one side and to Malabar on the other.

From Malabar we can trace the name, in the east through Ceylon (Mālaba mountain in Lankā) and Sumatra (Malayu to Malaya Peninsula, perhaps even to the Moluccus. On the west we can trace it from Malabar to Maldives and Madagascar. It is no doubt more reasonable to explain the linguistic facts observed by Ferrand in Madagascar by supposing a *common centre in India* from which the streams of colonisation proceeded both towards the east as well as towards the west, than by supposing that Hindu colonists first settled in Malayasia and then turned back to colonise Madagascar. The people of Madagascar have a tradition that their ancestors came from Mangalore.² This place is located by Ferrand in the south of Malay Peninsula ; but it should not be forgotten that Mangalore is the name of a well-known place in Malabar Coast, and is referred to by Arab writers as one of the most celebrated towns of Malabar.³

I do not wish to be dogmatic and do not altogether reject the views of Ferrand. But the known facts about the Mālava tribe in India seem to me to offer quite a satisfactory explanation not only of the problem of colonisation of Madagascar but also of the racial, linguistic and cultural phenomena observed by Schmidt, Hutton and Hornell. It is interesting to note in this connection that various words inscribed on the coins of the Mālavas which have been provisionally explained as names of tribal leaders, are non-Sanskritic. Thus we have Bhapamyana, Majupa, Mapojaya, Mapaya, Magajasa, Magaja Magojava, Gojara, Masapa, Mapaka, Paccha, Magacche, Gajava, Jāmaka, Jamapaya, Paya. Whatever the language may be, it shows one peculiar Austronesian character-

1 JA., II-XII, (1918), pp. 121 ff. JA., II-XIV, (1919), pp. 62 ff. pp. 201 ff. Krom, however, thinks that the Indonesian people colonised Madagascar before they came into contact with the Hindus. He attributes the Indian element in the language of Madagascar to later intercourse (*Geschiedenis*, pp. 38-9).

2 JA., XIV, (1919), p. 64.

3 Ferrand—*Textes*, p. 204.

ristic, which has been traced by Sylvain Lévi in certain geographical nomenclatures of ancient India, viz., the existence of a certain number of words constituting almost identical pairs, differentiated between themselves only by the nature of their initial consonants. Among the terms on the Mālava coins noted above we may easily select two series of this type :—

1. Paya, Ma-paya, Ja-ma-paya.
2. Gajava, Magojava.

The tribe Mālava-Mālaya has played a great part in the history of India. Its name is associated with an old language, the most ancient era and two important provinces of India. The Mālaya tribe has played an equally dominant part in the Indian seas. It has been the dominant race in the Indian Archipelago; and its name and language are spread over a wide region extending almost from Australia to the African coast. I have shown enough grounds above for the presumption—and it must not be regarded as anything more than a mere presumption—that the Mālava of India may be looked upon as the parent stock of the Malayas who played such a leading part of in the Malayasia. It may be interesting to note here that Przyluski has also shown from linguistic data that Udumbara or Odambara was the name of an Austro-Asiatic people of the Punjab and also designated their country.¹ The Odumbaras were neighbours of the Mālavas and the coins of the two peoples belong approximately to the same period.² Thus *prima facie* there is nothing inherently objectionable in the assumption that the Mālava-Mālaya may also be the name of an Austro-Asiatic people.

If the presumption be held a reasonable one, we may refer to Ptolemy's account as an evidence that the Mālayas had spread to the Far East before his time. Ptolemy refers to mountain Malaya in Ceylon and cape Maleou Kolon in the Golden Khersonesus. Regarding the latter, McCrindle remarks as follows : "Mr. Crawford has noticed the singular circumstance that this name is pure Javanese, signifying "Western Malayas". Whether the name Malay can be so old is another question; but I observe that in Bastian's Siamese extracts the foundation of Takkhala is ascribed to the Malays." Thus indications are not wanting that various branches of the Malay tribe had settled in Malayasia before the second century A. D. There is a general tradition among the Malays of Minangkabau that their parent-stock came from India and settled in the western coast of Sumatra.³

Thus while it is impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion in this matter, pre-historic migrations of Austronesian tribes from India to Malayasia

1 P.C.Bagchi—*Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 149-60.

2 V. A. Smith—*op. cit.*, pp. 160 ff., p. 166.

3 Cf. Ferrand in *JA.*, XII. p. 77.

appear very probable, and if this view be correct, we may regard the Indian Mālaya-Mālava people as one of these tribes.¹

¹ Although I have arrived at the theory of the Indian origin of the Malaya quite independently, it is only fair to note that Gerini made the same suggestion in his "*Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, (p. 101 ff.)". I have not referred to his views as they are mixed up with a great deal of extraneous matter and some amount of fanciful etymological derivations. So far as I can see, his view rests primarily on the resemblances of geographical names.

Gerini explains Maleou-Kolon as referring to two prominent Indian tribal names—Malay and Kola (Cola) of south India, and he traces many other south Indian tribal names to the Malay Peninsula (cf. pp. 102-03). He holds that the Malacca was either a modification of Malaykolam or Malayaka (meaning the country of the Malays) or identical with Mālaka, the name of a southern Indian tribe mentioned in the Mahābhārata (p. 103). I have tentatively adopted this view in respect of both Malacca and Moluccas. With the exception of this and the statement that Laos is referred to as Mālaya (p. 117), I have not borrowed from Gerini any views or statements recorded in this chapter.

I must also state that it is usually held, though without sufficient reason, that the term Malaya as designating the Malay Peninsula came into use only in the seventeenth century A. D. (*J. Mal. Br. RAS.*, 1930, p. 85), presumably in consequence of the migration of a large number of Malays from Sumatra, in the fifteenth century A.D. (*Bull. com. Arch. Indo-Chine*, 1909, p. 184). Blagden refers to I-tsing's Malayu and infers that Malaya country, *par excellence* was in Central Sumatra, a fact agreeing very well with native Malay tradition on the subject which derives the origin of many of the Malays of the Peninsula from the old Central Sumatran State of Menangkabau (*J. Str. Br. RAS.*, No. 32, pp. 211-13). This view admits the possibility of the name Malaya being applied to the Peninsula at an earlier date. Cf. Crawford—*Dictionary*, pp. 220-52.

NON-ARYAN ELEMENTS IN INDO-ARYAN

BY

Prof. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

NON-ARYAN ELEMENTS IN INDO-ARYAN

The Dravidian substratum in Sanskrit has been discussed by several scholars, and Kittel in his Kannada Dictionary has given some 450 Sanskrit words with possible Dravidian connexions. A few other words, in both Sanskrit Prakrit and the Vernaculars, have subsequently been suggested as being of Dravidian origin by other scholars. Sylvain Lévi (whose sudden and unexpected death (1935) we all mourn as an irreparable loss to Indology) and his pupils, Jean Przyluski of Paris and Probodh Chandra Bagchi of Calcutta, and to some extent the present writer suggested a number of words in Indo-Aryan as being of Austric (Kol or Munda, Mon-Khmer, etc.) origin and affinity. The capital work in this line has so far been Przyluski's. A few more words are given below as indicating possible cases of a substratum of Austric origin in Indo-Aryan. (Cf. similar words given by Prof. Burrows of Oxford).

[I]. Sanskrit *kṛka-vāku* = 'cock', 'peacock', *cakra-vāka* = 'a kind of duck'; *baka*, *vaka* = 'crane'; *kalavirika* (Pali *karavikā*, *kalavirikā*) = 'a kind of bird; the sparrow (Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, Taittirīya Saṃhitā, Manu, etc.), the cuckoo (Kāraṇḍa-vyūha); the white *cāmara* (late Sanskrit)', etc.

The words *kṛka-vāku* and *cakra-vāku* are compounds, the second element in both apparently being the same word, or derivatives from the same root: *vāku* *vāka*. *Kṛka-vāku* can easily be explained as an onomatopoeic formation: 'the bird whose voice or call is *kṛka*'—where *kṛka* can be taken to be an imitation of the cock's crowing (*kṛka* = *kṛk*). *Vāku* can be explained as a derivative from *√vac* = 'speak', 'utter', 'recite', 'read', 'proclaim', etc. *Kṛka-vāku* by itself therefore can be taken as a native Aryan formation.

In the case of *cakra-vāka*, the derivation presents difficulties. *Cakra-vāka* = 'wheel-voice' appears to be unmeaning. The word is found in the Rgveda. The word *vākā* = 'speaking' occurs in Vedic literature in the sense of 'chattering', 'murmuring', 'humming'; and in this sense it is in the compound formation *citrivāka* = 'cricket', found in the Manu-Saṃhitā. Probably *kṛka-vāku* = 'lizard', 'chameleon' (as opposed to the other sense of 'cock', 'peacock') can be placed beside *citrivāka*—*kṛka-vāku* being therefore 'an animal which cries *kṛka* or *kṛk*', referring to the noise of the house-lizard. *Kṛka-vāka* in the sense of 'lizard' however, is given as a late Sanskrit word in Monier Williams, and is in all likelihood a wrong reading for *kṛka-lāsa*, the common word for 'lizard or chameleon,' found from the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa onwards; and in fact it is *kṛka-lāsa* which lives to the present day (cf. Bengali *kāklās* < **kaṇka-lāsa*, **kakka-lāsa* = *kṛka-lāsa*). The element *lāsa* in the word is not satisfactorily explained; but in the absence of a better suggestion we may connect it with *lāsa* = 'jumping, sporting, dancing, gambolling'; *lāsa* is unquestionably the same word as *rāsa* 'the dance of the cowherds, in which Kṛiṣṇa took part.'

Kṛka-vāku = 'cock, peacock,' and *cakra-vāka* = 'a kind of goose or duck' will give better sense if we take their second element, *vaku*, *vaka*, to be a word meaning 'bird' or 'fowl', a word of Austric origin. In Skeat and Blagden's *Comparative Vocabulary of the Aboriginal Dialects* in Vol. II of their well-known work, *Pagan Races of the Malaya Peninsula* (London, 1906), we find a common Austro-Asiatic word, occurring in the Sakai-Senoi dialects, in the following forms (Vocabulary, F. 255): *pūk*, *puk*, *pūk*, *pok*, *puk*, *pūp*, *pāp*, *pup*, *pok*, *pok*, *po*, *ra-pok*, *kcok*, *puk*, *i-be*, *pok*, *ibu* 'ra-pok', *i-put*, *pūg*, *libi*, etc. The basic form would appear to be *puk* or *pok*; and with these forms, Chowra Nickobar *ta-fak* 'fowl' has been compared.

The cock and peacock are birds native to south-Eastern Asia, and it could be reasonably expected that words for these would be borrowed in Indo-Aryan, along with other words which are names for special Indian flora and fauna. The words for 'fowl' and 'bird' are inter-changeable in many languages. And 'bird' in general can be restricted to a 'special kind of bird'

It seems that an Austro-Asiatic word like *pok* or **bok* was current in the Gangetic plains among the speakers of the Kol and other 'Austric' dialects, which were later ousted by Indo-Aryan. This word, meaning 'bird' or 'fowl,' was specialised in Indo-Aryan to mean 'crane, heron' and adopted into Sanskrit as *baka*, *vaka*. The old sense of 'fowl' is found in *kṛka-vāku* 'cock, peacock' = 'the *kṛka* or crowing fowl' where *vāku* is an extension of this *pok*, **bok*, **vok*, but with possible contamination from the Aryan word *vaka* < *√ vac*.

Cakra-vāka: possibly the first element, *cakra*, is equally of onomatopoeic origin. Either it may mean the bird whose voice is like that of a (creaking) wheel, or 'a bird which makes sound like—*cakra*'. This *cakra* may in itself be just Sanskritisation of a popular *cakka*, indicating the quack or creaking noise of the bird in question. We know that the Old Indo-Aryan pronunciation of *c* was something like *k'* or *ky* (i.e., the sound of the true palatal stop). *Cakka* = *k'akka* can be taken as the old North-Indian way of noting down the quack-quack of the goose or duck. The *cali* or the *cakra-vāka* duck, as observed by a European sportsman who has noted its habits, sounds like *kwanko kwanko*, (as quoted in Dr. Satya Charan Law's Bengali work *Pākhīr Kathā* or 'the Story of the birds', 1st edition, Calcutta, p. 137, footnote)

-*Vāka*, *-vāku*, *baka*, *vaka* would in this way be explained as an Austro-Asiatic word for 'bird' or 'fowl,' retaining its general sense in the compound formations *kṛk-vāku*, *cakka-vāka*, and developing the special sense of 'a crane or heron' in *baka*, *vaka*.

The Austro-Asiatic *vāka* is possibly found in another Indo-Aryan word—Sanskrit *kalavīka*. Pali *karavikā*, *kalavinkā*, which would appear to be identical with the name of Aśoka's queen *Kāluvāki*. In a note to *Indian Culture* (a good Oriental Journal published from Calcutta, under the patronage of Dr. B. C. Law and edited by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Dr. B. M. Barua and Dr. B. C. Law) Vol. 1, no. 1, July 1934, pp. 122-123, Dr. B. M. Barua suggests the identifica-

tion of Asandhimitrā (Asandhimittā), mentioned in Buddhist literature as a queen of Aśoka, with Kāluvāki. His ground for this identification is a connection between the mythical bird *kalaviṅka* or *karavika*, and Asandhimitrā and the name Kāluvāki. In Aśoka's so-called Queen's Edict, mention is made of Queen Kāluvāki as his second queen (*dutiyā devī*), the mother of prince Tivara (*Tivalamātā*). This is all that we know of her from Aśokan inscriptions). In the Pāli texts, however, we find a story narrated which prompts Dr. Barua, reasonably enough, to connect Asandhimitrā with Kāluvāki as being really the same person. It is stated in the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsini* of Buddha-ghoṣa (II) that Asandhimittā, a wife (*devī*, and not the chief queen, *aggamaheṣṭī*) of Dhammāsoka "enquired of the King if there was any creature the voice of which might be taken as the exemplification of the voice of a Buddha. The reply was that the desired creature was no other than the bird *Karavikā* of the Himalayan region. She had a *Karavikā* of clear and sweet voice brought for her and was deeply charmed by the demonstration successfully made in her presence." Dr. Barua further says: "In this legend of Asandhimittā's fondness for the bird *Karavikā* there seems to lurk a suggestion about the identity of Asandhimittā of Buddhist literature with Kāluvāki of Aśoka's inscription."

The name *Kāluvāki* is explained by Dr. Barua as being the same as *Kāruvāci*, meaning 'one of charming speech.' Dr. Barua quotes Bühler's view that *Kāluvāki* is a gotra-name, a similar name *Kāravaya* or *Kāravaca* being actually found in the inscriptions.

The suggestion, that *Kāluvāki*, Pāli *kalaviṅkā*, *karavikā* and Sanskrit *kalaviṅka* are connected, seems to be quite plausible. As to what this bird *kalaviṅka-karavikā* was, there is difference of opinion. The Pāli form and the Pāli texts do not identify it. In the Vedic texts and in the *Manu*, as referred to by Monier Williams, the Sanskrit word *kalaviṅka* means 'a sparrow'; in the Buddhist text the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, it means 'a cuckoo.' The latter will accord better with the story as in the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsini*.

Kāluvāki might very well be another form of *kalaviṅka*, *karavika*, *karavikā*; and it probably meant a bird of sweet sound in that case. While the Aryan origin of the word cannot be seriously objected to, we note that in the Aśoka cycle another personality at least had a name which was that of a bird: Aśoka's son Kunāla or Kuṇāla. *Kāluvāki* would be an older form, or, side-form of *kalaviṅka-karavikā-kalaviṅkā*. The story of queen Asandhimittā listening to the *karaviṅka* bird from the Himalayas may itself have later on arisen from the possessing (probably among her sobriquets—or as a special name) the name of the bird as her name as well. Cf. the names *Hārta*, *Suka*, *Baka*, *Kaka*, *Krauñca*, etc. for men. Names of birds for women are also known. This *Kāluvāki* = *kalaviṅka* etc., as a bird-name, at once suggests *-vāka*, *-vāku* in *cakravākā*, *ṛṣka-vāku*. And we actually find in the Austro-Asiatic dialects, of the Malay Peninsula, words like the following: (Skeat and Blagden, B. 216A) *kalobok* = 'bird' (a doubtful word, probably connected with words for 'butterfly')

given under B 482 quoted below) ; (B 221) *kalau*, *chim kalau* = 'a special bird' (*chim* is the generic name for 'bird') ; (B 215) *kāmod*, *kawod*, *kawoi*, *kawau*, *kāmau*, *kawau*, *kawao*, *kuau*, etc. = 'bird' and (B 482) *kerbak*, *kerbā*, *kerguap*, *k'lobok* = 'butterfly,' Malay *kuau* = 'argus pheasant.'

Kāluvāki, from this point of view, can be analysed as *kālu* + *vāki*, the first element going with the Austro-Asiatic word *kalau* = 'a special kind of bird' (what this is we are not told by Skeat and Blagden) and the generic word for 'bird' or 'fowl' *pūk*, *pok*, etc. (= *baka*, *vaka*).

This would be an explanation from the point of view of Austro-Asiatic. A non-Aryan name of a bird with a sweet voice—this easily lent himself to confusion with Sanskrit *kāru* + \sqrt{vac} = *vāka*, *vāc*. A similar thing has happened in the case of other words—a foreign borrowing getting contaminated with native words or roots. The Indo-Aryan *kala* = 'sweet sounding = indistinct sounding,' of an unknown etymology, then had its way with the word, and gave rise to forms with *kala* and *kara*. *Vika* was the earlier form of the nasalised *-vinka*, the Sanskrit suffix *-ika* being probably responsible for the modified form. Or *-vikā* itself is an easy modification of *pūk*, *pok*, **bok*, *baka*, *vaka* = 'bird.' The Sanskrit word itself may have been, at least in the compound *kala-hamsa*, of Austric origin = 'the goose *kala*,' just **kalu-vaka* = 'the bird *kālu* or *kala*.'

This derivation of *Kāluvāki* is based on the assumption of a connexion between *kālavinka*, etc., with this word ; and by itself it will not have a great plausibility. But taking *krka-vāku*, *carka-vaka*, *Kaluvaki-kalavinka*, and *baka vaka* all together, I think a case for an Austro-Asiatic word for 'fowl, bird' like **bok*, being present in these Sanskrit words, appear to be at least likely.

It may be questioned whether *Garuḍa*, the mythical eagle who became the vehicle of Viṣṇu (for whose name a fanciful derivation has been suggested in the *Mahābhārata*, showing that the word struck the Aryan speakers as foreign) is connected with *kaiu* as in *Kaluvaki* although Kittel and others suggested a more likely Dravidian affinity for it, eg., Tamil *kazū*, *kaviuk* 'vulture', 'eagle', and Kannada *gariga* 'a kind of bird.'

[2]. Sanskrit *vakra*, Prākṛit *vanka* 'crooked, bent,' New Indo-Aryan base *bāk*.

Vakra 'crooked' is derived from \sqrt{vak} , *vafik* 'to go, to roll,' which is connected with $\sqrt{vañc}$ to move to and fro, to go in a crooked way' etc. The form is found in the Atharva Veda. In the Middle Indo-Aryan, *vakra* > *vakkka* < **vañka* takes up spontaneous nasalisation.

In Austro-Asiatic (Sakai) and Austronesian (Indonesian Malay) we have (Sakai—Skeat and Blagden, B 177) *pako*-'*pako*' beng-kong 'bowed', *bengko*, *bingko* 'curvature' Malay *bengkoḥ* : (Sakai) *bakondo*, *bongko* (*bonko*), *bungko* \sqrt{Malay} *bongkok* 'hunchbacked.'

The Austric word or words may have influenced the Prākṛit form by nasalising it, and so we have *vanka* instead of *vakka*. In Bengali we have the

word *baṅkuro* = 'short, hunchbacked', which may be preserving an echo of the Austric word.

(3) The late Sanskrit *lāṃpha* 'a leap, a spring, a jump' = Bengali (W. Bengali) *lāph*, 'leap', Nepali *lappā* = 'wrestling'.

The word is of doubtful etymology. The *Śabda-kalpādruma* traces it to a *√ranph*, which is otherwise unknown, Monier Williams compares it with *jhampā*, 'jump,' equally unexplained.

We can compare Malay *lompat* = 'to leap,' Sakai *ya'lumped, ya-lomped, lompat, lampi* 'to jump'

[4] Sanskrit *kacchu*, Bengali *khos* < **khaus* 'scab, itch.' The Ayurvedic word is found in *Suśruta*.

Cf. Sakai forms *ga, gas, gai**, *kosh, che-kos, gas manuk* = 'ring-worm, itch'; *duul-gash* 'bad with the itch'; Bahnar *gach, gai* *√*'scab affecting young cattle.

[5] Late Sanskrit *kumbhīra-makṣikā* 'a kind of fly' (*Vepa solitaria*), Bengali *kumirkā, kumiriya pokā* 'a kind of beetle which gathers mud for a nest to lay eggs in.'

Cf. (B 143) Sakai *kemor, kemur, kemar* 'insect,' *kemuan, kemot* 'white ant,' *kemai, kamai* 'worm'; Khmer *khmor (khmur* 'black winged insect which gnaws wood,' Bahnar *komot* 'moth,' Stieng *komiet* 'maggot,' Mon *thma* 'beetle,' *khamha, chama, chma* 'insect,' Bahnar *šamot* 'bug,' Achinese *kamuwe* 'white ant.'

Our history in India, as a mixed people which originated through the fusion of Austric and Sino-Tibetan (Nishādic) Dravidian and Aryan elements, all of which were welded together into the present-day Indian Man,—is largely responsible for the attitude which can be formulated, as our *Indianism*. Out of diverse elements has developed in India a culture of which the vehicle and expression is the Sanskrit language, an Aryan language which developed, in a Dravidian and Austric and Sino-Tibetan atmosphere, which has enabled various peoples to bring their contributions and to make for a great Unity, while allowing perfect freedom, and possibility of self-expression in a chosen line, to all.

Thus in the sphere of 'language': although our Indian 'languages belong to four 'distinct linguistic' groups—Austric, Nishādic (Sino-Tibetan), Dravidian and Indo-European—over 3000 years of mutual influencing, among these different speeches, has resulted in a common *Indian type of speech* which finds its expression, in certain matters, which characterises, at the present day, the language of all the above four families. In spite of all their initial diversity, they have converged towards a common platform in which lies their essential Indian-ness.

In this way, in our social life and in the various expressions of our culture, as it is based on our economy, we find a general converging towards one common Indian type, is noticeable.

This attitude, when it is supported, cultivated and fostered throughout the whole of Humanity, can ultimately lead to a universal type of culture which certainly will be the goal of Humanity. In this *universal type of culture* we have to accept the position that the outward pattern or form of life must be that which has been developing in the Eur-American world.

The tremendous achievements of the European and American peoples, in material civilisation and in their control over Nature, are something which the whole of Mankind has got to accept with both hands, including Man in India.

But transcending, and at the same time filling up the material aspects of life, in the *thought-world*, the Eur-American way is bound to be supplemented or completed by the thought and experience of other elements of Mankind like—for example those of China and India, Indonesia and Iran, and of the Semitic and African worlds.

In the great symphony of Human culture, the music that is the creation of the African soul, must also contribute its own colour and fragrance, to a Universal civilisation (*viśva-saṁhyatā*) which is being woven up with the strands contributed by all peoples (*Śarva-sattva*).

SYLVAIN LEVI AND THE SCIENCE
OF INDOLOGY

BY
KALIDAS NAG

SYLVAIN LEVI AND THE SCIENCE OF INDOLOGY

It requires no apology to-day to claim the title of Science on behalf of the systematic study of Indian culture and antiquities. The 19th century had witnessed the enfranchisement of a few more "ologies" in her already bulky list of Sciences. Along with Egyptology, Assyriology and Sinology, Indology also claims her place in the comparative culture history of humanity.

Like every other Science, Indology now presents a long list of devoted workers. In as much as Prof. Sylvain Lévi's career epitomises and symbolises the progress of this new Science, we attempt to present an outline of the life and activities of this French savant for the benefit of the fresh recruits in the field of Indology.

Sylvain Lévi entered the arena of Indian studies just one century after its inauguration ; 1784 witnessed the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal under the initiative of Sir William Jones and in 1884 we find Sylvain Lévi sitting at the feet of Abel Bergaigne, one of the rare type of the teachers of Sanskrit in Europe. Thus a hurried glance across the list of Lévi's predecessors and contemporaries would help us to have a correct perspective and to ascertain the specific character of Lévi's contribution to the development of the French Science of Indianism.

India attracted the attention of the world through ages : Alexander to Albouquerque, Kadphises to Nādir Shāh—what a history of feverish search for the wealth of India ! As late as the mid 17th century, we find Milton singing of "the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind" in his *Paradise Lost*—no doubt a poetic sublimation of the history of Portuguese exploitation. A century after we notice a curious phenomenon. The foremost intellect of France, the arch-rationalist Voltaire eagerly searching for the *Ezour Vedam* of the Hindus not knowing that the papers were forgeries of a Jesuit priest of South India. What is more wonderful is that France, in another of her sons, offers the first audacious discoverer of some authentic records in Indian culture. Anquetil Duperron, eager to discover the Vedas of the Hindus, joined the service of the French East India Company in 1754, and succeeded in offering to the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, the first nucleus of an Oriental Library in the form of the manuscripts of the Vedas and the Avesta. Duperron signalled a new departure in the history of Europe's quest for India. (*Vide*, Lévi : Preface to M. R. Schwab's *Anquetil Duperron*, Paris 1934.) It is not only the physical wealth but the cultural and spiritual legacy of India that is attracting Europe. This *orientation* (in the literal and metaphorical sense of the term) of the occidental outlook is as mysterious as, and coincides strikingly with, the startling declaration of American Independence and the epoch-making phenomenon of the French Revolution.

The West suddenly felt the need of the East—a need which, as future history would show, is deeper than Economics and wider than Politics. The pioneers of Indian studies like Jones and Chézy were passionate admirers of *Śakuntalā*. This masterpiece of immortal Kālidāsa, by a characteristic touch of poetic justice, secured the cooperation of the English, the French the Russian and the German schools of Indology. Thus the new science went on gaining fresh votaries to her temple. After Jones and Colebrooke came Chézy and Burnouf—both remarkable for their intensity of study and variety of achievements. Colebrooke studied the Vedas and Indian Philosophy, the lexicon and Indian law with equally fruitful results; while Burnouf proved himself to be a veritable prodigy—the first great genius of the science of Indology. Not satisfied with an extensive study of Sanskrit and Pali Burnouf applied himself to the mastery of Tibetan, Siamese, Burmese and Avestan languages, thereby attaining a rare maturity of judgment and accuracy of intuition. His *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indienne* still stands as a marvel of scholarship and a deathless monument to his genius. Working at the Duperron MSS. on the one hand and the Hodgson MSS. on the other, Burnouf sounded the keynote for the French School of Indologists: not narrow specialisation in one particular branch but the opening up of ever-widening vistas of Indian Culture History. Hence it was, as it were, in the fitness of things that Burnouf should bless the pioneers of the forthcoming generation of workers by his personal initiation. Both Bopp and Max Müller sat at the feet of Burnouf while Christian Lassen was deeply influenced by him. Thus gradually we reach the period of scientific excavations when in Germany appear workers like Bopp and Weber, Bothlingk and Roth, and in France Regnaud and Bergaigne, Barth and Senart whose appearance was characterised by Lévi as "*la naissance d'une pleiade d'Indienistes.*"*

It was when this grand pleiade was shining bright on the firmament of the French school that Sylvain Lévi appeared on the horizon. Thus his career, stretching as it does across the 19th to the 20th century, touches the luminous line radiating between Burnouf and Bergaigne on the one hand to the coming generation of Foucher and Pelliot on the other. Hence his career is of immense historic interest to all students of Indology.

Born in Paris, March 28, 1863, Sylvain Lévi seemed to have finished undergoing the university discipline with such a phenomenal rapidity that we almost miss Lévi the maturing student in Lévi the finished savant. He was a *licencié* (1882) and an *agregé des lettres* (1883) when he was barely twenty. Men like Ernest Renan and James Darmesteter had always an eye on this remarkable young scholar. Lévi manifested at this time a strong predilection for the Classics. In fact he was meditating to join the French School at Athens, when Renan rendered unconsciously a signal service to the cause of Indology by

* Lévi — *l'Indienisme*. 1915.

giving the decisive push which won Lévi permanently for the Indian science. Lévi was brought in touch with Abel Bergaigne, one of the greatest teachers of Sanskrit in Europe. It is an irony of fate no doubt that, almost immediately after Lévi's affiliation into the classes of Bergaigne, James Darmesteter, the great Avestan scholar, paid him a visit to win him as an assistant to his Avestan studies. But India and not Iran was the predestined sphere of Lévi's work. And thus we find him preparing for his memorable researches under the instruction of his master, Bergaigne. That great scholar had then been publishing his researches into the Vedic literature and the documents of Cambodian and Indo-Chinese history published in the *Journal Asiatique* (1882-83). Lévi learned his elements of Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody, not from academic Indian treatises on the subject, but from concrete *epigraphical* documents discovered in Champā Cambodge. Thus from the very beginning Lévi had a vision of Indian history and culture not circumscribed by the *modern political delimitation of India*. We thankfully remember the names of Burnouf and Bergaigne who were responsible for this grand vision of *Magna India* which radiates from every page of Lévi. Here Lévi proved a worthy disciple of worthy masters and continued the grand traditions of the French School of Indologists, ever expanding the frontiers of the new science, ever widening the horizon of Indian history.

Towards the end of the year 1885 the first paper of Lévi was honoured with a place in the foremost Oriental journal of France: *La Brhatkathā-Maṇjarī de Kṣemendra* was published in *Journal Asiatique* (1885-86). Lévi was appointed *maître des conférences* of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes on the retirement of Hauvette Besnault (1886). To the conferences of this professor prodigy of twenty-three were attracted men who have left their mark on many departments of research—men illustrious in the later history of French orientalism—to mention among others: A. Meillet the great philologist and A. Foucher the illustrious writer on Buddhist art and archæology, representing Indology in the French Academy. While Lévi was thus continuing his work with a unique devotion and passion, Bergaigne, who was a great lover of mountains met his tragic death in course of one of his excursions (1889). The loss of his beloved *Guru* was an awful blow to the youthful enthusiasm of Lévi. Everyone knew how he used to adore his master. M. Emile Senart paid a visit to Lévi to cheer him up. Gradually Lévi accepted this new challenge of fate in a spirit at once characteristic and admirable. The master is gone but his work remains. He devoted his whole energy to the perpetuation of that noble work of interpreting India to Europe. The Société Asiatique requested Lévi to fill up the place of his late lamented master in the Council (1889) and very soon we notice his second paper—*Abel Bergaigne et L'Indienisme* (*Revue Bleue*, 1890)—a noble tribute to the memory of a Great master.

In 1890 Lévi became a full-fledged *Docteur es lettres* presenting two theses, one in Latin—*Quid de Graecis Veterum Indorum Monumenta Tradiderint* and his masterpiece *Le Theatre Indien*—which still stands as the most

authoritative treatise on Hindu drama. Almost at the same time he was honoured with a place in the Faculté des Lettres of the University of Paris. He was promoted also to the rank of the directeur-adjoint of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes (1892-93) working with brilliant pupils like Meillet, Finot, Foucher and de La Vallée Poussin. The year 1894 witnessed the appointment of Lévi to the Chair of Sanskrit in the Collège de France, nearly 80 years after the creation of the first French Chair of Sanskrit with Chézy. Vide Lévi *L'entrée du Sanskrit au Collège de France*, (1932). This was the crowning glory of his academic career: A young man of thirty started his works on Orientology as the colleague of Darmesteter, Maspero and Gaston Paris.

This was undoubtedly a point of departure in the career of Lévi. He was lecturing on Vedānta-Sāra and Uṭtara-Rāmacarita, he was discussing the inscriptions of Piyadasi and contributing valuable articles on India in the *Grande Encyclopédie*. Not satisfied with these, he organised a class for a systematic study of Chinese and Tibetan along with Sanskrit and Pali texts under the direction of M. Specht. At the same time, he had been dreaming of the possibility of founding a French School of Indology in Chandernagore! So in consultation with M. Guieysse, the then minister of Colonies, he entrusted Foucher (in course of his first mission) to enquire about the possibilities of the foundation in Hanoi of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient with the help of Leon Bourgeois (a former pupil of M. Bergaigne), the then Governor-General of French Indo-China.

Thus Greater India ever loomed large on the horizon of Lévi. He had already published his first studies on the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa (JA., 1892) and soon discovered and transliterated 150 stanzas of the hymns of Mātrīceta. But the most important event at this period is his close friendship with Edouard Chavannes, the great French Sinologist, through their common friend of the Ecole Normale, M. Foucher. That friendship was fruitful with several years of most important publications in collaboration—the earliest being the *Itinéraires d'Ou-K'ong* (JA., 1895). Within two years we find Lévi sent on a mission to the Extreme Orient (1897-98), in course of which he visited India, Nepal Indo-China and Japan. This tour widened his sphere of research to such an extent that, in spite of his isolated monograph on *La Doctrine du Sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas* (1898), Lévi might be said to have settled down in the broader and far more complicated problems of extra-Indian Indology. On his return from the East he was elevated (1898), to the rank of the Director of the Ecoles des Hautes Etudes (founded 1867), working with brilliant young savants like Huber, Pelliot and Jules Bloch. Soon after, the *Bulletin* of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient was founded under the direction of his worthy pupil Finot; and the *T'oung Pao* also came under the editorship of Lévi's friend Chavannes. These important journals evoked some of the most original papers of Lévi on Sino-Indian culture. This is the branch of study which the French

scholars have made their own. From the time of Abel Rémusat and Stanislas Julien to that of Chavannes and Pelliot, there is a continuity of tradition in the parallel study of the documents of two of the oldest and yet living nations of Asia. This study has revolutionised our conception of Asiatic history. Lévi was the first Indologist who brought his marvellous knowledge of Indian things to bear on the elucidation of many intricate problems of that half forgotten history. His collaboration with Chavannes and Meillet has more than academic significance; it symbolises the inauguration of the comparative study of Sino-Indian and Serindian life and culture. But he was ever close to his India. The same year that he lectured (while Bergson opened his inaugural lecture on *Volonté* in College de France, 1907) on Dharmapada in its Sanskrit Tibetan and Chinese recensions, Lévi lectured also on Śakuntalā; and while he discussed the Kṛṣṇa Avadhāna in its Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan versions, Lévi analysed also the beauty and sublimity of the Great Epics of India.

The year 1908 saw the completion of his studies on the History of Nepal in three grand volumes in the Annals of the Musée Guimet. The very same year Pelliot started on his mission of exploration in Central Asia. Just as the archaeological mission of Chavannes threw a flood of light on the history of ancient China, so Pelliot's mission brought to light a collection of rare MSS., the value of which we are just beginning to realise. Lévi was the first to give his attention to that rich collection. While busy editing and translating the *Saṅgīti-lamkāra* of Asaṅga and giving Tibetan lessons to young savants like Bacot, Hackin, and Gauthiot, Prof. Lévi formed a smaller seminar for an intensive study of the documents of the Pelliot Mission (1910). In course of this investigations, Lévi found in his former pupil and friend Prof. Meillet a noble collaborator in the decipherment of the Tokharian, Sogdian and Koutchean texts of Central Asia. Thus for a while the greatest Indologist of France joined hands with her greatest Sinologist Chavannes and her greatest Philologist Meillet. But the premature death of Chavannes was a great blow to this momentous union. Lévi, however, continued with Meillet and Pelliot to render signal services to the study of the Central Asian languages. No wonder Lévi was honoured with the place of the President of the Société Linguistique of which Meillet was the prime mover; Lévi also soon became the President of the Société Asiatique of Paris, after the death of Emile Sénart (1928).

Apart from these prodigious activities in the line of scholarship, Lévi was a lay worker of quite inexhaustible energy. How many public institutions of France were indebted to him for his unstinted services! Moreover he bore the heavy burden of responsibility, as the President elect of the Alliance Israélite Universelle which has hundreds of educational and philanthropic institutions in the old as well as in the new world; and which imposed upon him till the last days, the heavy task of succouring the thousands of Jewish citizens and scholars expelled from Germany. Even at an advanced age Lévi showed an enthusiasm and capacity for work that was almost phenomenal.

In India he would be specially remembered because of his undertaking the noble task of training generations of Indian scholars in the science of which he was the accredited master. That is why he was the first to be invited to occupy the honored seat of the Ācārya in a truly national institutions like the Viśvabhāratī of Rābindranath. Tagore joined hands with Lévi, the East collaborated with the West for the cause of Truth and Humanity and we expressed our hope in the language of our poet Kālidāsa, that through this spiritual co-operation “अन्योन्यपावनमभूदुभयं समेत्य” each served as a purifying factor to the other.

Between 1921, when Sylvain Lévi visited India as the first Visiting professor of Viśvabhāratī, and to the end of his career (30th October, 1935), he left a record of research that may fill the lives of several scholars. Organizing Oriental studies in the University of Strasbourg (since 1918) and Tibetan and Chinese Studies at Śāntiniketan with brilliant Indian scholars like Mm. Pandit Vidhuśekhara Śāstri, Pandit Kshitimohan Sen and Prabodh Chandra Bagchi (1921-22) Lévi visited Japan on his return trip and was nominated by Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, Reader of the University of Calcutta and President of the Second All-India Orientalists, Conference, Calcutta (1921), Lévi was corresponding member of the Imperial Academy of Tokyo, a foreign member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, a member of the governing body of the Institute of Indian Civilisation (Paris University) and finally President of the *Société Asiatique*. Invited by the Imperial Universities of Tokyo and Kyoto, Prof. Lévi visited Japan for the second (1922-23) and third times (1926-28); lecturing on Buddhism and helping in the completion of the *Hobogirin*, or the Encyclopædic Dictionary of Buddhism, in collaboration with eminent Japanese scholars like Dr. Takakusu, Dr. Anesaki, Dr. Inoue, Prof. Sugiyama and others (*Vide The Young East*, Vol. V, no. 4 Tokyo). Between November, 1926, and May, 1928, he acted as the Director of the *Maison Franco-Japonaise* in Tokyo; and on their return trip through India, Prof. and Madame Lévi were accorded grand receptions by our *Greater India Society* and the *Société Indo-Latine*, founded by his Indian pupils and admirers who, with the modest resources at their disposal, are trying for the last few years to develop Greater Indian Studies and French culture in India, inspired by his example. Prof. Lévi visited the Dutch East Indies in 1928 and made a selection of Hindu texts, from Bali island, published by the Gaekwad Oriental Series. Another study on the Javanese Mahābhārata was communicated by him to the *Golden Book of Tagore* (1931) published in honour of his old friend Rābindranath Tagore. So his second and third visits to Nepal provoked him to published new texts of Vasubandhu (*Vipśatikā* and *Trimśikā*) as well as the *variorum* edition of the Mahā-karma-vibhaṅga and other valuable documents published by Ernest Leroux (Paris) as well as by the *Journal Asiatique* to which he was contributing for nearly half a century. The forthcoming issues of the *Journal Asiatique* will publish an exhaustive and authoritative bibliography of his works by our esteemed friend Prof. L. Renou. Meanwhile in this special number

of our *Journal of the Greater India Society*, we publish bibliographic notes, up to 1925 requesting our readers to refer to the necrologie of Sylvain Lévi (1935) published in the *Journal Asiatique* and other learned French publications.

Series of studies are necessary to do justice to Lévi the savant. The tentative bibliography of his works which we publish below will suffice to demonstrate how almost every branch of Indology feels the impress of his genius. In this short article we have tried only to supply a commentary to the fuller bibliography for the convenience of Indian scholars. We shall conclude by giving two extracts from Lévi's writings, illustrating his attitude towards Indian History. In 1890 he concluded his article on *Abel Bergaigne et l'Indienisme* with these words: "From Persia to the Chinese Sea, from the icy regions of Siberia to the islands of Java and Borneo, from the Oceania to Socotra, India has propagated her beliefs, her genius, her tales and her civilization. She has left indestructible imprints on one-fourth of the human race, in course of a long succession of centuries. She has the right to reclaim, in universal history, the rank that ignorance has refused her for a long time and to hold her place amongst the great nations, summarising and symbolising the spirit of humanity." As a pupil of the great Vedic scholar Bergaigne, Lévi has given us his studies on the Vedic rituals, as a master teacher of the Sanskrit language he has given us a history of the Hindu Drama, as an intellectual descendant of Burnout he has given us invaluable studies on Buddhism, as an exponent of scientific method in historical composition he has given us three splendid volumes on Nepal. As an audacious seeker of the relics of Indian genius outside India, he has given us the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* of Asaṅga and the collation of Dharmapada texts—yet all these are side issues and by-products, Lévi the silent worker is probably greater than his works. This is a fact which can only be attested by those who had the privilege of knowing him intimately. By his life of silent *tapasyā* dedicated to the resuscitation of Indian history and culture, he gained a synthetic vision of that history rarely found in writers on India. It is exactly here that Sylvain Lévi stands as an inspiration and a dream for the young school of Indian Indologists whom he blessed unconsciously through his noble utterances on the *mission of India* in the scheme of universal history: "The multiplicity of the manifestations of Indian genius as well as their *fundamental unity* gives India the right to figure on the first rank in the history of civilised nations. Her civilisation, spontaneous and original, unrolls itself in a continuous time across at least thirty centuries, without interruption and without deviation. Ceaselessly in contact with *foreign elements*, which threatened to strangle her, she persevered victoriously in absorbing them, assimilating them and enriching herself with them. Thus she has seen the Greeks, the Scythians, the Afghans, the Turco-Mongols pass before her eyes in succession, and is regarding with indifference the Englishman—confident to pursue, under the accidents of the surface, the normal course of her high destiny" (Lévi's article on "India" in the *Grande Encyclopædie* 1889–90).

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[ABBREVIATIONS:—

- JA.—*Journal Asiatique*. Paris
 BEFEO.—*Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d' Extrême-Orient*, Hanoi.
 TP.—*T'oung Pao*.
 BEHE.—*Bibliothèque d' Ecole des Hautes Etudes*.
 CMG.—*Conference de Musée Guimet*].
- 1885—*La Brhatkathāmañjari de Kṣemendra*—JA.
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 (e) Hindouïsme (f) Hiouen Tsang (g) Indé.
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* Based on my paper published in the *Modern Review*, December, 1921, when Prof Lévi accompanied by his sahadharmiṇī Madame Lévi visited India, with the invitation of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore inaugurating the research department of the Vīṭva Bhārati.

The writer begs to record his thanks in this connection to his esteemed friend and satirtha Prof. Louis Renou, now the Director of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, for his kind courtesies in sending me advanced proofs of his exhaustive bibliographical study on our common guru. It reached me unfortunately too late to be utilised in my tribute prepared for our *Greater India Society Journal*. But I recommended it to all admirers of Prof. Lévi's works, the most exhaustive and upto date analysis of Prof. Renou : *Sylvain Lévi et son œuvre scientifique*, to be published in the *Journal Asiatique*, Paris.

INDIAN ICONOGRAPHY

BY
KALIDAS NAG

INDIAN ICONOGRAPHY

Hindu Iconography is a phase in the evolution of Hindu religion and art. Like every other religio-aesthetic phenomenon it had to be studied with a strict eye on the general development of Hindu history. The danger of neglecting the historical method of interpretation in this department is as great as that of the imposition of a narrow historical outlook. One enthusiastic writer* characterises Hindu art as a most ancient shoreless sea of forms, incomprehensibly interchanging and intermingling, but symbolizing the protean magic of that infinite unknown that shapes and re-shapes for ever all cosmic beings." While another sober historian, † opines with scientific coolness; "Indian art on the whole, is the slave of religious tradition and it is this undeniable fact which gives plausibility to the thesis that India is destitute of fine art."

The above extracts are quite sufficient to demonstrate not only the futility of the so-called mystic interpretation but also the precariousness of a narrow and premature generalisation. It is high time that we should avoid both and take to the only safe path of approach in our study of Hindu art, the path of a broad survey of Hindu History, the complexity and comprehensiveness of which have never been brought out in a more telling manner than that of my revered professor Sylvain Lévi: 'L'importance historique de l'Inde apparaît des lors en plein éclat; liée au group Aryen primitif par son parler et ses croyances, à l'Iran par une parenté linguistique et religieuse, plus étroite encore, rattachée à la Perse par la conquête Achéménide, à l'Hellenisme par Alexandre et ses successeurs, à la Chine par la Bouddhisme au Tibet à l'Indo-Chine à l'Insulinde par la civilisation qu'elle y a portée, l'Inde est le trait d'union entre les deux sections, en apparence isolées, de monde antique". ‡

The Aryan Phase

At the very threshold of our investigation we are confronted with the problem of iconographic origins: When, how and by whom were the icons first ushered into existence? Turning to the earliest literary monuments of the Indo-European people – the Vedas we find that not only there are few definite reference to images or icons of gods, but the analyses of the word for god in the important Indo-European languages leads to no conception of a personal deity, a conception which is the indispensable psychological basis of iconographic representation.§ Prof. Meillet probably the greatest living philologue of Europe, in one of his important monographs: "La Religion Indo-Européenne"

* Lafadio Hearn.

† Vincent Smith's "History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon", p. 8.

‡ Sylvain Lévi—L'Indianisme.

§ Meillet—"Linguistic history et general" 1921.

remarks: "Il subsist pourtant un grand fait, et on la linguistique est intéressé : L'archaeologie prehistorique de l'Europe ne revele guere d'idoles ; at partout on l'on a quelque temoignage sur les peuples de date indo-europeenne on en etat de civilisation peu avancée, ces temoignages indiquent l'absence de dieux personnels. L'onomastique indo-europeenne concorde avec ces constatations."

The Vedic gods preserve this family likeness. They are "divided into three groups of eleven, distributed in earth, air and heaven*." They are half-poetic half-mystic personifications of Nature. The Vedic religion is an apparently polytheistic religion with a deep theistic undertone sounding through the refrain of such sublime hymns ;

"Kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema" †

What god should we worship with oblation ?

Passing from the period of the Vedas to that of the Brāhmanas—we find that the possibility of integration of many gods into one (the development from henotheism to monotheism) became more and more remote.‡ While the later Vedic conception of the *Puruṣa* was decidedly tending towards anthropomorphic integration, it was apparently overpowered by the elaboration of the doctrine of Sacrifice (*Yajña*). "Priests cared less to exalt the personal gods than to emphasise the dignity of impersonal sacrifice."§ Ideal sacrifice, in its turn, came to be represented as a kind of Being : The harmony of the several parts of the sacrifice was considered to constitute its *rūpa* or form. ** Thus the Brāhmanas, amidst innumerable ritualistic aberrations, prepared the Indian mind to admit the First Cause, a kind of Impersonal God in the *Āranyakas* and the *Upaniṣads* which record the unique history of a ceaseless quest after a personal impersonal Deity :†† *Śrotrasya Śrotram, manaso mano, yadvācoha vācam sa u prāṇasya prāṇaḥ* : sublime realisations of Hindu religious spirit, but seldom subjects of Hindu iconographic and plastic experiments !

In the earlier strata of the Great Epics we find the ideas of *tapas* (asceticism) and *yoga* (mystic communion) dominating over the conception of sacrifice. Through these processes man aspired to be omniscient and omnipotent, may more, to be the equal or even superior to the Gods ! The legacies of these new disciplines are the absolute self-reliance of the *Yogi* on the one hand, and the abject superstition, magic and charlatanism on the other. But neither the conception of *tapasyā* nor that of *yoga* contained the aesthetic dynamic of iconographic elaboration.

It is a fact of profound historical significance that when Mahāvīra and Buddha inaugurated the era of renovation and emancipation, the hoary religious

* O. Schrader—"Aryan Religion".

† Rīg Veda, x. 121.

‡ Cf. Sylvain Lévi—"La Doctrine du Sacrifice dans les Brāhmanas".

§ Herman Jacobi—"Brahmanism".

** Cf. Haug : *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, p. 73.

†† *Kenopaniṣad*, l. 2.

factors that they had to confront and contend with were ritualism and asceticism. While the former (ritualism) was systematically criticised by the Great Gotama, the latter (asceticism) was then strong enough to claim both Mahāvira and Buddha as temporarily its subjects. Like his senior Mahāvira, Buddha could not help trying the traditional path of penance and mortification (*tapasyā*) before his attainment of the *sambodhi* (Enlightenment). But gods and god-speculations did by no means occupy a prominent part in his thought. Had the icons of the gods formed an essential element of Brahmanic ritualism of his age, the great Śākya Reformer would undoubtedly have combined iconolatry also in his relentless condemnation of the sacrificial ritualism. It is no less significant that the greatest royal champion of Buddhism, Dharmāśoka Piyadasi follows closely in this respect the footprints of the Master. In his rock and pillar inscriptions we find the condemnation of sacrifice, but gods or images of gods do not arrest his all-embracing attention. A monarch, who experimented on so many styles of art representation and who was also the pioneer in the evolution of lithic art in India, did not feel prompted to carve a single image of the Master or his disciples, who passed away more than two centuries ago. This is undoubtedly a landmark in the history of Hindu Iconography.

Let us leave aside the problematic question of the precise chronology of the ancient Vedas. Let us confine ourselves to epigraphical documents pure and simple. Even then, we find that, during the vast stretch, of say twelve centuries, intervening between the Boghaz Keui inscription of Cappadocia, where the Indo-Iranian gods are first mentioned, to the Asokan inscriptions, though Hindu god-conception passed through various stages of evolution, yet the necessity of concretizing and visualizing the concepts of the Deity was not felt strongly either by the great monarchs or by the cultured classes.* It is equally striking to note in this connection that the Iranian cousins of the Indian Aryans followed an almost parallel line of evolution up to this point: the same nature worship of *Dyāvā-prithivī*, (the Heavens and Earth) of *Apan-apat* (Fire and water), ultimately transformed by Zarathustra into the monotheistic creed of Ahura-mazda; but the sacrificial legacy came down to the present day in the form of fire and altar worship even amongst modern Zoroastrians (e. g., the Parsees). The whole of this epoch in Indo-Iranian history may be called *aniconic*, a state of things which would be revolutionized in course of the next five centuries (200 B. C.—300 A. D.); and one of the most elaborate and esoteric phase of *iconism* would be evolved between the fall of the Mauryas and the rise of the Guptas.

The Dravidian Phase.

Passing from the aniconic to the iconic phase of Indian art we must remember the fundamental fact that Indian history is not simply Aryan

* Cf. "Iranian God," E. Edwards.

history. Its uniqueness consists not in the reduction of divers elements to a dull uniformity but in the co-ordination, assimilation and synthesis of the multiplicity of the progressive and regressive Pre-Aryan, Austric and other historic factors. The first and foremost of such non-Aryan factors was the Pre-Dravidian and Dravidian elements in Hindu culture and art. Beginning of the study of Indology with only Aryan documents had naturally created an unconscious Aryan bias. It is a pity that the only adequate corrective to such a bias, a thorough and scientific study of Pre-Aryan and Dravidian art and institutions, seems to be as yet a remote possibility.* However, the preliminary survey, of the North Indian Dravidians by Mr. Crooke and that of the South Indian Dravidians by Mr. Frazer, had established the unique value of a comparative study of the mixed Aryo-Dravidian institutions. Culture history is not the subject of a mere chronological narration but of subtle sociological interaction. Hence we cannot afford to confine our attention only to the records of a dead past; we must constantly try to correct our reading with reference to the living traditions and latest ethnic and anthropological survivals. Examined from this standpoint, the Indus Valley folks and the Dravidians seem to have influenced Aryan life profoundly, through Shamanism and Animism, Totemism and Taboo. The Austrics and the Dravidians gradually developed a pantheon of their own: sun gods and moon gods, tree gods and serpent gods, a queer un-Aryan uncanny Nature-worship culminating in the mysterious cult of the Earth-mother-Ellamma, forerunner of the Śhakti cult of later Hinduism. In fact, "the Dravidian Gods," as says Mr. Frazer, "seems to have supplied much of the coarser elements of modern Hinduism."† Researches of anthropologists are every day bringing to light a bewildering variety of village gods and local deities only partially assimilated by Hinduism. Moreover, through totemism, magic, ancestor-worship and hero-cult, "the human form makes its appearance in religious art,"‡ Symbolism is a universal method of religious expression. So we should hesitate twice before settling down to the convenient and apparently convincing hypothesis of foreign importation and indigenous imitation, in explaining the evolution of Hindu iconography. A careful examination of the symbols and arms of the various deities is sufficient to convince us that each one of these symbols has a long history behind it, a history as mute and mysterious as the evolution of the spiritual consciousness of man.

Risking a generalisation for the convenience of a rapid exposition, we may assume that while the Aryan spirit was transcendental and speculative, the Pre Aryan spirit was elemental and artistic, at the commencement of the rapprochement between the two cultural series. The former contributes literature and philosophy, the latter develops mythology and art. Thus we

* Cf. Hasting's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*.

† Cf. Art: *Origins*—Yrjö Hirn.

‡ Cf. Art: *Primitive and Savage*—A. C. Haddon.

see that the Dravidians, while almost completely Aryanised in other respects, have preserved beyond doubt, their individuality in art. While socially degraded to a certain extent, the Dravidians had the monopoly of the *arts and crafts* of ancient India. Here they were the probable teachers of the Aryan conquerors. By their superiority in this branch of culture, the non-Aryan artists and craftsmen not only secured a privileged position but also a special protection from the state. The *Arthasāstra* of Kauṣilya inflicts exemplary punishment for the killing or mutilation of artisans. What is more, these non-Aryan artists, seemed to have commanded the respect of their Aryan masters who conceded, with characteristic tolerance, a ritualistic glorification of the non-aryan artists in the ceremony of the *Vrātya-pujā* of the Atharva Veda.

The Aryo-Dravidian Compromise.

As the result of the fusion of the Aryan and the Dravidian elements, the interpenetration of Philosophy and Art, the symbolic marriage of the Sky and the Earth element in the mentality of the two ancient races of India, there arose the grand Hindu Art, one of the richest yet least understood cultural synthesis in Asian history. Irrepressible transcendentalism was fused into irresistible naturalism and gave birth to the gorgeous symbolism, the meeting-ground of the Seen and the Unseen, the actual and the ideal. This symbolism, in as much as it was the offspring of co-operation and compromise, acted as the *lingua franca* in the spiritual commerce between the Aryans and the Non-Aryans. That was and still remains the keynote of Hindu Art. To understand it properly we should not only interpret their archaic records but penetrate their ecstatic dreams, and not only read their concrete images but their abstract imageries as well. Hindu symbolism is a mystic hieroglyphic which still waits for its own Champollion.

The Aryo-Dravidian art is a reality, not a mere hypothesis. All its earlier traces are lost, because the medium and the material of art expression were perishable. If we judge this art by its later surviving specimens, e. g., of Mathurā and Bodhgayā, of Bārhut, Sānchi and Amarāvati,* we cannot help admitting, in spite of ingenious theorizing of western critics, that these are essentially indigenous products. Veteran critics of European art, like Dr. Gairdner, affirms that the Maurya art, the earliest extant documents of Indian art, is already "a mature art."† This apparent anomaly is brilliantly explained by Mon. Foucher: "The school of Bārhut and Sānchi is a direct expression of Indian Genius It is in the hereditary habits of the wood and ivory carvers of ancient India not forgetting its goldsmiths, that we should seek their origin." So the greatest authority of Buddhist art

* Vide "Sketch of Indian Antiquities", 1914.

† "Les debuts de l'art Boudhique"—Journal Asiatique, 1911.

admits the continuity of indigenous artistic tradition. The possibility of a pre-Buddhistic art is not only not absurd but is the only reasonable explanation of all later developments. The dictum of Dr. Grunwedel that the art of India owed its origin to Buddhism requires considerable modification, after the Indus Valley discoveries.

The entire mass of the early Aryo-Dravidian art-treasures shows a remarkable advance in expressiveness and technique. By substituting stone for the perishable medium, Emperor Asoka permanently secured the safe preservation of these relics of imperishable beauty, and thereby he earned the boundless gratitude of all students of art. But we must not forget that it is as difficult to create a school of art by an Imperial Edict, as to impose a technique of art to which the people are totally foreign. Hence it would be as unsafe to assert that Indian art was created by Emperor Asoka as that Indian Iconography was created by the image-making Greek settlers in India.* While the evidence of the earlier literature of India with regard to the images of gods is decidedly negative, there are occasional references however to images in the later literary documents, e. g., *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Pāṇini*, *Arthaśāstra* and *Manu Smṛiti*. The controversy, between Prof. Macdonnell of Oxford and Prof. Venkateśwara of Kumbakonam, with regard to the development of Hindu Iconography, is highly interesting. It established the fact that there is clear evidence of the use of images from the latest Vedic age onwards. That shows beyond doubt that the Aryan preference for literary representation of gods was slowly being modified by the non-Aryan instinct for concretizing the divinities. Symbolic representation of deities was a natural compromise on the higher aesthetic plane; and it left its indelible marks on the masterpieces of early Jaina and Buddhist art. But popular fabrication of images continued unchecked side by side. Thus innumerable village gods and local deities were now elevated to the rank of the satellites of the great Aryan Gods and again incorporated into the pantheon of early Buddhism as *Nāgas* and *Yakṣas*.† It is very significant that Mon. Foucher, in his learned work on Iconography, classifies all the images according to a sort of sociological stratification, thereby developing a veritable caste system of images.‡ The moment we step out of the confines of Buddhist art, and try to interpret the general evolution of Hindu art proper, we feel that we must go one step further: we must find not only the sociological but the anthropological and ethnological basis of Hindu art, to explain satisfactorily the rich variation of forms and the fusion of techniques.

The Aryan concession to the non-Aryan desire for concretising the deities led to a veritable revolution in Indian art history: I mean the transition from

* Cf. Sten Konow—"Use of images in ancient India", *Ind. Antiquary* (1909,) also *Macdonell-Festschrift*, E. Windisch (1914).

† Cf. Whitehead-Village Gods of South India.

‡ Cf. Foucher-L'art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhara, Tome II (1914).

the *verbographic* (i. e., expression through words, *dhyānas*, etc.) to the *iconographic* representation of divinities, in course of the ethnic and cultural fusion of the two peoples, by the end of the Vedic age. Hence it is not surprising to read the conclusion of Prof. Macdonnell as to the "clear evidence of the use of images from the latest Vedic age onwards."^{*} On the contrary, it is really striking to note the persistence of the Aryan preference for *verbographic* rather than for *iconographic* representation, and the consequent paucity of concrete images of the post-Vedic, the Epic and the early Buddhist pantheon. It is very significant that Patañjali commenting on Pāṇini (V. 3. 99-100) refers to the exploitation of popular instinct for image-worship and actual manufacture from greed of Gods, like Śiva, Skanda, etc. Here Patañjali is strongly corroborated by Kauṭilya.[†] The *Arthasāstra* lays down with characteristic candour that one efficient method of replenishing the imperial treasury would be to plunder the popular gods and the properties of heretics ! That seems to reflect the frankly critical attitude of at least one section of the Aryan people with regard to image worship.

It is probable that in ancient India, image worship was regarded more as a concession to human weakness than as a satisfactory means of religio-aesthetic realisation. There seemed to have lurked in the depth of the Aryan mind, a scepticism about images being the efficient objective counterparts of the vision, the *Rūpa* (form) being the properly aesthetic equivalent of the *Dhyāna* (meditation). Hence there was throughout a hesitation to define the Infinite, to describe the indescribable, in term of concrete form, line and colour. This semi-religious semi-aesthetic diffidence is faithfully conserved in the *Divyāvadāna* story of the futile effort of contemporary artists to make an adequate representation of the Buddha.[‡] "Tathāgatapratimā paṭe chitrayatha" says King Prasenajit of Kośala. But the artist failed repeatedly to prepare even an approximate replica of the ineffable figure of the Master.[§] The Bārhut school of artists were more sane and more faithful to indigenous tradition. They represented the same King Pasendi (Prasenjit) on the bas reliefs of the Bārhut stupa and figured the Master with the Wheel of Law (Dharmachakra) the symbol of the new message of which the King of Kośala was a devoted supporter. This uniformity of symbolical representation of the Master and his activities is already an established convention in the primitive lithic art of Buddhism. Wherever we turn, to Bārhut or Śānci or to Bodhgayā and Amarāvati, we find the same symbols : the Bodhi tree for the Great Illumination at Bodhgayā ; the Dharmachakra for the great Wheel of Law first turned at Sarnāth and the Parinirvāna Stupa for the great nirvāna of the Master in

* J. R. A. S. (1917-18).

† Artha Śāstra, Book V. ii.

‡ Cf. *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 547-48.

§ Burnouf : *Histoire de Bouddhisme*, p. 341.

Kushinagara. These symbols of the earliest extant specimens of Buddhist art, are more than religious axioms or aesthetic formulae. They summarise the aniconic tradition of Indian art for centuries.

Hellenic Contribution.

It is exactly here that the Greek plastic genius was brought to bear on the development of Hindu Iconography. No wonder that it required the Greek passion for *form* to counteract the Hindu obsession of the *formless*. The aniconic inertia of Aryan artists, already modified by their Dravidian collaborators, was finally transformed by the Hellenic settlers in North-western India. It is not so much a 'cataclysm', as Mon. Foucher would say, as the completion of certain earlier non-Aryan series of indigenous aesthetic evolution. To realise the exact nature of this 'Hellenic influence', we must take into account the antecedents of the Greek adventurers who came into contact with the Indians. These Bactrians, Parthians and Gandharian Greeks differed as much from the Greeks of the age of Phidias and Praxiteles, as the Bolognese and Genoese schools of the 17th century Italian decadence differed from the Renaissance schools of Sienna and Florence, Venice and Milan. There was not only a change in the historical atmosphere but a change in aesthetic psychology and technique as well.

Thus the Hellenistic artists of Gandhara exerted an influence on Indian art, which was Hellenic in a very limited and special sense.* The post-Alexandrine Greek colonies of Bactria Parthia and Gandhara were not only isolated politically and culturally from the mother country, but the colonists everywhere were betraying an almost morbid propensity to imbibe foreign influences. The result was a Greco-Roman *hybrid Hellenism* against which Cato the Censor, the last representative of ancient Roman simplicity and purity, combatted all his life. But the inevitable happened as has been shown by the greatest historian of the Roman Republic, Theodore Mommsen. Rome converted Greece into a dependency (146 B. C.), in order to stop her sickening political and moral degradation; but it brought in its train the disastrous social disintegration of Rome! The vanquished overwhelmed the victor,† who propagated Greco-Roman or Hellenistic art in the Roman Orient.

So the Hellenism, of 2nd century B. C. to 2nd cent. A. D.—was far from being an unmixed blessing. The worship of Cybele and Corybantic wildness and orgies were already indicating that the Greeks of the age of Menander were only too prone to adopt foreign faiths and manners. There was a dangerous vacuum in the heart of Hellenism of this epoch and of Paganism in general. That explains the captivation of the Gandharian Greeks by Buddhism, and later on, the capitulation of the vast Roman Empire to Oriental Christianity. This is a fact which the champions of Hellenic hypothesis

* "Hellenism"—Edward Bevens.

† Cf. "Greek Gods" by Lewis Campbell.

seem conveniently to forget.* I appeal against subtle artistic speculations to the indisputable facts of history.

"The Greek influence on Indian sculpture", says Dr. Sten Know, "can hardly be pushed further back than the time of Menander" (circa 150 B. C.). He was the first Greek king to push right into the heart of Hindusthan. The meeting of this Greek prince (naturally proud of his Plato and Aristotle) with the Hindu-Buddhist philosopher sage Nagasena, is a fact of symbolic value in the history of the Orient. *Milinda Pañho* remains a landmark in the evolution of Indian culture. Curiously enough we are confronted here with the same old artistic problem of the Form and the Formless in a Buddhist garb ! The Master is gone but the Law remains, the Law or Dharma is his image proper, his form eternal and hence the sublime conception of the Dharma-Kāya, sublimating the Nirmāna-Kāya.

But the Greek converts to Buddhism wanted an actual Kāya (Body) of the Master. They were confident about their capacity to build a good image of the master and they did build it, curing thereby the chronic hesitation of their Hindu fellow-believers. It is striking no doubt that, while the indigenous school was carving deathless monuments in Bārhāt and Sānchi, in Mathurā and Bodhi-Gayā on the traditional basis of *aniconic symbolism*, the artistic piety of the Greek neophytes and converts of Gandhara and Taxila was giving concrete iconic expression to the ineffable beauty and serenity of the Buddha.

Yes. Graeco-Buddhist art was pre-eminently religious in its inspirations and religious art can seldom be developed by paid artisans and hireling artists. The international propaganda of Dharmāśoka bore its fruit after one century. The Graeco-Buddhist artists probably built the first pantheon of the Buddha. That they studied, or, at least were not oblivious of the technique of the earlier indigenous schools, is apparent from some of their cruder symbolical remains. But the methods of the Indian artists were so different ! The Graeco-Buddhist artists were successful in using the symbolical language of their Hindu predecessors and collaborators. However, fully conscious of the symbolic susceptibilities of their Hindu co-workers, the Graeco-Buddhist artists resorted to the same means which the early Christian artists of the *Sarcophagi* had recourse to for over-coming the aversion for image of Christ amongst the Semites and early Christians. † The Christian artists started with the motives commemorating the life of the Master, and referred to his New Message only by symbolic representation, like that of the 'good shepherd'. Now in the illustration of the *Jātakas* (Birth stories of the Buddha) by the indigenous artists, their Graeco-Buddhist colleagues discovered not only such a promising medium of expression but also a tremendous possibility of future artistic elaboration. Thus in course of storytelling the Graeco-Buddhist artists cleverly and quietly introduced Lord Buddha, the central figure of those stories, without shocking the susceptibilities of their

* Ind. Antiq. 1909.

† Cf. Reinach : "Histoire de l'Art".

Hindu fellow-believers. But in story-telling as well as in symbolic representation, they were far behind their colleagues of Bārhut and Sāñchi. Hence their stone-stories remained to a certain extent stony, and their dramatization of the Master's life was, at first, highly melodramatic.

But Greeks were Greeks after all. How quickly they progressed and how beautifully they improved on their Indian models are amply evident to us today, from the rich remains of Taxila, Sahri Bahlol, Bamiyan and other places, for which we are thankful to the brilliant work of western archaeologists. From sculpture to architecture is a natural line of progression; and we find the Greek architects revolutionizing the Indian and Serindian architecture out of its primitive stage. But even in that endeavour the Greeks assimilated, with rare genius, some remarkable indigenous *motifs* which gave a peculiar charm of outline and softness of modelling to the later executions of the Gandharian School. Thus the fusion of the Indo-Greek technique produced a veritable Renaissance style which, as pointed out to me by Prof. Paul Pelliot (the distinguished French explorer of Central Asia), so profoundly influenced the style of the Buddhist caves and grottoes of China and Central Asia.*

The Mahayana elaboration and Hindu Reaction

That reminds us of the fact that Buddhism has its Indian as well as Trans-Himalayan or Asiatic aspect. Time and space would not permit me to trace, through idea and art, the evolution of continental Buddhism—progressing from Gandhara across Khotan, Kutch and Central Asia to China, Korea and Japan on the one hand and across Nepal, Tibet, Burma, Siam, Laos, to Indo-China and the Indonesian archipelago on the other. Suffice it to say, in this connection that Buddhism underwent a profound change, coming in touch with Hinduism with its different nationalities and various religions and cultural types like the Serindian Avalokiteśvara, a Chinese Mañjuśrī, a Tibetan Śākyamuni, a Javanese Prajñā-pāramitā, sufficient to convince us, on this point, of the grand transformation of Buddhism, as the result of the reaction of various racial factors and fusion of diverse thoughts and art techniques.† Dr. Anesaki has supplied us with the key to this marvellous phenomenon of Asiatic history, while discussing Japanese Buddhism: "At a comparatively early date, the Buddhist notion that the cosmic communion must be extended to every phase of existence and the deities may appear in any form, had been applied to the indigenous pantheon of Japan. All Japanese gods were thus absorbed into the Buddhist communion and the result was the formation of a *syncretic religion*!."

Thus "humanity was enriched," as says Mon. Foucher, "by the collaboration of the East and the West; for the Indian mind has taken a part no less essential than has Greek genius in the elaboration of the model of the Monk-

* Cf. Paul Pelliot. *Toung-Houang* (portfolio) 1921.

† Cf. *Quelques pages de l'Histoire Religieuse du Japon* (1921).

‡ Anesaki *Buddhist Art*, p. 45.

god."* The late Graeco-Buddhist art followed a parallel line of evolution with the Graeco-Christian art which came after. Whether the former had anything to do with the figuration of Christ or of the Madonna is a branch of comparative art to which Mon. Foucher has contributed two brilliant papers: "The Buddhist Madonna" and "The titular Pair in Gaul and India." Dr. Grunwedel has also brought out heaps of new materials in his latest work *Alt Koutcha* (1921). But we must drop that complicated problem of the Asiatic art evolution and come back to India in order to trace the influence of Buddhist Iconography on later Hindu figuration of gods and goddesses.

The most important problem that confronts us here is the multiplication of images and the consequent elaboration of the pantheon. It is exactly here that the Mahāyāna and later Hinduism stand on the same platform. The multiplication of forms, limbs and attributes is the outcome of the interaction of various factors, ethnic, religious and aesthetic. The assimilation of unorthodox local deities into the orthodox pantheon had its inevitable counterpart in the tendency to split up the primary deities into their secondary and tertiary forms. Hindu verborgraphic polytheism found a fatal facility for concretization in the craving for images amongst the Greeks who, as Mon. Foucher humorously remarks, were the greatest culprits in the diffusion of idolatry.† And once the pure traditional doctrine of the Dharma-Kāya has been compromised, it was impossible to stop the sophisticated elaboration of the doctrines of Sambhogakāya (Body of supreme enjoyment) and that of Nirmānakāya of the body of the deity, reappearing in the bodies of the saints and devotees as *avatāras*. Thus we have the strange phenomenon of the original deity almost completely overwhelmed by his emanations; In fact Śākyamuni was so entirely over-shadowed by hosts of Avalokiteśvaras and Sāmantabhadras that it was necessary for a Japanese Emperor of the 13th century to re-establish Śākyamuni by an Imperial Edict.‡ But royal edicts are futile here; and we watch the epic elaboration of the Mahāyāna till we find the Buddha-rūpa generalised and stereotyped in the Dhyāni Buddhas of Javanese sculpture: Amitābha with dhyāna mudrā, Vairochana with dharmachakra mudrā; Akshobhya with būmisparsa mudrā; Ratnasambhava with varadā mudrā: and Amoghasiddhi, with abhaya mudrā.§

Curiously enough it was the Javanese work Kuṣṇarakarṇa that gave the finishing touch as it were to this strange fusion of Mahāyāna and Hinduism.** There Vairochana (an *avatāra* of Buddha) teaches the doctrine of identity: "I am you, you are I, and if there are in fact so few monks who attain emancipation, the reason is that they refuse to recognise that Buddha-Vairochana is identical with Śiva." Mon Louis Finot, Directeur de l'Ecole Française d'Ex-

* Cf. Foucher, *The Beginning of Buddhist Art*.

† Cf. "Buddhist God"—A. S. Gaden.

‡ Cf. La Vallée Poussin—"Avalokiteśvara". Getty—"Gods of Mahāyāna Buddhism."

§ Cf. Pleyte: *Indonesian Art* (1901), plate VIII.

** Cf. La Vallée Poussin—"Adi-Buddha."

tre Orient (Hanoi), in a highly interesting monograph, remarks.* "We find here (i.e., in Indo-China) again that reciprocal penetration or Śaivism and Buddhism, which Professor Kern has already pointed out in Java, and which more than one Indo-Chinese monument, both in Champa and Cambodia, indicates"† Thus our human Śākyamuni was gradually transformed into an incarnation of Śiva, a great magician (yogīśvara) and ultimately, in the Purāṇas, an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu ; It is also remarkable that the original doctrine of *nirvāṇa* of the earlier Buddhism was completely changed. We read in the *Suvarṇaprabhāṣa Sūtra*, quite the contrary doctrine : *Na Buddha parinirvātī, na Dharma pariṇtyate* which utterances have close resemblance with and strikingly reminiscent of the lines of Bhagavad Gītā : "*Dharma Samsthāpanārthāya sambhavāmi yugē yugē.*" Meanwhile a huge mass of apocryphal sūtras and āgamas were being fabricated under Iranian or Chinese influences : the *Dinakaravapu* and *Sukhāvati Vyūha* ; the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* and *Suvarṇaprabhāṣa Sūtra*, altogether a branch of Indology for the study of which generations of students must come in future to France, the land of Senart and Levi, Chavannes and Pelliot who have revolutionized our conception of Asiatic history religion and art.‡

The most notable achievements of these French savants are not only to liberate the study of Buddhism from its traditional and academic grooves of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, but also to lay the foundation of the genetic study of Asiatic mind, amidst the apparent chaos of Buddhism and Mazdaism, Christianity and Manichism, Taoism and Shintoism-abysmal formless undercurrents eternally surging up into new forms :§ No wonder that there should be variety and multiplicity ; what is really wonderful is the fact that there is so much of symmetry in that baffling diversity, of rhythm in that chaotic dance and harmony in that elemental discord. The two centuries on either side of the appearance of Christ, are momentous in the history of Eur-Asia. The Chinese walls round isolated civilizations tumbled down and the whole laws of historic adjustment were changed. The Many confronted the One with all the relentlessness of a historical fact. Hindu mind accepted this challenge of history and supplied the only principle of co-ordination and synthesis, through the sublime utterances of one of the great post-philosophers of India, Aśvaghoṣa, who, as pointed out by Prof. Levi, opened his famous *Śraddhotpāda-Śāstra* with the preamble ; "That all beings may rid themselves of doubt, become free from evil attachment and by the *awakening of faith* inherit Buddha-seed, I write this discourse."**

Who knows what part was played by the dynamic of the Buddhist doctrine of *Sarvasattva*, by Hellenic cosmopolitanism and Christian charity in the elabora-

* Cf. Finot : "Buddhism in Indo-China," 1909. also Barth : "Inscriptions Sanskrites du Champa et Cambodge."

† H. Kern. "Ober de vermenging van Siwaïsme en Buddhisme op Java."

‡ Cf. Levi : *Les Saintes Ecritures du Bouddhisme* (1909). Levi : "Une langue pre-canonique du Bouddhisme" (1912).

§ Cf. Pelliot : "Lecon L'Ouverture du College de France" (1912).

** Cf. Suzuki—"Awakening of Faith" of Aśvaghoṣa, p. 47.

tion of the Indian path of Devotion or *Bhakti*. The divine solicitude of Aśvaghoṣa for the *Sarva-sattva*, in one aspect, is a re-statement of the Upaniṣadic concept of the *Sarvānubhūḥ* (the 'All-feeling One'). Suffice it to note that henceforth, for several centuries, India would be inundated with foreign races and alien creeds, each contributing to and transformed by that phenomenal assimilative capacity of Hinduism. Historic evolution follows its normal course from homogeneity to heterogeneity. Hence it is not a matter of accident that, during an epoch when Menander was confronting Nāgasena, Heliodorus was building in Besnagar the Garuḍadhwaḥa signalling his conversion to Vaiṣṇavism ; while near the same place Pushyamitra was celebrating his Aśwamedha ;* that copious coins and epigraphic records testify to the adoption of Hindu faith by foreign chiefs and that numismatic materials equally startle us by the frequent recurrence of Hindu iconographic symbols on the coins of the Greek and Romans the Śaka and the Kushana kings : Chaitya symbol on the coins of Agathocles, Chakra symbol on those of Menander, Lakṣmī on those Azilises, Śaiva symbols on the coins of Wema Kadphises and finally Buddha on the coin of the great Kushan emperor Kanishka.

Thus the natural human craving for individual *salvation through Faith* was producing that wonderful elaboration of Mahāyāna pantheon till it led to the practical identification of each individual with the Buddha. The same mentality brought about the gigantic elaboration of the Hindu pantheon through its doctrine of Incarnation, a variation of the Buddhist doctrine of *Nirmāṇa-kāya*. Thus on the one side we find 1000 Buddhas depicted in the grottoes of Central Asia (Toung-Huang) and on the other the *nāmanāla* of Śiva and Viṣṇu also reaching to the decent figure of 1000 ! And while the Greek mind helped Hindu Iconography, at its origin, by humanizing the divine, the Hindu mind ended by deifying the human ! It accepted the highest and the lowest, the sublimest and the grossest phases of existence as symbols of the Divine and then identified, in an uncompromising manner, the Being with the Brahma the *Tattvam-asi* of the Vedānta. Thus the three elemental Vedic deities, soon multiplied into 33, came gradually to reach the modest number of 33,00,00000 Koti gods, in fact the whole creation came to be the symbol of the creator.†

Enumeration and Classification.

Now that I have sketched, in a popular way the historical phases of Hindu Iconography I ask the permission of the learned audience of Musée Guimet to finish my discourse by recounting some of the principal types of our Hindu Gods and Goddesses.

Firstly, we notice that the Buddha type was transformed out of its Hellenistic traits and thoroughly Hinduized with characteristic Hindu technique. This would be apparent if we compare the Gandhara Buddhas with the Buddha-

* Cf. Archaeological Survey Report (1914-15). Bhandarkar : Report of the Besnagar Excavation.

† Cf. Coin Catalogues of Whitehead and Rapson.

rūpa of Mathurā, Sānchi, and Sārnāth, of Amarāvati and Nāgārjuni Konda, of Ajanta and Ceylon. It is remarkable, as Mr. Vincent Smith points out, that "the Graeco-Persian forms and techniques, Greek artistic canons and rules of proportion never succeeded in making headway against the strong current of ancient Indian tradition."* It is equally striking that traces of the influence of this Indigenous school is found by Dr. Anesaki to travel, side by side with the Gandharan style, as far as Central Asia, China, Korea and Japan. The hinduisation of Buddha went so far that he was identified as one of the ten *avatāras* of Vishnu.

Jaina iconography was never touched by the humanizing influence of Hellenic art. Hence it remained rigidly archaic, ritualistic and formal to the last, as a long list of Jinas and Tirthankars, although in temple architecture and painting the Jaina contribution was really great.

Gangā is a characteristic example of Hindu apotheosis of nature. From a Himalayan river she becomes the eldest daughter of the Himalaya and, through various legendary transformations in *Ramāyana* (1. 38-84), *Mahābhārata* (1.94) and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Ch. 35) she emerges as one of the most favourite of Hindu nature-goddesses. Besnagar Ganga is a masterpiece of Hindu art of modelling with unique suppleness of outline and fluidity of form. She came to be a wife of Śiva.

Lakshmi is a typical case of transfiguration of a local, probably agricultural goddess of the popular pantheon. She is the goddess of plenty and gradually becomes the goddess of beauty as well, seated on a lotus seat. Even before the appearance of Graeco-Buddhist icons, Lakshmi had the honour of iconographic representation by indigenous artists and appeared in Sānchi, Bārhut and Udayagiri. She appears on the coins of many kings, from the Greek Azilises to the Bengali Śasānka. She is a special favourite of the Gupta emperors. She multiplied herself into various types (*Vīra Lakshmi*, *Dhana Lakshmi* etc.) and, ultimately with *Saraswati* appears as the daughter of *Durgā* and *Śhiva* and as the wife of *Vishnu*.

Kārtikeya, under his modern name *Subrahmanya*, is one of the most popular gods of South India. Many popular temples are dedicated to him. He is first mentioned in *Chhāndogya Upanishad*, VII, 26.2. But in his conflicting birth-stories we seem to read the syncretism of several types and concepts of Indian war gods. *Arthaśāstra* prescribes four gates of the capital city to be called *Brahma*, *Aindra*, *Yama*, and *Saināpatya*. *Kumāra*, as the son of *Śhiva* and *Pārvatī*, is immortalised by *Kālidāsa* in his *Kumāra-Sambhava*. The Gupta emperors worshipped him in the form of *Skanda*.

Ganeśa, appears, as a son of *Śhiva* and *Umā*. But he is really speaking a non-Aryan God admitted into the Hindu pantheon rather late. For he is not mentioned in the *Rāmāyana* or in the original *Mahābhārata* and is absent from the older *Purāṇas*. *Ganeśa* is first mentioned in *Yājñvalkyā* (1. 270, 289, 293) as a demon hindering the success of men (*Vighneśa*), but helping those who

* Smith : *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, p. 8.

propitiated him. Possibly because of his affinity in name with Brihaspati, who in Rigveda (II. 23) is called Gaṇānām Gaṇapati, Gaṇesha becomes also a god of learning; and like all men of learning somewhat lacking in common sense. Hindu religious humour weaves round him legends of fantastic flavour. Java like Orissa, honoured Gaṇeśa with splendid statues, massive and meditative, gorgeous and grotesque.

Of the early Vedic gods, Indra, Sūrya and Brahmā had vitality enough to reach the historical period. But Indra passes out of vision after a short appearance as an attendant deity (Śakra) to Buddha. He is displaced by a powerful usurper—the Buddhist Vajrapāṇi.*

Brahmā had probably his origin more in speculation than in popular cult. Hence the god fails to appeal to the mass. Brahma is associated with Vishnu and Śiva in later works to complete as it were the Hindu Triad. But it is very significant that few temples are specially dedicated to Brahmā who however has the consolation of receiving an artistic consecration in Java though, even there, he is considered as an emanation of Śiva and Vishnu.†

Sūrya, originally an Indo-Iranian God (Mitra), came to preside over the Chaldeo-Dravidian planet-gods giving rise to the Nava-Graha (nine planets) frieze in many temples. But Surya had sufficient vitality and individuality to have a temple near Cabul; also the Mārtand temple of Kashmir (750 A. D.) and the famous Konarka temple of Kalinga (12th century A. D.) were dedicated to him. Surya tended constantly to be fused into Nārāyaṇa—Vishnu. The Sarnāth image of Sūrya is a masterpiece of Indian sculpture; though carved in stone it is eloquent with the message of life-giving light—a rare harmony of luminosity and virility.

Thus hundreds and thousands of gods and goddesses, with simple or elaborate symbols, with natural or supernatural carrying animals or *Vāhanas*, with human or superhuman poses (*mudrās*) and multiplication of heads, hands and limbs, may be found in the veritable ocean of Hindu Iconography. Hindu *Paurāṇikas* (mythologues) were ever ready to consecrate and classify these divinities by mythical genealogies. It is very interesting though difficult problem to ascertain whether the texts induced the types or that the types created the texts (*Sādhana-māla*). The latter was true with regard to Māhayāna pantheon according to Mon. Foucher; but the former seems to be more probable in the case of Hindu gods.‡ For we find, that after a few centuries of remarkable growth and artistic spontaneity, Hindu icons seem to be stultified and stereotyped through the despotism of the texts.§ This phrase is marked by the appearance of a vast amount of our mediæval Śilpa-sāstras, starting with the *Vrihat Samhitā* of Varāhamihira (5th century A. D.). Just as Hindu Kāvya (poetry) degenerated with the appearance of the later formal *Alamkāra* literature (*Ars Poetica*), from

* Cf. Senart: "Vajrapāṇi"—Congress of Orientalists.

† Archaeologisch Onderzoek op Java en Madura, Vol. II, 54.

‡ Cf. Foucher—L'art Graeco-Boudhique du Gandhara II, (1918).

§ Cf. Gopinath Rao—Hindu Iconometry (1920).

Kāvya-darśa to Sāhitya-darpana, so the appearance of Śilparatna and Śilpāsāra, Śilpasangraha and Mānasāra, signalised the stereotypization of Hindu Art and Iconography. It came to be more a matter of definition and faithful execution than of spontaneous creation. At any rate it lagged far behind the Hindu architectural technique as revealed through the grand Hindu Temples. Consequently, while the Hindu temple architecture attracted generations of students of comparative art, Hindu Iconography remained to this day a cryptic manifestation of very limited appeal and had led to very divergent impressions. Why and how it was stereotyped is a problem which belongs to the province of the Grammar of Hindu Iconography. Similarly there might be opened up two other very important branches of study : the Aesthetics of Hindu Iconography and the Philosophy of Hindu Iconography, tracing the iconographic instinct of the Hindus through vision (Dhyāna) to expression (Rūpa) and through realisation to predication.

Dropping those ambitious schemes, I return to my humble pursuit of the historical problem of Hindu Iconography. And the last, though not the least, important problem, which I beg to present before you, is the problem of Hindu Triad-the Trimūrti : Śakti, Vishnu and Śiva the three grand categories of Hindu Iconographic consciousness. Śakti symbolises creation, Vishnu preservation, and Śiva destruction : the three fundamental phases of human existence, richly illustrated by Indian plastic and pictorial art.

In the case of each of the three elemental deities we realise that "the Syncristic tendency of Hindu mythology," as pointed out by Prof. Jacobi, "is a most powerful factor in the formation of Indian gods." The goddess Śakti is a syncretism of various female deities and diverse concepts of Indian womanhood. Like her consort Śiva she is the Aryan transformation of many pre-Aryan divinities. As Ambikā she is the sister of Rudra-Śiva in Vājasaneyi Samhitā ; but she appears as his wife in Taittirīya Aranyaka, where she is also called Vairochanti, daughter of the sun-fire. Some of her later names, e.g., Kālī, Karālī etc., appear in Muṇḍaka Upanishad, as names of the seven tongues of Agni. Her names Pārvati (daughter of the mountains) and Durgā (the goddess of bloody sacrifice)-identified by Weber with Nirriti the Vedic goddesses of fire, of mountains and of savage tribes, were fused into an Aryan form.* Harivamśa preserves a curious tradition that Durgā is the goddess of the Śavaras, Barbaras and Pulindas ; Chandī appears in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, and Chāmundā in the Tantras and in Malati-Mādhava. The Chandi-Śataka of Bāṇa (57th century A.D.) refers to the killing of the Mahiśāsura an episode of which we have a spirited representation by the great sculptors of Mahārāstra and of Mahābalipuram. Over and above these elements of wildness and terror and bloody sacrifices, there came to be fused into the personality of the Śakti, the cults of erotic symbolism of later Tantrikism. It is a sealed book to many of us even to this day, the *terra incognita* of the religious history of humanity. Suffice it to say that it has its Aryo-Dravi-

* Cf. Arjuna's Hymn to Durgā-Mahabh. IV. 23.

dian as well as Sino-Tibetan phases. These two outstanding phases again are connected by an unique iconographic series manifest in the Dravidian Kālī, the Bengali Tārā, the Tibetan Vajravārāhī and innumerable Śaktis of the Buddhas and Śivas of Nepal and Tibet.* One important influence of this cult was the marvellous development of the modelling of bronze icons. Taranāth, the Tibetan historian, records that the ancient Nepalese school of art was based on that of Eastern Bengal of the 8th century and Tibet copied from Nepal. In fact the Nepalese artists became so famous that they were requisitioned by Kublai Khan the great Mongol Emperor, of China of the 13th century. Prof. Pelliot kindly informed me that the Mongolian name for a bronze-caster is *Balbo-chi*: now *Balbo* being the Tibetan name for Nepal, it brings us to the equation that the Bronze caster was the Nepal man!

Thus the Tantric Śakti worship, whatever influence it might have exerted on Indian life and character, modified profoundly the Eastern Asiatic bronze iconography. The valuable researches of Mon. Bacot and Mon. Hackin had already thrown a flood of light on this complicated problem. So the splendid work of Mr. O. C. Gangoli has demonstrated its value in a special study on South Indian bronzes. At the same time the valuable works of Pandit Haraprasād Sāstri and Nagendranāth Vasu, of Rākhaldās Banerjee and Ramāprasād Chanda, among others, are ever opening up new fields of investigation and of fresh research.

So the history of the Śakti cult, even in its terrific and revolting aspect, is highly interesting from the standpoint of comparative religion and art. This awful aspect of Śakti is balanced by a parallel evolution of the noble concepts of Hindu womanhood; graceful Kumārī (already mentioned in *Periplus*, 1st century A. D.) the daughter of delicate tenderness, Umā Haimavatī (of *Kenopaniṣad*, the personification of *Brahmavidyā*, or Divine knowledge), Gaurī the ideal wife, and Jagaddhātṛī the all-embracing mother of humanity. Through these stages she is ultimately transfigured as the primordial creative principle-*Prakṛiti*, further modified into *Yogamāyā* (of *Vishnu-Purāṇa*). Thus Śakti seems to summarise and symbolise the Hindu realisation of the Eternal Womanly in its several aspects, terrific and tender, sinister and sublime.

We should notice in this connection that while the female divinities are insignificant in the Vedic religion, they play a very important role in the evolution of later Hinduism. Similarly two other Vedic gods, Vishnu and Rudra, once of secondary importance, come to be so commanding in their aspect that they practically divided amongst themselves, the whole of India into two iconographic empires, the Vaiṣṇava and the Śaiva. The relative importance of these two sects, in comparison with other, would be manifest if one only turns the pages of standard works on the subject like Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's splendid monograph and Mr. Gopinath Rao's monumental works on Hindu Iconography.

Vishnu: The three steps of this god (*Trivikrama*) covering the earth, air and sky, are mentioned in the *Rigveda*, but Vishnu is not at all prominent

* Cf. J. Bacot: "L'Art Tibétain" (1911).

in the Vedic pantheon. There he is almost an emanation of Indra (whose younger brother he becomes in classical mythology). But he suddenly emerges as an outstanding god, by relegating to him the function of saving the world, by uprooting the demons. Not stopping with this usurpation of the function of Indra, Vishnu proceeded to deprive Brahmā of many of his titles to glory. For while in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa we read of the Kurma-Avatāra of Prajāpati and in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa also of the Varāha Avatāra of Prajāpati—all these incarnations are assumed later on by Vishnu.

While the Aryan mind was busy legitimizing the popular gods godlings and heroes, by retouching the Purāṇas, the doctrine of incarnation was elaborated; and here Vishnu showed a phenomenal vitality and adaptability. Thus we find him in some of the earliest representations as the Vedic Trivikrama at Ellora, and the cowherd god of the non-Aryan Abhiras on the rocks of the Mahabalipuram, 9th century A. D.; although Kālīdāsa had already invoked him in his Megh-dūtam: *Varheneva sphurita-ruchinā gopa-veśasya Vishnoh!* Later on the cowherd god was made, by the authors of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, (Burnouf's edition) to evolve one of the subtlest and sublimest of pastoral allegories: the Venugopāla playing his mystic flute from the 'Great Beyond', luring this limited life out of its sordid bounds and taking it up to ineffable and divine felicities. Side by side with this supreme poetic evolution of Vaishnavism, there went on the deepening of its philosophy of Love with the development of the *Bhakti* doctrine.* Krishna, first mentioned in Chhāndogya Upanishad as a human teacher, gradually develops into the semi divine philosopher of the *Bhagavad Geetā*, offering salvation through Grace. Similarly the whole of the Rāmāyaṇa was remodelled in order to make Rāma the human hero appear as the *avatāra* of Vishnu. Finally, to illustrate as it were his tremendous assimilative power, we find Vishnu bringing round him all the important Vedic and post-Vedic deities, in a remarkable piece of sculpture from Deogarh (Jhansi) of 6th-8th century A. D. Here we find Brahmā on a lotus, Indra on his elephant, Kārtikeya on his peacock and Śiva on his bull with Pārvati; Lakshmi is represented standing and Bhūmi-devi (Earth goddess) supporting the feet of the God of Gods, reclining in a conscious-unconscious mood, on the serpent Ananta, a masterly symbolism, as a whole, of life reposing on the bosom of Eternity!

Lastly, we trace the evolution of Rudra-Śiva. In Rīgveda Rudra is the father of *Maruts* (the howling winds), a malevolent deity. Several fire-gods like Nīla-greeva, Śīta-kapīṭha, Nīla-lohita, of the Śatarudrīya section of the Vājasaneyi Samhitā, were blended into the Rudra. But the plurality does not stop here. As a Gīṛṣa he is the lord of mountains, and as a Bhūteśa he represented the devil-worship of the non-Aryans who show a decided preference for Śaivism. Rudra had serious conflicts with the orthodox deities before he could

* Cf. Grierson: "Bhakti-Mārga".

secure a place in the regular Hindu pantheon. There was probably at first something too repulsive in the bacchanalian ritualism and phallic worship, associated with Śiva. But he was gradually transformed, by the accretion of purer concepts of Bhava and Sarva, till he became Yogīśwara and Mṛityuñjaya : the lord of cosmos, the master mystic, the conqueror of the all-conquering Death ! Śiva was the favourite God of the foreign tribes like the Śakas, Kusānas, Hūnas, etc., and he appears for the first time on the coin of Kadphises II. From that full representation of Śiva with his bull and trident, to the modelling of the Natarāja—the great exemplar of Hindu Iconography—what a progress in conception and execution ! In the Tāṇḍava Dance of Śiva, we have the glorious testimony to the Hindu genius of transfiguring almost any intractable art symbol or medium. In this *Chefs d'œuvre* of artistic creation, Vincent Smith, the historian of the Fine Art in India and Ceylon, reads "violent superhuman emotion" and "demoniac passion." But the Michael Angelo of the Modern sculpture Auguste Rodin (who was not an Indologist)—could read, in the light of his artistic intuition, something more. I quote from the posthumous paper of Rodin, on the "Dance of Śiva", kindly placed at my disposal by Prof. Sylvain Levi :

".....La materialité de l'ame qui l'on peut imprisonner dans ce bronze, captive pour plusieurs siècles ; desire d'éternité sur cette bouche, les yeux qui sont voir et parler. . . ."

Noblest tribute to an unknown Hindu modeller from probably the greatest modeller of our modern time.*

This sublime transfiguration of malevolence, destruction and death by the positive assertion of a supreme religio-aesthetic monism, representing the Creator as the struggling artist, engaged in the titanic task of transforming the chaos into cosmos, is probably the grandest specimen of Hindu Art and Spirituality.† Sometime, between the fourth and fifth century A. D., Viśākha-datta, in his *Mudrā-rākṣasa*, already suggested this process of transformation of Rudra-Śiva in his grand opening hymn :

"पादस्थाविर्भवन्तिमबनतिमबने रक्षत. स्वरपातैः ।

सङ्कोचेणैव दोष्णं मुहुर्भिनयतः सर्वलोकातिगानां ।

दृष्टिं लक्ष्येण नोऽग्रां ज्वलनकणमुचम् वपन्नो दाहभोते ।

रित्याधारानुरोधात् त्रिपुरविजयिनः पातु वो विश्वनृत्यम् ।"

Thus the apparently bewildering variety of the Hindu pantheon is found to resolve into three fundamental types : Śiva Śakti and Vishnu.‡ But

* Cf. Dr. Coomaraswamy's "Dance of Śiva".

† Cf. Hillebrandt—*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, Z. D. M. G. (1915).

‡ Cf. "Hindu Gods"—A. S. Geden.

the dynamic of irresistible monism in Hindu spiritual consciousness led to further conceptual evolution and the consequent iconographic concentration. Is the Creator separate from the creative principle? No! Hence Śiva fuses with his Śakti, giving rise to an unique iconograph-the Ardha-Nārīśwara (half man half woman), symbolizing the joint partnership of Prakṛiti and Puruṣa in creation. But is the creation itself detached from the Creator? questions the irrepressible Hindu! No; hence we reach the farthest stage of syncretism where Śiva fuses with Viṣṇu in the form of Hari-Hara: a remarkable Khmer representation of that composite deity can be seen in the vestibule of the ground-floor of Musée Guimet of Paris. Thus in Siva the Supreme Goodness was discovered the ultimate principle of Synthesis: Creative Principle is good and Creation is good; so Good only remains as the Supreme Reality, Cognition and Joy *Sat, Chit, Ananda*. Thus back again to the old formulation of the Upanishads: "Anandāddhyeva khalvimāni bhūtāni jāyante, ānandena jātāni jeevanti ānandam prayantyabhisamviśanti."

Thus in the borderland of Dream and Reality, in the twilight region of Art Religion and Philosophy, we cry out with our hoary Vedic ancestors: *Kasmai devāya havishā vidhema!**

* An illustrated essay read in a conference at Musée Guimet, Paris. 1921.

THE DANCE OF SIVA

M. AUGUSTE RODIN

THE DANCE OF SIVA

Reflecting on the whole figure of Siva (Nataraja)

Full-blown in life, the river of life, the air, the sun, the sensitiveness in an overflow—that is how it appears to us—the *art of the Far East*. ..

The divinity of human body was attained at that epoch, not because we were then nearer to the origins, — for our forms have remained exactly the same. But the slavery (of our mind) at present consists in believing to emancipate ourselves from everything, and we are out of the orbit. Our taste spoilt !

From a certain profile the Siva appears as a fine crescent.

What a genius in this pride of form !

To-day that beauty in the bronze is immutable. The imperceptible movement of the light. One feels the immobile muscles, all in sheaves, ready to spring up, if the light is displaced.

The shadow moved from place to place, working upon the master-piece, giving it something which fascinates : the profound delicacy coming from that realm of Obscurity—where it has been resting so long.

That suggestion of modelling. The mystic haze of Form ! As in something divinely regulated, there is nothing in that form, rebellious or jarring, one feels everything in its proper place. One comprehends the rotation of the arms, in spite of repose, by examining the shoulder-blade in its projection ; the frame, the admirable fixing of the ribs, taken up by the denticulated muscles for holding fast the shoulder-blade to its service. And the flank which continues the trunk of the body, strangulated here, squeezed there and then developing itself to shape the two thighs, two connecting rods, two levers, perfect angles ; delicate legs playing on the earth.

Before the Profile of Siva

They are admirable—the two arms which separate the breast and the abdomen. That gesture can well contest, for superiority in gracefulness, with the gesture of the Venus de Medici which defends her charms by the arms, while Siva does the same by an ingenious *mudrā*.

That shadow, on the right which separates the *torso* in two parts, falls gliding along the thighs, one-half shaded, the other quite in *clair-obscur* (light and shade) in inclined shadow.

In short, it is the virtue of profundity of contrast, of airiness, of power that counts ; but of the details, not a single one of them is good for itself ; they are life's veritable grace-notes, useless if they are not in relation with the general movement.

Those legs, of muscles elongated, suggest nothing but speed.

The thighs are drawn together in double caress, jealously enclosing the mysterious darkness : the noble plane of shadow, made more conspicuous by the light playing on the thighs.

Before the face of Siva

The pose is well-known, in the opinion of the artists, but there is nothing in it that is common-place ; for, in the whole pose, there is Nature and yet so far hidden away. There is, above all, something which any and every person cannot see : the unknown profundities, the foundation of life ! In the elegance there is grace, above the grace there is the modelling : all approaching very much something which one may call sweet, but it is vigorously sweet. And then, the words fail us !

There are the garlands of shadow, hanging loose from the shoulder to the haunch and the things flung squarely from the hips.

The two legs with different light-effects ; that thigh which casts on the other leg an elongated shadow.

Had there not been an inner modelling, the contour could not have been so plump and supple ; it would have appeared dry and withered with that shade on the right.

On the alleged barbarous art of Siva

The ignorant man simplifies things and looks at them vulgarly ; he amputates life in the superior art, on account of his love for the inferior, the petty, without taking account of higher things. One must study a little more in order to get interested and to see.

Upon looking lengthwise on the head of Siva

That inflated and projecting mouth full of such voluptuous expressions !

The tenderness of the mouth is in harmony with that of the eye.

The lips, like a lake of delight, on whose border breathe the nostrils so noble.

The mouth in its humid, undulated deliciousness, sinuous like a serpent ; the eyes full and closed—closed in a net-work of lashes.

The wings of the nose on a full plane, designed so tenderly. The lips that make words—that are in motion when they escape...such a lovely serpent in movement.

The eyes, which have only one corner to hide themselves in, are, in the purity of lines and tranquility, like crouching stars.

The peaceful atmospheres of these eyes ; the tranquil design ; the quiet joy of that tranquility.

The arrest is at the chin where all the curves converge.

The expression is continued through the converging point and returns in another form. The movements of the mouth lose themselves in the cheeks.

The curve which starts from the ear doubling up a little curve which draws out the mouth and to some extent the nostrils ; it is a circle which passes under the nose and the chin up to the cheek bone.

The re-mounting cheeks which resolve into their shapes.

Ever before the eloquent head of Siva

The eye rests in the same place with its companion ; it is in a favourable shade ; it is divinely voluptuous and luminous.

The closed eyes, it suggests the sweetness of days gone by.

Those eyes, designed as pure as precious enamel.

Those eyes in the jewel-box of the eyelids ; the arc of the eyebrows like that of the sinuous lips.

The mouth a grotto of the sweetest thoughts but a volcano of furies !

The materiality of Soul that could thus be imprisoned in that captive bronze for centuries ! The desire of Eternity on that mouth ; the eyes that will see and speak.

Ever and anon the life breath comes and goes through that mouth, like the bees entering and flying away continually ; sweet perfumed respiration.

The lovely profile lost as a profile but the Form where the expression achieves itself fully, sublimates itself, allowing the charm of the reclining cheeks to merge itself in the superb fixing of the neck....

IV

EAST - WEST UNITY

Compiled
BY
KALIDAS NAG

DEDICATED
TO
ROMAIN ROLLAND (1866—1944)

EAST-WEST UNITY

ROMAIN ROLLAND AND INDIA

Through a filiation strange and mysterious, historic personalities and great poets have occasionally felt drawn towards countries and peoples not their own. We cannot explain historically why Lafayette rushed to shed his heart's blood in the wars of American Independence, nor can we explain the spirit of dedication in Byron, to awaken the "Isles of Greece" and the whole Hellenic nation into a veritable renaissance of political and cultural life. The sacred memories of these "foreign" brothers have been enshrined in the hearts of the grateful nations for eternity; and as long as the United States of America and Greece would enjoy their free life, they would be thankful to their great comrades across the seas.

Such seems also to be the case of Romain Rolland and India, while we take a retrospective view of his relation with the suffering millions of India, especially during the last few years. When he published his study on "Mahatma Gandhi" 1923, our people, no less than Mahatma Gandhi himself, (as he confessed to me later on), were surprised beyond measure at the appearance of this world-figure in European arts and letters, as our "self-chosen advertiser" !* Since then, through countless interviews, articles and messages Rolland has voluntarily and enthusiastically vindicated the rights of the Indian people and interpreted our dreams and aspirations to the West, with phenomenal sympathy and fidelity. Ever a worshipper in the shrine of the Heroes of the Heart, the illustrious biographer of Beethoven, Michael Angelo and Tolstoy, Mon. Rolland felt instinctively that in the land of Tagore (read Rolland's Appeal in the *Golden Book of Tagore*, 1931) and Gandhi he would witness the drama of a colossal resurrection whose tragic alternation of light and shade could have fascinated a Tolstoy, whose heroes and heroines might have provoked a Michael Angelo to project them into plastic forms and whose surging cries of rapture and agony, could have been harmonised into a sublime Symphony of Beethoven. To that India, glorious beyond measure in the past and degraded beyond recognition in the present, Romain Rolland offered his spontaneous love through a dedicatory message in his *Mahatma Gandhi* which would ever

* I confess I knew practically nothing about our great and good friend before he imposed upon himself the task of becoming my self-chosen advertiser. . . . Perhaps it is better that I know him through the living touch of mutual friends. They have enabled me to understand and appreciate the deep humanity of all his acts in every sphere of life. *The world is the richer for his life and work.* May he be spared to continue the noble mission of spreading peace among mankind.—M. K. Gandhi; *Liber Amicorum Romain Rolland*, 1926.

remain engraven in our nation's heart and history : "To the land of glory and of servitude, where Empires are for a day and Thoughts are eternal. To the Indian people that defies Time ; To *India undergoing rebirth* !"²

Such a profound understanding and sympathy for a nation which is so remote and different from his own and a country which he has never visited, make us almost superstitious, a feeling which was confirmed when he told me that he had postponed the completion of a serial novel. The *Enchanted Soul*, because he was possessed by two master spirits of India, Ramakrishna and Vivekananda whom I discussed, along with Gandhi, when I was collaborating with M. Rolland. These studies prove beyond doubt the kinship of Romain Rolland with India of all ages ; not merely political India of to-day but of the cultural and spiritual India, the India of Rammohun Roy, of the Saint of Dakshinēśwara and of the militant Vedantist of the Chicago Parliament of Religions (1893). Through a most profound and penetrating presentation of such "precursors" of modern India, Romain Rolland demonstrated beyond all doubt that, quite in keeping with the eternal trend of her history, India was "ever on the march".

While the formidable organization of interested journalism of foreigners were ever distorting then the movements and makers of modern India so as to deprive this unfortunate nation of the sympathy of the world,—the single yet prophetic voice of Romain Rolland, by its utter sincerity and compelling love have carried conviction to millions of men and women the world over. The voice of a poet and prophet, luckily for mankind, is still more effective than the shrieks of machines and machine-made imperialism. Like a real brother, Romain Rolland, the Musician, could feel, in the simple words and the titanic struggles of Gandhi, the pulse-beat of our suffering nation, while he quoted the words of Gandhi at the end of his book : "Our struggle has for its object, its ultimate object, the friendship with the whole world. Non-violence has come amongst men and it has come to stay. It is the annunciation of World Peace."

Thus Romain Rolland lifted India's struggles for "above the Battle", into the region of universal history ; and the profound words, which he showed me as he wrote, in February, 1923, has not only lost their force but is telling on our hearts with redoubled vigour to-day : "World peace, alas, is very far still. We have few illusions. We do not ignore the material fatalities which are hanging over the 20th century, the crushing determinism of economic conditions, the centuries of passions and errors petrified into a shell covering us, which no light can penetrate.— But we know also the miracles of Spirit. As students of history, we have seen the lightning flash of Spirit, breaking the clouds darker than of our age. Our life is but for a moment but we hear in India the drum of the dancing Siva." By a strange coincidence we find that

* À la terre de gloire et de servitude, des Empires d'un jour et des pensées éternelles, Au peuple qui défie le Temps. Au l'Inde resuscitée.

probably Rolland's first concrete note on India is his preface to Dr. A. Coomaraswamy's book, *Dance of Siva*, (1919), translated into French by our noble sister, Madeleine Rolland, who, in her turn, was the annunciatrice of the drama of spiritual collaboration between India and the West through Romain Rolland. During the same fateful year of temporary truce to the world war, Romain Rolland found comfort from another master spirit of India, Rabindra Nath Tagore, who supported, his grand declaration of the Independence of the Spirit ("Declaration d'Independence de l'Espirit : *Vide Les Precurseurs*, Page 221-26), published after the World War, in the spring of 1919 : "Labourers in the region of the Spirit, comrades dispersed all over the world, separated by armies, by censorship and the hatred of nations in war, we address you at this moment when barriers are collapsing and frontiers are reopening, an Appeal for rebuilding our fraternal Union."

The creator of Jean-Christophe, master-artist Romain Rolland, by his intuition and vision is a comrade and a brother to us in this struggle for Freedom which affects not only the future of three hundred and fifty million of India but of the entire humanity. Odds may be against us but we have faith and hope because India has found in the West a Romain Rolland.

ON SHAKESPEARE

BY

ROMAIN ROLLAND

The Modern Review, November 1925.

ON SHAKESPEARE

[The Indian admirers of Romain Rolland would be happy to know that they are at one with the great French artist on an important literary issue, viz., a common admiration for the immortal Shakespeare. Privileged to discuss with Mon. Rolland (in September, 1923) the literary and artistic influences on him, I discovered, to my great joy, that the French master cherished a profound love for Shakespeare. He went so far as to say that Shakespeare had exerted on him an influence greater, both in quality and quantity, than that of many French classics. Shakespeare was a sort of the "Literary Bible" to Rolland. The *tercentenary* of Shakespeare's death (celebrated in April, 1916) evoked the most glowing tributes from Romain Rolland who showed that he had not only made an exhaustive study of the great dramatist but was also planning to consecrate a special volume (on the same lines as his *Lives* of Beethoven, Michael Angelo and Tolstoy) to the memory of Shakespeare. The publication of the volume was unfortunately delayed ; but I had the good fortune to have Mon. Romain Rolland's permission to publish some of his ideas on Shakespeare inaccessible as yet to the Indian public. I beg to thank him at the very outset for helping me to trace these precious documents and to republish them in English, in view of the 400 Birth anniversary of Shakespeare (1564-1964).

I request my readers, not to judge these pages as a complete survey of Shakespeare by Rolland, for he himself makes the following apology : These pages form a series of special studies on the works of Shakespeare. "One should not seek herein the judgment as a whole, which cannot emerge except in the *ensemble* of a volume. So vast is the genius of the Poet that one must limit oneself to study only one of the phases of his genius ; we have wished merely to bring to light his intrepid vision of Life. Pessimism seems to be its fruit, but it is not the dominant impression and the crowning piece of the art of Shakespeare. The liberating character of his genius would be shown in the chapters to follow. But, as we had to choose, we have preferred to show here the Heroic Truth, without illusion without compromise, which is at the basis of that marvellous edifice of poetic dreams."

So with grateful thanks to Mon. Romain Rolland and to the Editor of the Swiss journal "*Demain*" in which the article was first printed (April, 1916), we republish this valuable study. It was written amidst the most harrowing outburst of savagery in the heart of this civilised world, during the first world war ; and the bleeding heart of the great French champion of Fraternity found its support and solace in the deathless creations of Shakespeare. Against the cruel vandalism of man, Rolland placed the redeeming faith of a creative artist.

As in his studies on Carl Spitteler the Swiss poet, so also here, we find Rolland ever soaring, "above the Battle" of our tragic existence, to the supernal heights of everlasting Truth and Beauty. This eternal character of Shakespeare has also been emphasised, by our Rabindranath, in the noble sonnet which he dedicated to the great Dramatist on the tercentenary of the latter's death (*vide* "Balakā," XXXIX in my French translation *Cygne*, Paris, 1924)—Kalidas Nag.

TRUTH IN THE DRAMAS OF SHAKESPEARE

Shakespeare passed away three centuries ago, three centuries during which the nations of Europe have not ceased to tear one another to pieces for the futile conquest of a supremacy which none of them can attain to ; for they would thereby ruin themselves, one and all. But the radiating glory, of the constellations which fill the firmament of thought, extends indistinctively over one and all the countries. No land, no state has absolute rights over men of genius ; when they have restituted to their native soil the dust of their body, they are liberated from the barriers of countries ; and like the stars that illumine the night all over the world, their light remains for all.

May the light of the "sweet and wild" Shakespeare be with us for a few instants, amidst this darkness, like a beacon-light which rallies the hearts of those that are drifting—the mysterious bond which unifies the tangle of looks and spirits that are inimical !

* * *

One of the points on which men of all ages are unanimous, is the Platonic love which they profess for Truth and the very real dread which they have of her. They already betray this fear in this that they never wish to acknowledge it and they are hostile to those who point it out. The word Truth is on the lips of everybody, but how few care for the application of its meaning ! That seems to be the function of the thinkers and the writers whose vision has been sharpened by their habits of observation and analysis.

But for that, they must have as much courage as intelligence ; and if the latter is not common, the former is even exceptional. One does not doubt oneself when one enters the literary career as an enthusiastic and confident novice who believes that the only difficulty is to find the exact artistic expression of what one thinks. But he perceives gradually that the greatest difficulty is to have the will to say what one thinks, nay more, to dare to think. For conscience, vaguely dissatisfied with the limits which she imposes on her veracity, seeks remedy in supineness ; she reclines on the pillow and thinks only by halves—just thus far and no further—like children in a game who finish by convincing themselves that they would tumble into the abyss created by their imagination.

A tiny little paddock of human souls, narrowly enclosed by the hedge of social conventions, and the ditch of prejudices. The spirit ruminates in a docile manner the herbs reserved. Only a few beasts, a little more audacious, risk a glance across the barrier. But about surmounting it like break-necks ! Only a few madcaps like Pascal and Nietzsche have attempted the game.

It is, however, by the audacity in speaking Truth, displayed more or less in a work, that we judge of the moral or even intellectual superiority of the artist. From this point of view, when one observes closely, what a surprise to notice the insignificant extent to which that audacity attains ! This is specially so in drama ; for there one must speak through persons who, thus brought together, fuse their passions, their conventions, their prejudices, into a common mass ; and to make oneself heard, by that monster of a thousand heads, so that their hard sense of hearing could perceive the sounds, the artist must adopt one of the "temperaments" (as one says in music) wherein the crudity of the too sharp shades of thought disappears under a compromise which makes everything uniform. The artist, if he is conscious, can more or less, unmuzzle his Truth and give reins to his prudent audacity along the track which traces the passions of his age and his own hidden desires. For it so happens that, within the general constraint which society imposes on itself, it conceives obscurely a desire, with a view to relieving itself, of partial emancipation, of course in a pre-determined sense. So does it happen to a man who suffers from a general disease but, not wishing to trace it back to the very source, fixes his attention on one of the symptoms and is willing to persuade himself that the symptom is the chief enemy to combat with. The moralists and the satirists profit thereby in order to throw some light on the point ; but it is only a hole in the hedge. Truth passes through it, but she does so like a trained dog which obeys orders and seldom goes further than what is permitted. When a king gives tone to society and he finds it to his profit and satisfaction to bring down the pride of the higher classes, then Comedy flings her darts (as we find in the case of Molière) at the vices of the nobles or at the ridiculousness of the sudden-rich middle-class, or on literary frauds. When the sceptre passes to the hands of an ambitious, reasonable, vigorous and strong-backed middle class, the Satire invades the religious ground : for therein stands the rival who has to be ousted. But it is worth finding that what free speech gains on one side is not lost on another. One may say that the writer compensates for his boldness on one point by flattering concessions on all the other items. Men do not voluntarily stand radical criticism of the universe, the too sincere vision which depreciates this straw of a world where they are lodged. Men secretly like that some one else should wildly disturb their dreams as they lie reclined on the pillow of illusions ! Men know them to be illusions, and they even agree that some one should remind them of that fact. But it should be done casually, in a passing way, in a smiling manner, ever insisting that Truth must muffle herself in the mask of a symbol or a paradox in order that she may be

agreeable. In order that it should be supportable, Truth herself must appear as a Fiction !

Shakespeare knocked his head against these difficulties. No doubt he had the advantage of living in an epoch less timorous, wherein the artist had not to think about saving the sensibilities of the public, hardened by the experiences of physical misery. On the tragic enigmas of life and death, Hamlet could go as far as he desired in his meditations, and no one held his breath. But as soon as he bent himself to the criticism of Society, his task was as difficult as that of the modern writers ; nay, even more difficult, for he had to submit to the dangers of a capricious and tyrannical authority or rather of many such authorities, encroaching on one another : the monarchy, the nobility, the church and the brutalised populace. In one of his sonnets (No. IXVI) Shakespeare expresses his disgust with a life in which all forces of freedom and all truths are bound and gagged.

"And tight perfection wrongfully disgraced
And strength by limping sway disabled.
And are made tongue-tied by authority."

And yet Shakespeare succeeded, if not completely, at least sufficiently in enabling us to read the very bottom of that intrepid soul which, while loving this life to the extent of embracing it in all its forces, yet penetrated it so violently that he was never the dupe of any form or appearance.

* * *

His disguises were manifold.

To begin with, one of the favourite games which gratified his naughty irony was to lend to the parties concerned the criticism which they would never tolerate to listen to from other peoples' mouth. Thus, the princes abuse the nobles with impunity, the king ridicules the pride of birth, and few satires are as cutting to women as those flung by the witty Rosalinde. But, more habitually, Shakespeare confides his profoundest truths to two classes of spokesmen, each placed on either of the two poles of the human world,—he confides truth to the humblest of men : to slaves, to fools, to those who could tell everything because they did not count at all ; and, by way of exception, he confides it to those who count too much, who break through all human barriers that are too narrow, to the supermen and the heroes.

In this last category, which I shall discuss first, one must include not only those who are heroes in essence, but also those who are heroes by circumstance : men at the very height of misfortune, or on the verge of death, whose eyes open to see those things which they would never have dared to see straight till the last hour. A feeble and purile king like Henry VI, a wanton woman of Egypt like Cleopatra, suddenly stand transfigured on the threshold of death. They see and judge, with a calmness from on high, the things human and their illusions of which they were voluntary dupes for long. The furious Macbeth,

in the midst of the tornado which sweeps past his life, perceives in a flash of lightning as it were, the tragic inanity of all human volition. The fugitive Gloucester, in *King Lear*, discovers through his bleeding eyes not only the ferocious irony of implacable Fate (like the Ananke of Spitteler's *Prometheus*), but the social inequality as well, and a storm of revolt, almost *proletarian* in tone, rages through his words.

In these examples, the unfortunate or dying persons have to endure no trial in being truthful, they are already outside life; they are no longer tied by conventions. But those who, in full life, in the heart of the social order remain intrepidly truthful all round, in their looks, their thoughts, their words, and in their acts, how many such persons do we meet in a century? They are rare in every age and shall be more and more rare, as we may fear; for the democratic levelling of the world, advantageous to the mass, decapitates the leaders, the crests of the forest, as the spectacle of the present epoch is proving to us; never was the world lacking, to this extent, in independent and truthful personalities. The diffusion of sovereign power, in public life, amongst the bands of citizens, far from encouraging the liberty of isolated individuals, is imposing rather a tyrannical veto on individual opinion: forty thousand masters in the place of a single one!

In the age of Shakespeare, when the Great Rebels were less rare than to-day, they were all the same sufficiently rare; so that when one wanted to represent certain types of them, one had to place them in the far-away legends and histories. One can find a certain number of them however, in the works of Shakespeare; some princely vassals who dared, prompted by self-respect, by the need to be frank no less than by the interest of their master, to hold their head audaciously before their lord and tell him the cruelest of truths. Such types we meet in Kent of *King Lear* and Paulina in the *Winter's Tale*. Above these types, there is a small group of princely elites who rule the people they are destined to govern, from such a height that their vision is not obscured by flatteries and prejudices; the clear-sighted and thoughtful Henry V and his chivalrous adversary, the impetuous Hotspur, whose violence of temper brings him to ruin, but who is an equal to his slayer Henry, on account of the magnificent veracity which is Hotspur's own. Higher still stands the Bastard, the "laughing lion" of King John. Then there is Alcibiades-Bonaparte who scourges the advocates, the dishonest politicians and rotten legality (Cf. *Timon of Athens*, V. 5 with Napoleon's discourse of 18 Brumaire); and last of all, the hero absolutely free, standing quite on high, single against the whole world, and whose every word breathes a world of truth, Coriolanus. One may say that this Superman (*Ueberschensch*) is a veritable incarnation of Supertruth the heroic super-verity; for it is so very difficult, at times, for the common people to breathe in that atmosphere.

But if we count only on a *Coriolanus*, a *Bastard of Faulconbridge*, or on a *Kent* or a *Paulina* for listening to Truth, we run the risk of never having the privilege to know the taste of truth. These luminaries are like the comets which come after long intervals only if they do not lose themselves in the night of space. For ordinary life, we must have recourse to makeshifts. If truth can never show herself completely with face uncovered, she will wear a mask. And it is here that the utility of a Fool is clear and revealing to us : the significance of his capital role in ancient society as well as in the plays of Shakespeare, which hold up a mirror to that society.

There is the real fool and the veiled fool ; and it is often difficult to distinguish exactly the one from the other. In that confusion itself lies the disquieting attraction of the personages. In as much as one considers the person as nothing but a buffoon who entertains the happy people of the world by his vulgar sallies and his deformity, one has a good chance of despising or undervaluing a Fool, as people do to-day in a society able to pass its time in such entertainments. But that means seeing nothing. One satisfies oneself too easily with the conviction of one's own superiority. The special interest, I would even say the grandeur, of that old custom lies in this that the deformed creature, piteous, weakest of all, lying lowest in the social scale, represents the free spirit ; and that no one, not even the king, is safe from the shafts of his irony. One laughs, one feigns to think that the fool is irresponsible and extravagant. But does one really believe that ? We may be permitted to doubt it.* It seems rather to be a fiction necessary for permitting free air to penetrate a little into those cramped courts with their asphyxiating atmosphere of despotism.

Of that feigned folly, one finds all shades and degrees in Shakespeare, from the grossest to the most innocent, the *saves* of *Coriolanus*, the clown of the *Winter's Tale* and that of *All's Well That Ends Well* ; the ignoble *Thersites* even (*Troilus and Cressida*) rendered *clairvoyant* at times by his atrocious envy ! Going a little higher, there is the fool of king *Lear*, pining away in sorrow after the banishment of *Cordelia*, and remains loyal to the old king when others forsake him ; who would dare to say that he is a real fool ? *Goneril* knows that to be untrue. (*King Lear*, I. 4). Ascending a step further, not in the scale of morality but intelligence, we see the cynics, vicious or debauched, but who know life and are not dupes of anything : *Apemantus* of *Timon* ; the enormous *Falstaff*, to whom we permit everything, his vices and his truths, because we know that a superb humour radiates round him. But he says terrible things of those considered as the "pillars of society" : the army, justice, honour. Higher, still, the men of large heart and high birth, but who have lost their equilibrium through the blows of Fate : *Timon* and *Lear*. Lastly, the very highest of all, the best and most intelligent of men who is not

* The Duke : He (*Jacques*) uses his folly like a stalking-horse and under the presentation of that he shoots his wit' (*As You Like It*, V. 4 also II 7).

exactly a fool but a Hero who would seem to be one and who can, under that cover, express the open soul of a poet-Hamlet.*

[We have followed Mon. Rolland through his profound analysis of "Truth in the dramas of Shakespeare." How that truth manifests itself through the multiform creations of Shakespeare's protean imagination and how Shakespeare confronts the eternal riddle of Life, both in its tragic and comic aspects, pushing his audacious soul to the farthest bounds of human intellect and sensibility, plunging to the deepest depths of human suffering, soaring to the loftiest heights of serene detachment, is the subject of this second essay of Rolland on Great Shakespeare's "Intrepid vision of life."]—K. N.

The Intrepid Vision of Life

Shakespeare fathers on the characters certain truths. Let us proceed now to group these terrible varities, which are hard to face.

The fundamental vice which Shakespeare never tires of chasing hard is *hypocrisy*, from which all persons suffer; and perhaps they suffer the more the stronger they are, the more energetic are their animal instincts and the more rigidly tied, by the will of the state, is their Society. In our modern civilisation there is perhaps not a single vice which dares to expose itself completely. These take cover under a hypocritical exterior, which, as some say, is "the homage that vice renders to virtue"; but Hypocrisy is also probably the most dangerous snare that has ever been laid before virtue. For, it so happens, that the mass of people, can no longer distinguish between the false and the true virtue, or that they prefer the former which costs less effort. Nay more; the just man will always be misunderstood (if not actually crucified), for he provokes! He is a living reproach to the comfortable lie in the heart of all false manifestations of Reality and virtue. The greatest poets, as soldiers of Truth, have ever found in Hypocrisy their chief enemy. If the common recreation of kings, the hunting of hypocrites is the most favourite exercise of the poets also. It suffices to recall the names of Moliere and Ibsen. In England the name of these great hunters of hypocrisy is legion: Ben Jonson, Swift, Byron, Dickens, Thackeray and Bernard Shaw among others.

Shakespeare is untiring in his hunt after this big game. The figures of hypocrites appear in almost all his plays and in what a strong relief they are designed! I need not stop to describe them. There is "honest Iago," veteran poisoner of souls, Italian type of the Renaissance epoch, refined in his villany, who plays with his victims and enjoys their convulsions! There is the sinister Angelo, in *Measure for Measure*, odious yet not contemptible, example of the dangers to which leads the excessive compression of a social constraint which

* In passing we note how strange it is that critics have been disputing, for a long time over the question, whether the madness of Hamlet was real or feigned! The text of Shakespeare indicate clearly the wish of Hamlet to play the role of a mad man.

is disproportionate to the brutality hidden in the human nature still retaining its wildness. There is the queen of Cymbeline, composed of Belise and Agrippina, the honeyed wife and mother-in-law, bookish woman, studying medicine, and fabricating poison, ambitious and homicidal, profiting by her royal idiot of a son. There is, in a comic setting, Malvolio, the amorous Puritan, scoffed at, as we find in *The Twelfth Night*. Then there are the intellectual hypocrites to whom Timon addresses a few home truths : good artists, painters or poets with only "a little fault," that they love, feed and keep in their bosom a knave and "yet remain assured that he is a made-up villain." (*Timon*, V. i). We have then the admirable piece, *Henry VIII*, a drama of the over-refined court in which passions hide their paws under fur gloves ; the two princes of hypocrisy, face to face, the King and the Cardinal Wolsey, the royal tiger cat and the insidious meddling cat, surveying each other's face with a smiling and yet terrible tranquility. But the most perfect of all, the most ingenious and the most tragic of all hypocrites is the "wild boar of York," the "big-bellied spider," "the poisonous hunch-backed toad," Richard III, the arch Fraud as king and hero, the most extraordinary creation of a hypocrite, the rarest species, enjoying brutality, the savage simple man.

"I am too childish-foolish for this world (*Richard III*, I. 3).

This man dares to make a declaration of love to the daughter, to the wife and to the mother of the person whom he had assassinated and before his very coffin ; he even extorts the love of those women who hate him ! So profound is the aversion of the Poet for hypocrisy that he endows his favourite hero of history the young Harry, *Henry V*, with strange conduct, licentious and frivolous. When the Prince's father is fatally ill, Henry continues to laugh and to behave extravagantly, although his "heart bleeds inwardly". To his boon-companion Poins, who is scandalised by such indifference, Henry replies :

"...But I tell thee, my heart bleeds inwardly that my father is so sick ; and keeping such vile company as thou art, hath in reason taken from me all ostentation of sorrow,

Poins. The reason ?

Prince. What woudst thou think of me if I should weep ?

Poins. I would think thee a most princely hypocrite.

Prince. It would be every man's thought, and thou art a blessed fool to think as every man thinks.....every man would think me a hypocrite indeed." (*Henry V*, II. 2)

Type of dignified reserve, found in the Nordic countries, in natures most virile, which, instead of allowing the lightest exaggeration of a noble sentiment that may seem hypocritical to pass insensibly, would rather wear the mask of cynicism or harshness.

Shakespeare denounces hypocrisy in all its forms, social and moral : hypocrisy towards others, hypocrisy with regard to one's own self. And when frantic archers like Timon, Lear or Hamlet appear, they let fly their arrows

against hypocrisy, sometimes even overshooting the mark. As a reaction against gaping sanctimonious optimism which refuses to see, a severe misanthropy pushes sometimes to a view of life so hard and deadly that it almost kills life and leaves nothing behind but a rotten corpse. This corroding spirit is also detected in those terrible sculptures, of the end of the 16th century, which under the cover of "living" images, reared "dead souls." But the excess of this pessimism expresses only a view of the universe which is reflected in the souls of that epoch convulsed by the excess of suffering. Not prone to generalisation, Shakespeare indicates that the above point of view is justified in the case of those who are overwhelmed by misfortune, and that no one has any right to judge life and humanity who has not faced and endured the formidable test of misery with the piercing eye of an eagle. *Durch Leiden Licht* : Through Suffering Enlightenment.

Just to habituate ourselves gradually to stand that penetrating light, we should follow the inverse progression of spirit, step by step, right up to the top of the vast social pyramid. But we shall follow here the contrary process of descending from the summit : the king, the princes, through the hierarchy of classes, down to the common man, quite nude, robbed of all tinsel coverings. If there are risks in attacking the prejudices of such and such a class, those risks are ephemeral and do not touch the totality of mankind. But there are other things which cut humanity to the quick, which plunge to the very sources of life and scrutinise our fundamental instincts : Love, Pride, Passion, Action—our splendid idols which consume, as in a furnace, all our forces which are offered at their feet as if in a sacrifice.

Although living in a milieu of aristocratic society, a friend of dukes and lords, and a poet attached to the Court, and although himself professing a high disdain for the political pretensions of the common people,—Shakespeare, whose work echoes to all the thrills of the universe, has registered, so to say, the rumbling of far-off Revolutions ! One feels, as says Hamlet, that "the age is grown so picked that the toe of the peasant comes so near the heel of the courtier, he galls his kibe" (V-1) Shakespeare is without any illusion about the value of titles and dignities. The Prince of Aragon. (The Merchant of Venice, II. 9) exclaims :—

"O ! that estates, degrees and offices
Were not deriv'd corruptly, and that clear honour
Were purchas'd by the merit of the wearer.
How many then should cover that stand bare.
How many be commanded that command :
How much low peasantry would then be glean'd
From the true seed of honour : and how much honour
Pick'd from the chaff and ruin of the times
To be new-varnish'd !"

"...See, how yond Justice rails upon you simple thief. Hark, in thine ear ; change places ; and handy-dandy, which is the justice, which in the thief ? Thou hast seen a framer's dog bark at a beggar ? And the creature run from the cur ? There thou mightest behold the great image of Authority ; a dog is obeyed in office. The usurer hangs the cozener. Through tatter'd clothes small vices do appear. Robes and furr'd goods hide all. Plate sin with gold, and the strong lance of justice hurtless breaks : arm it in rags a piggy's doth pierce it" (King Lear, IV).

A little bit of gold would procure, for the fittest man, exemption from military service, as we find in the court before Justice Shallow (Henry V. 2nd part. III. ii) with the big-bellied Falstaff, cynical and cowardly, as its president and the small judge Shallow, "that Vice's dagger, lecherous as a monkey". But the poor devils are always "good for the pricking test," even when sore footed, crippled, diseased and coughing their lungs out—

"food for powder, food for powder, they will fill a pit as well as better mortal men" (Henry IV, First part, IV ii)

Money—or to use its larger title-self-interest, is the lord of nations as well as of individuals. One may buy up a State just as one buys up a judge. Peace and war follow in the wake of the price paid for them. The foolish blind people never know the real reasons ; they are made to do what is wanted, even in a nation which calls itself the knight-errant of Justice—

"whose armour conscience buckled on, whom zeal and charity brought to the field as god's own soldier, rounded in the ear with that same purpose-changer, that sly Devil, that still breaks the pate of Faith, that daily break-vow, that wins all, of kings, of beggars, old man, maids—that smooth-fac'd gentleman, ticking Commodity—the bias of the world—

The world, who of itself is seized well,
Made to run even upon even ground,
Till this advantage, this vile-drawing lies.
Makes it take head from all indifferency,
From all direction, purpose, course, intent."

(King John, II. 2)

It is interest that determines declaration of war or conclusion of peace, and both of them are more or less the same, none is better than the other, as the servant of Aufidius remarks with reason : that Peace "makes men hate one another—because they then less need one another," (Coriolanus, IV. 5). And as regards the cruelties of War,—these astonish only those persons who would not see the cruelties of peace ! "Religious canons, civil laws are cruel ; then what should war be" ?

(Timon, IV. 3,

One cannot be surprised at anything except at the futility of human reason, on account of which thousands of men suddenly fling themselves at one another's throats, as the Norwegian captain avows naively to Prince Hamlet (IV. 4). In reality, War and Peace are but two different and successive phases the same malady, which is no doubt the disease of life :

"Make war breed peace ; make peace stint war ;
Make each prescribe to other as each other's leech." (Timon, V. 4)

If one could at least hope for progress, possible only through a change in the social conditions ! But one seems not to find any such hope in the works of Shakespeare. He seldom aspires to replace the lords of to-day by a new set of lords. As one of his characters exclaim : "The king is dead. Ill news by'r lady ; seldom comes the better" ; (Richard III, II, 3). The common people do not evoke in the heart of Shakespeare an iota of hope. Few have spoken about the people with more violent distrust. One may easily prepare a pamphlet, entitled *The Anti-people*, with quotations from his historical and Roman plays. He expects nothing from that "hydra" (Coriolanus, III, I) that

"Like to a vagabond flag upon the stream,
Goes to and back lackeying the varying tide,
To rot itself with motion." (Antony & Cleopatra, I 4)
Shakespeare is against the idea of universal suffrage .
"The multitudinous tongue—Suffer it and live
With such as cannot rule nor will be rul'd." (Coriol, III, I)

Coriolanus would take away from the People all control in the State. That would be not only for the interest of the state but of the people as well. No good is possible so long as the people are bound to submit to the control of evil ; "not having the power to do good it would, for the ill which doth control it."

No ; Shakespeare would not swear by the magic name of Popular Revolution. The bestial Caliban conspires against the noble Master, and the ignoble revolt of Cade (Henry VI, second part, IV 2, 7) shows that he did not want a renovation from the depth of Revolution. Shakespeare's pessimism does not offer the mystic consolation of Jean Jacques Rousseau and Leo Tolstoy, extolling the doctrine of "back to Nature."

Without doubt, any one willing to see naked Truth, must return to Nature and see Humanity in the state of Nature, as did the king Lear, tearing his robes to become again the natural man like the poor Tom in rags :

"Thou owest the worm no silk, the beast no hide, the sheep no wool,
the cat no perfume: Ha ! here's three on's are sophisticated ; thou art the thing itself" (Lear, III, 4.)

But, the spectacle which awaits Shakespeare has nothing consoling about it. Unrobed by Hamlet, what remains of Love, of all Beauty of this world ? What a vision like that of Pascal ! (Lear, II 2). And the vision of Lear is more terrible. His "infected imagination," as he says himself, leaves no covering of illusion for the shameful nudity of the human animal. His awful look, his words of atrocious cruelty exhume the most intimate secrets of body and mind (IV, 6). And what would remain for that being dying with shame and self-disgust ? Does that mean total destruction ?

No! In the tragic night which envelopes sombre truth, a Star appears, a tiny ray of light Compassion. She remains for ever. After the mad old king, "crown'd with rank fumiter and furrow weeds, with burdocks, hemlock, nettles, cuckoo-flowers, darnel and all the idle weeds", summons before the tribunal of his implacable insanity, the falsehoods of mankind; and after he has forced us to admit that we are all equal in shame, it is not a condemnation which comes out of his foaming mouth. The thing that escapes his lips unawares, is a grand savage pardon.

"You must bear with me.

Pray you now, forget and forgive!" (IV. 7)

[We present now the last paper to complete the trilogy of Romain Rolland on Shakespeare. Rolland has discovered in Shakespeare and through that master playwright he pronounced the supreme philosophy that Art is a Sublime Play. But it is not an irresponsible play, as the doctrine is made to mean in its distorted version. Art is *Līlā* or divine play which, through its eternal dance-rhythms of joy, liberates the human soul from the trammels of Reality. This has its striking friendly echo in the philosophy or art suggested or sung by Tagore through that masterpiece of dramatic symbolism, *Phālgunī*, the Cycle of Spring, of our Rabindranath. The improvisations on the Vedantic *māyā* and the Vaiṣṇava *Līlā* of Indian philosophy, seem to strike a sympathetic chord to this symphonic orchestration of Shakespeare as interpreted by Rolland, the master harmoniser of the Occident in this age of discord. We salute Maître Rolland by presenting this English version of his papers to his Indian admirers and conveying to him our gratitude and good wishes, on the celebration of the 60th anniversary of his birth (1866-1926)]

Kalidas Nag.

The Liberating Genius

The aspect of the great plays of Shakespeare is tragic; the thoughts underlying them are terrible. And still the general impression of the work is luminous. Where then is the hidden Sun?

The first reply to the question, the reply that suggests itself to the mind most easily is, that a work like that of Shakespeare is so vast that it embraces all that exist: joy as well as sorrow, and that the one corrects the other. The work of Shakespeare is like nature itself: each one of us can draw out of it what we are in need of. And inasmuch as the secret instinct of men invariably drives them towards joy, it is the dream of joy which is best retained by men, Memory, which is only an accomplice of the heart in this game, draws a veil over the sorrowful sights.

But we are not going to take our stand on such an explanation. For, in the immense canvas whereon Shakespeare projected the spectacles of Life, the

values are not the same in all cases : the comedies, for example, however poetic they may be, cannot be balanced against the grand tragedies. And even Falstaff himself, in spite of his radiance of Pantagruelic gaiety (corrected, however, by the lugubrious end), cannot hold his own against a *King Lear* or a *Coriolanus*, in the total work of Shakespeare. In fact, the interest of the problem lies in this, that it is not the character or the play the most gay but the most sombre that radiates the strongest light.

And it is here that we enter the very heart of the question that, transcending Shakespeare, touches the very soul of Art : The liberation of the Spirit through art. Art is like a mountain. In a certain degree of altitude, all great works, whatever may be the subject-matter, brings joy to the soul. One can even assert that, in the interior of that zone, one tastes a superior kind of delectation in things tragic. The third act of *Orpheus*, the last few scenes of *Alcestis* have, in the act of relaxation of spirit, no other advantage but that of gradually bringing us down from the giddy heights of emotion to a mundane quietude which prepares the public to resume their everyday life. But the conventional optimism of those scenes seems tame and insipid after the strong joy of suffering which suffuses the preceding scenes. At the end of the terrific *Oedipus*, with the termination of the implacable march of Fate set against the struggling hero, we breathe more freely; and our heart seems to be filled with the solemnity of a starry night. Malwida von Meysenburg recounts in her memoirs how, during one of the bitterest days of her life of exile in London, with her soul prostrate through struggle and tending towards suicide, she witnessed the performance of *Othello* ; and from the spectacle of such an unfortunate soul, she drew a new courage to live ! Whence comes this good ?

It comes from the fact that Art is a sublime play. It is not disinterested play either. What play is quite disinterested ? Art is the supreme play of Spirit which, liberating itself from the cruel laws of life, becomes by itself the creator of life and master of the laws which govern the universe, modelled by the spirit in the image of Reality. From the plains of Simois, where the warriors confront one another, the human spirit wafts itself up to the god Zeus, who is observing and feeling their passions serenely from distance and without the poisoned sting of passions. But compared with Zeus, the human spirit is more deeply moved ; for it knows that it is sheltered only for a moment and it enjoys more ardently that recess accorded in the brief interval of life's agonies ; it must plunge into that condition of existence—that world of Death. Only for an instant is the human soul invulnerable ; and looking down upon the arena, with eyes half shut, it contemplates, as it were in a dream, the trials and struggles of brother spirits with a passionate emotion which secretly recalls their struggles to his own ; and with a smile of relief which reminds it of the fact that the soul is only dreaming ! The more tragic is that dream, the more anxiously does the human soul scrutinise, on the features of its poetic "double" ; the shudders of sufferings and the forces of

resistance which its brother-spirit brings to the struggle. In fact it is a sentiment like that of the Romans who rushed to the Gladiatorial circus, propelled by the same sort of desire unavowed. But for grossly realistic natures, denuded of imagination, with callous insensibility like that of the Romans, there must be actual shedding of blood and the horror of real agony. The tragic art creates its spectacle quite entire, out of the substance of dreams and not out of living flesh; it is woven out of man's combats, his joys and sorrows; it is always the bloody game, but he knows that it is only a *game* and that, here all is but *dream*!

The strength and efficacy of Tragedy would be greater in proportion to the illusion being more intense and the dream-feeling more profound; comparable to the essence, a few drops of which suffuse the lovely body with perfume. These two conditions of success are rarely fulfilled in drama. Shelley's drama of the Soul, of disembodied spirit, evaporates into a rainbow-coloured dream. And a masterpiece of Ibsen like the Little Eyolf appears like a block of stone on the head of a swimmer who sinks by a weight heavier than any burden that is suffocating us. In the case of the highest types of genius, in a Sophocles and a Shakespeare, the equilibrium of the two forces that of the Real and of the Dream, is superbly maintained, and that is the great secret, the hidden Sun, in their creations.

However, that equilibrium is not produced by the same elements in the case of all master artists. The sober harmony and the perfect healthiness of a Sophocles do not resemble, in any way, the overwhelming polyphony and the demons of riotous souls in the dramas of Shakespeare, more than the Gregorian chant resembles the death of Ysolde in Wagner's Opera. But, if the quantities employed in the game are changed, the proportion remains the same; a more enormous weight of passion-charged reality is opposed and balanced against a more violent mastery of the Soul and more fascinating capacity of Dream.

Let us proceed to examine briefly the two poles of the balance.

The reality which Shakespeare presents before us is, in almost all his masterpieces, always a paroxysm. It does not simply supply the facts of the play which, in essence, represents a crisis of the Soul. All such crises are not of equal value. Each crisis brings into play the supreme powers of an individual soul, towards the direction of a given passion. The worth of each crisis, therefore, is in proportion to the worth of that soul and wafts us to a height to which the wings of that soul may bring her. But the divine frenzy in the genius of Shakespeare reveals itself in the selection of those souls. Each soul has been selected, with the eye of an eagle, so as to be like a camp of election-fight, where passions are born and suddenly surge up to the plenitude and the total exhaustion of its torrential strength. From the very first words of Lear, egotism and pride roar like wild beasts. From the first awakening of ambition, the savage imagination of Macbeth bounced to the encounter of

crime : the assault of the inner tempest is so thundering that his hairs stand on end and his heart knocks at his ribs ! He stumbles from the reality that envelopes him and he sees nothing but what is in the future :

"Present fears are less than horrible imaginings : my thought, whose murder yet is but fantastical, shakes so my single state of man that function is smothered in surmise and nothing is but what is not" (I. 3).

The tender Juliet, from the moment that she loves, is love all round. Nothing else exists any more. When one announces to her the death of Tybalt and the banishment of Romeo, she cries out :

Romeo is banished ! To speak that word is father, mother, Tybalt, Romeo, Juliet, all slain, all dead. 'Romeo is banished !' there is no end, no limit, measure, bound in that word's death."

Troilus, lovelorn, expecting Cressida, is afraid lest, when he would see his beloved, the joy would prove too strong and would mean death and annihilation of his being.

"Death, I fear me, surrounding destruction, or some joy too fine, subtle, potent, turned too sharp in sweetness for the capacity of my ruder powers" (Act. III. 2).

So the love for her children is as limitless as the hatred in Margaret of Anjou against York (Third Part of Henry VI, i. 4) and against Richard III (I, 3 ; IV. 4).

"I am hungry for revenge, and now I cloy me with beholding it..... At hand, at hand ensues his piteous and unpitied end : Earth gapes, hell burns, fiends roar, saints pray to have him suddenly conveyed from hence. Cancel his bond of life, dear God ! I pray that I may live to say, the dog is dead" (IV. 4).

The group of jealous souls : Posthumus of Cymbeline, Leontes of The Winter's Tale, Claudio of Much Ado About Nothing and Othello, the Moor of Venice, are tigers growling with hunger for gnawing and choking the prey under their claws.

"First to be hanged and then to confess, . . . I would have him nine years a-killing" (IV. 1).

Leontes would dash out the brains of his child on the pavement. These unchained passions, sometimes unify or hurl themselves against one another, forming a symphonic combination that is formidable ; so that one would consider them as sweeping tempests of elemental forces. Such an Aeschylean scene we find in Richard III, attempting to drown the imprecations of the three vociferous women under the rattling of drums and sounding of trumpets. Such is also the scene of the tempest with the three madcaps in King Lear (III 2, 4) ; or in the epic and funereal *tableau* which opens Henry VI, around the tombs of the hero in Westminster Abbey ; the furious disputes of the great barons whose apostrophisings are cut short by the arrival of the messenger in the fashion of antique dramas, and the succession of news of defeats and mournings, like the toll of

death-bells. { Nearly all the dramatic situations of the great plays are like a flood-gate which gives way under the rush of Passions. They boil and foam in a Macbeth a Lear and a Romeo. From the moment that the torrent is let loose, we must follow its course.

But while the heart is carried away by the current, the very same moment the Spirit plays above, like a ray of light on the water or like a sea-gull which flies over the waves, touching them with its wings balancing itself on the waves, yet far from them ; and thus the Spirit enjoys the game and knows that it is free.

The sentiment of dream penetrates the genius of Shakespeare. It is neither so profound nor so essential in any other dramatic poet. By fits and starts he catches his tragic heroes in the midst of action and transforms them into somnambulists who find themselves, like Macbeth, suspended on the brink of the abyss :

"Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more ; it is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing." (V. 5,)

Hotspur suddenly arrests himself in full career, and, falling, as it were, into the abysmal depth, measures the void :

But thought's the slave of life and life time's fool ;
And time, that takes survey of all the world,
Must have a stop." (Henry IV, Part I, V, 5)

Hamlet is not fully conscious if he is not dreaming with eyes open ! The eyes of Cleopatra awakens from the dream of life just on the eve of her final departure from this world. She is detached from that dream of love, of splendour, which she adored so much. From the shore of death she contemplates with irony the conquerer Caesar Augustus, who is but a slave of Fortune ministering to her caprices. She escapes the influence of the "Fleeting moon" which presides over the fate of human dreams. She is no longer a woman.

"I have nothing of woman in me ; now from head to foot, I am marble-constant." (Act V, 2)

So in King Lear, Edmund expires with, "It is past and so am I"

When that sentiment of the illusion of life suddenly flashes upon Shakespeare's heroes who once believed furiously in life, they seem to feel the very root of the vacillating Tree of Life, which they had clung to with desperate energy. Then they appear like those blinded by the tragic glare ; and surcharged with bitterness they do not see in all that exist, anything but a sinister Farce.

"As flies to wonton boys are we to the gods ;
They kill us for their sport" (Lear, IV. I.)

So speaks Gloucester,

But the soul of the Poet soaring above them, smiles with an affectionate and curious irony at the charming spectacle which this universe offers him :

"Al! the world's a stage
And all the men and women merely players ;
They have their exits and their entrances,
And one man in his time plays many parts,
His acts being seven ages." (As You Like It, II. 7)

The poet Shakespeare has compassion for human sufferings and at the same time he fondles and enjoys them ; he "can suck melancholy out of a song as weasel sucks eggs," just as it was the habit of the melancholic Jaques, another self of Shakespeare. And through the mouth of Jaques he gives the secret of that melancholy, which is another form of joy, sister sentiment to that which La Fontaine tasted ; the joy of the free Spirit, too free perhaps, vagabond and nomadic like the flock of migratory birds whose home-land is the immense Void of the sky :

"I have neither the scholar's melancholy, which is emulation, nor the musician's which is fantastical ; nor the courtier's which is proud ; nor the soldier's which is ambitious ; nor the lawyer's, which is politic ; nor the lady's, which is nice ; nor the lover's, which is all these : but it is a melancholy of mine own, compounded of many simples, extracted from many objects ; and indeed the sundry contemplation of my travels, which, by often rumination, wraps me in almost humorous sadness."

To which Rosalind retorts jeeringly :

"A traveller ! By my faith, you have great reason to be sad. I fear, you have sold your own lands to see other men's then, to have seen much and to have nothing is to have rich eyes and poor hands."

"Yes", replies Jaques, "I have gained my experience."

Nothing can be had for nothing. It is at the expense of his own life, of his personal happiness, that the Poet buys the luminous rays of the Spirit. As Prospero avows, that it is the essence of his days, of his everyday souvenirs that power is built ; "Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves, weak masters though ye be—" ; yet Shakespeare-Prospero has, by your aid, "bedimm'd the noontide sun, called forth the mutinous winds," and resuscitated the past centuries, so that at his command, "the graves have waked their sleepers (Tempest, V, 1)* He lives life at its best and he dominates, in his turn. Time which dominates Life He makes Time one of his actors in the Winter's Tale, IV. 1). As a colleague of time, Shakespeare knows that he can, in spirit,

* "It is remarkable that in his enumeration of the spirits whose aid has been invoked, Prospero-Shakespeare mentions only the spirits of the country-side, familiar in his life, the rural genii, the elves of Stratford, and by no means the spirits of the sea and the tempest, whom the subject-matter of the scene seems to expect.

"overthrow law and in one self-born hour...plant and o'erwhelm custom"; that he can create and annihilate beings and peoples ; that he can, if he pleases, make the Past Present and the Future viewed as a far-off revolving Past (as does Goethe). But when he weighs the things that are in his hands—the peoples and the centuries—Shakespeare feels that he holds nothing, that he himself is nothing but a dream, like all the rest,

'These our actors...were all spirits
And melted into air, into thin air,
And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep. (Tempest, IV, 1)

So speaks the Master-magician on the eve of the abdication of his power. The magic work which is Art which he constructed out of the joys and sorrows of life, appears, in the midst of the tempest, like an island of Dream, a refuge, a consoling song—the Light ! The grossest as well as the most delicate heart come to cling therein, like a child on the bosom of the Mother :

"Be not afeard : the isle is full of noises,
Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight, and hurt not.
Sometimes a thousand twanging instruments
Will hum about mine ears ; and sometimes voices,
That, if I then had wak'd after long sleep,
Will make me sleep again and then, in dreaming,
The clouds methought would open and show riches
Ready to drop upon me, that, when I wak'd
I cried to dream again." (Tempest, III. 2)

Translated from the original French by Kalidas Nag

MOLIERE TRI-CENTENARY

BY
KALIDAS NAG.

MOLIERE TRI-CENTENARY

I

It is very cold this morning ; but what a glorious sun of Paris ! The neat wood-paved Rue Thenard, facing our hotel, is inundated with golden sunshine surging down the historic edifice College de France. But crying halt to cheap poetising at the cost of the innocent morning sun, I had to run down the Rue St. Jacques to warm the blood a little with a cup of coffee and a sheet of morning news. I snatch at a copy of "*Le Journal*" and what a fine surprise is there this morning. On the opening page I find a smart cartoon, commemorating the Tri-centenary of Moliere, born in Paris, January 1622 exactly this day 300 years ago. Paris is celebrating the Tri-centenary of her immortal Moliere !

A crowd arrests my attention : a procession of school boys in gala dress streaming down the Rue des Ecoles and approaching the Lycée Louis Le Grand facing La Sorbonne. Moliere spent six years of his student life in this old school, in our own quarter, the students' Republic, *Quartier Latin* ! So the students are honouring the great dramatist with a representation of his last comedy : The Imaginary Invalid (*Le Malade Imaginaire*). Passing across the Boulevard St. Michel I stand before the Ecole de Medicine and I am startled to read the announcement of a lecture on "Moliere and the Medical Men" by a prominent representative of a profession so relentlessly caricatured by Moliere ! So every one realised that Moliere is above party, above disputes. The University celebrates the Tricentenary with a grand assemblage of savants and artists, under the chairmanship of president Millerand ; and the peoples of 43 countries associate their names in offering, homage to the illustrious author. The artists of the Theatre Francais, called also "*Maison de Moliere*," gave a splendid representation of *La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas* in the Palais du Louvre where Moliere appeared, for the first time with his troupe of actors, before the Grand Monarch Louis XIV. Moreover, the theatre Odeon, the Comedie Francaise, the theatre Vieux Colombier, vied with one another in presenting, in the most faithful and artistic manner, the masterpieces of the great Actor-dramatist. Whole Paris is mad after Moliere ! Men and women, boys and girls are found standing in *queue*, for hours together, like pious pilgrims before the portals of a temple ! Yes, there seems to be something sacred, something ritualistic about this aesthetic adoration of the French people for their national Poet.

What is the cause of this universal enthusiasm, the basis of this deep adoration ? It is the life, it is the art of Moliere. In his case, as in the case of all great artists, life and art practically coincide.

But how can I presume to gauge the depth of that life and the subtlety of that art, after only a few months' stay in France ? Moliere stands with

Shakespeare and Goethe as one of the few immortals of the Literary Olympus. There has developed, in course of centuries, a cult of Moliere just as there is a cult of Shakespeare. Moliere bibliography forms a library by itself ! Thanks to the sympathy and singular kindness of Mon. George Berr, one of the foremost actors of the Comedie Francaise and a friend of Sylvain Levi, I had the privilege of surveying the marvellous collection of souvenirs, autographs, engravings, illustrations, portraits, caricatures and original editions, all arranged into a Moliere Museum on the occasion of the Tri-centenary. It filled me with awe ! Yes, the French people know how to perpetuate the memory of their Great Dead ! I shall ever remember the afternoon when Mon. Jules Couet, the Librarian of the Comedie Francaise, took me across those historic treasures to the vacant chair of the master actor, on which he collapsed while playing his Imaginary Invalid, dying a few hours after ! Nor can I ever forget the evening, when Mon. George Berr, staging "The Bores" (*Les Facheux*) kindly took me, during the *entre acts*, to the room, where the sacred relics are guarded : the autograph and the *asthi* (bone-relic) of the Great Dramatist ! So, in this humble tribute to the memory of Moliere, I present only a broad outline of the life of the Immortal artist. For the historical background, I shall refer my Indian friends to the monumental volumes of Michelet (*Histoire de France*), for stage-gossips and reviews to Jules Lemaitre (*Impressions de Theatre*), for the art and philosophy of Moliere to Ferdinand Brunetiere and, above all, for penetration and real appreciation, to that Solomon of literary judges, Sainte-Beuve.

Early Life : Heredity and Environment.

Moliere seems to have been a humourist even on the first day that he saw the light of this world ; He took fancy to be born in a family that was not Moliere at all but Poquelin ! He was baptised Poquelin, January 15, 1622. Moliere is the pseudonym assumed by him, 22 years after when, like a true Nature's Prodigy, he threw the so-called respectability of his bourgeois family to the winds and took to the then disreputable vocation of an Actor ! His father Jean Poquelin and mother Marie Cresse both belonged to the family of royal upholsterers (*tapissier du Roi*). Consequently Moliere, though born in middle class bourgeois family, came in touch with the dazzling Court of the heyday of French monarchy under Louis XIII and Louis XIV, backed by their no less illustrious supporters : Richelieu and Mazarin, Colbert and Conde. It was really a great age in French history, an age of political giants and literary prodigies. The 17th century France seems to be a historical counterpart of 16th century England. Henry VII to Elizabeth in England and Henry IV to Louis XIV in France, present a royal portrait-gallery of unique interest. So, Sir Thomas More and Sir Philip Sydney, Marlowe and Shakespeare, Hooker and Sir Francis Bacon, balance Pascal and La Fontaine and Racine, Boileau and Bossuet,

august names in the Augustan age of French national literature. And if we believe Boileau, the severest critic of that age, Moliere was undoubtedly the greatest genius in that age of prodigies.

The facts about this early life of Moliere are, as usual, scanty ; we know that he lost his mother in his tenth year (May 1632). She was an ardent admirer of the Bible and Plutarch and was a thoughtful sympathetic soul ; and from her Moliere inherited his delicacy of feeling and tenderness of spirit. In May 1633 Moliere's father remarried and the only friend and companion that the poor sensitive orphan had was his maternal grandfather Louis Cresse. Tradition ascribes to this gentleman the credit of having first awakened the passion for Comedy in the boy Moliere. The grandfather used to take the orphan to the various species of dramatic representations then in vogue. But there was another world open to the ken of the future Arch-Comedian : the world of street-singers, poetasters, students, mountebanks, valets, charlatans, grisettes and wenches crowding the crudely improvised stages of the historic Pont Neuf (a bridge on the Seine, honoured by the brush of Turner) so faithfully represented in the fascinating drama "Moliere" which we saw staged in Theatre Odeon in commemoration of the Tri-centenary. It was here, in this jostling of diverse types of humanity, that Moliere developed his taste for comedy through those popular pieces and screaming farces "with swaggering bullies or the thieving servants as heroes and deceiving wives as heroines !"^{*} This was the real school for the great comedian. Here he imbibed the noblest and the crudest traits of his dramatic art : his 'preference for farces' (so often lamented by his friend Boileau) and his profound, naturalistic delineation of human life.

But meanwhile we must not forget that the young Poquelin was not yet Moliere ; So he must submit himself to be disciplined and patented by the sublime grinding machine which society proudly claims to be its school. So our future dramatist was segregated for six years (1636-1641) in the dismal atmosphere of the Jesuit College of Clermont (now Lycée Louis le Grand). And, if we believe the first systematic biography of Moliere by Grimmerest,† (used by Voltaire later on), there seemed to have been a little domestic duel between the father and the maternal grandfather : "Do you wish to make him a comedian ?" asked the angry father. "May it please Heaven," the grandfather answered, "that he become as good a comedian as Bellerose !" The grandfather proved to be the better prophet, though the father's wish temporarily prevailed and Moliere entered his school.

School Life and its Legacies

For the middle class boys of those days, the school-life, with very dull, and prosaic costumes, with penitentiary diet of bread and water, with the orthodox whipping master, was far from being enjoyable when contrasted with the

^{*} Biography of Moliere by H. C. Taylor, London, 1907.

† *La Vie de M. Moliere* (1705).

gorgeous dresses, the perfumed curled hair, the jackboots and the sword of a noble man's son, enjoying all sorts of indulgences and prerogatives ! Moliere, however, was fortunate enough to enter a school frequented by young nobles and the boys of the upper middle class. The College of Clermont, since its reopening by the royal Letters Patent (1618), began to attract the boys of the upper classes to such an extent that it temporarily outshone the University of Paris in importance ! Among the contemporaries of Moliere we find Prince de Conti, brother of the great Conde, Claude Chapelle, the dandy and wit, Hesnault, the poet and Francois Bernier, the great French doctor who visited India in the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, and left an invaluable Indian diary of his personal impressions.

These young gallants had the good fortune to sit at the feet of a philosopher who did not refuse to live : Gassendi (1592-1655) the Epicurian was an ardent lover of the joyful and beautiful in life. Lucratus was his favourite author and he used to recite poems to his pupils while walking in the class room : "Beautiful poems elevate the mind and ennoble the style"—that used to be the frequent subject of his discourse. The influence of the personality of such a teacher on his pupils cannot but be enduring. But while Chapelle and others developed unbridled epicurianism, Moliere demonstrated his individuality by diluting Gassendism with a strong dose of Descartes (1596-1650). His strenuous habits, his sobriety in personal enjoyment, his earnestness in pursuit of his Art, all testify to something foreign to Gassendi and akin to Descartes, the noblest of French philosophers. While his delicate aestheticism, his sensitiveness to genuine fun and the farce element in human existence and above all his inexhaustible zest in sheer living, these are the legacies of the great Gassendi.

Between 1636-1641 Moliere was occupied with his studies in *belles lettres* which meant in those days—"much Latin, a little Greek and no French !" as humorously summarised by Mon. Gazier in his monograph on "Moliere" in the *Grande Encyclopaedie*. The mother tongue was of course too vulgar to enter into the curriculum of those refined scholars ! So their study was mainly directed to Latin classics of whom the greatest influence on Moliere was from the comedies of Platus and Terence.* General familiarity with the Athenian classics : Aeschylus, Sophocles, along with Aristophanes and Menander and Euripides was also probable. Latin pieces were composed by the master for the dramatic training of the boys ; and Moliere is reputed to have appeared for the first time as an actor in one such pedantic play in the Jesuit college theatre !

But "if Moliere was a good humourist," to quote from the first complete edition of his works (1682)—"he became a still better philosopher." Towards the end of his school career (1641) he devoted himself passionately to the study of Philosophy. Then, probably owing to a pressure from his father, he took

* Jules Lemaitre "Terence et Moliere" (1891)

his licentiate degree in Law at Orleans "where any donkey could buy a diploma" says Le Boulanger de Chalussay, who made a damaging caricature (highly unjust) of Moliere's life in his comedy called *Elomire Hypocandre* (1670).

First Theatrical Venture In Paris

But neither the library nor the law-court, neither humanism nor advocacy was to claim Moliere as a subject. His predestined sphere was the Stage, his advocacy, the advocacy of the eternal *bon sens* (good sense) and his humanism, the unparalleled study of Humanity! Hence we find the docile law student of Orleans, the refined aesthete of the Paris school, the son and successor of the *tapisserieur de Roi*, suddenly flinging all consideration, logic and respectability to the winds and plunging into the precarious—nay, the then ignoble career of an Actor! No doubt the illustrious Cardinal Richelieu had extended for the first time his patronage to the stage-profession by building (1639) the theatre in the Palais Cardinal (now known as Palais Royal)—but the social stigma was insurmountable. As a vocation, the actors' path was looked upon as a vocation of vagabonds (like that in Elizabethan England); and as individuals the actors were considered, to quote Paul Bourget, as a "social pariah"!* So, nothing but an irresistible passion for the Art and an indomitable faith in its future, could explain this mad plunge of Moliere into the Unknown!

In this risky path Moliere met his first companion in spirit Madeleine Bejart, an actress of great talent, and proto-martyr to her profession. Along with Moliere she is the butt of sordid ridicules and shocking calumnies. As a strolling actress in an "age of licence" Madeleine may not exactly stand the test of a moral canonisation. But judged from the fragmentary records of her career as an actress and her life-long devotion to Moliere (whose talent was first discovered by her!) she now appears before our eyes as a remarkable personality. She went upon the stage at the age of 17 but she was far from being an unbalanced sentimental girl. She is known to be the friend of Rotrou the dramatist and composed verses in his honour which were published with his tragedy the *Dying Hercules* (1636).

Moliere is supposed to have met Madeleine, in course of his problematic visit to the Narbonne, as a *Valet de chambre* to Louis XIII (1642). The young courtier met the brilliant actress in some court performance and the rest of the story is simple! Only it is a little too dramatic to be true! So far as documents permit, we find that in January 1643 Moliere received from his father 630 *livres* on account of his mother's estates and renounced his right of succession to the hereditary office of the Royal Upholsterer. In June 30, 1643, Moliere signs the contract, establishing the "Illustrious Theatre"† in which

* Moliere et le genie Francais', *L'Illustration* Jany. 1922.

† Brunetiere "Les Epoques du Theatre Francais" (1891)

Moliere's name appears along with the names of Madeleine and her brother Joseph Bejart. We know that Madeleine, the daughter of a court official, was as well-born as Moliere. So they formed themselves into "a company of respectable amateurs" with the noble ambition of elevating the stage! As a histrionic and economic venture the Illustrious Theatre was a stupendous failure. Yet it remains and shall ever remain as a landmark in the history of the Theatre, as well as in the life history of the Immortal Dramatist.

The irony of Fate was frequently tragic in the career of the great Comedian. The Illustrious Theatre was duly opened early in 1644, with the high-flown title of "The Company of His Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans"; and to complete his separation from bourgeois respectability, Jean Baptiste Poquelin signed, for the first time, his stage name Moliere in a contract (dated 28th June 1644) with the ballet-master Daniel Mollet! But enthusiasm alone does not assure success in such a venture, nor can hired dancers compensate for the lack of dramatic experience. The only talented artist in the group was Madeleine. Moliere was then not only a thoroughly bad actor but betrayed a tragic preference for tragedies! So his Theatre became a "veritable morgue where every poetaster in Paris exposed dead plays." This was more than enough to scare away his audience. To crown all, between July and August 1645, Moliere, the raw actor-manager, was twice imprisoned in the jail of Grand Chatlet, for debt to theatrical contractors who paved the street before the "Tennis-Court" (then synonymous with stage) for the carriages of rich dandies and ladies that "never came"!

To the credit of Moliere's father (frequently mistaken for the original of Moliere's classic type of Miser in *L'Avare*) this must be said that he paid, on behalf of his prodigal son, the bond of his theatrical folly. The prodigal however did not return penitent but plunged into deeper audacity!

A Plung Into The Heart Of The Country.

The disaster at the very beginning of his dramatic career, however, did not damp the enthusiasm of Moliere for his adventure in the country. The record that he left behind was sufficiently dismal and the prospect before was not quite encouraging. For, in those days of political instability and religious antagonism, there remained always the possibility of privation and persecution. Yet, with the faith and the prophetic vision of a dramatic Columbus, Moliere launched into the unknown to discover a New World of artistic creation.

But before he achieves his end, Moliere, the cockney of the city of Paris, must strengthen his lungs, with the pure open air of the country. The snobbery of the Parisian must be cured by a healthy direct contact with the life "in commonalty spread." Fifteen years of struggling life, as a theatrical adventurer in the country, probably gave him more than any of his previous studies or disciplines. It gave Moliere that marvellous sense of the concrete and that

unique spirit of dramatic detachment which combined to earn for him the laurels of a Master dramatist.

Throughout this period of probation and struggle Madeleine was the constant companion of Moliere. The life was very hard indeed. The patronage of the rich was not easy to obtain and the prejudices of the people were very strong. Moreover the problem of maintaining a *company* of artists, on a precarious income, derived from a ticket sale of a few *sous* per spectator, was almost tragic. Moliere suffered a great deal but he profitted by his sufferings. He gained a knowledge of the world and his experience in stagecraft.

In 1648 Moliere joined his troupe of artists with that of one Dufrewue and probably worked under him as one of "the Comedians of the Duke of Epemon" till he appeared with his own play, *The Blunderer*, before the city of Lyons (1653).

It was in Lyons, 'that provincial Mecca of the strolling players', at the intersection of the caravans from Spain, Italy and Germany,—that Moliere met his first signal success. *The Blunderer* (*L'Etourdi*—a high class farce, in spite of its being full of absurd situations, signalled the end of Moliere's blundering with fortune. He became the undisputed master of his company.

That same year (1653) Moliere secured the patronage of his former schoolmate Prince de Conti, now married to the niece of Cardinal Mazarin. So, between 1653 and 1655 Moliere's troupe came to be known as "the Prince de Conti" who continued to patronize the party till his conversion to Jansenism (1656). Though still Social outcasts, Moliere and his party improved their financial conditions considerably. Documents attest that they obtained 6000 livres from the authorities of Pezenas (1655) while Madeleine Bejart is found to have advanced 10,000 livres to the province of Languedoc ! But money was not the only thing that Moliere gained. On the one hand he had been developing his sense of the local colour and power of observation by visiting the Barber-shops which were the news-and-gossip centres in those days : while, on the other hand Moliere had ever been filling his sketch-book with exquisite pen-pictures and character-studies (to be developed later on) by studying the snobbish assembly in the provincial parliaments where he found the provincial Society parodying solemnly the Parisian life ! So this forced exile from Paris into the country was healthy and fruitful for the future dramatist. It brought a rich harvest without which Moliere would not have been what he is to-day.

First Dramatic Productions.

We have followed thus far our Moliere in the making. We should proceed now to watch Moliere as the budding dramatist. Up to this time he had neither the incentive nor the self-confidence to compose dramas on his own account. His precarious finances forced him to pander to the crude public taste and he had been producing "barn-storming" Comedies and

"side-splitting" *farces* which only could draw an audience. Most of those stage-horrors were stolen, borrowed or adapted from Italian or Spanish pieces then holding the popular stage. Nearly all those abominations are fortunately lost. They mark the same stage in the evolution of Moliere's art as Titus Andronicus and the Comedy of Errors do with regard to the evolution of Shakespeare. Both were dramatic "die-hards", desperately clinging to any literary artifice somehow to keep them afloat! Both were theatrical adventurers struggling hard to establish their position. And the earliest productions of both contain as much promise of their future greatness as the caterpillar that of a butterfly! They mark the "Love's Labours Lost"-stage in the evolution of their craft.

Two only of the piece of this period have survived and still hold their place in the Moliere repertory of the Comedie Francaise: The Blunderer (*L'Etourdi*) (1653) and The Love Tiff (*Le D^{pit} Amoureux*), (1656)-both farces based on foreign models, full of shocking improbabilities and outrageous horse-play but at the same time redeemed by a cleverness of management, an ease in versification and refinement of humour that raised them high above contemporary farces and signalled the immediate manifestation of the great comic. And when Moliere's first character-study, Mascarille bantered in a silvery laughter:

"Your love is like a porridge
Stewing up to the brim beside too fierce
A fire, then boiling over everywhere—"

we already notice here the end of the Italo-Spanish influence and the dawn of the true Gaullic genius in Moliere.

Yet, two years more must elapse before Moliere is allowed to have steady support and intelligent encouragement. The arch-libertine Prince de Conti suddenly discontinued his support to the ungodly theatrical party, owing to his conversion to Jansenism (1656). So Moliere tramped for two years more across Narbonne, Lyons, Dijon, Avignon and Grenoble, till at last he reached Rouen where his friendship with the painter Mignard (a favourite of Mazarin) and the sympathy of the great Corneille, heralded the dawn of a new epoch.

Invitation to Court : Psychological Atmosphere.

Through the agency of some mysterious person as yet unknown, Moliere and his troupe were invited to play before the Grand Monarch Louis XIV. On the 24th Oct., 1658, Moliere presented for the first time before the king, in the guard room of the old Louvre, the *Nicomedes* of Corneille and *Love as Doctor* of his own composition. Stepping before the curtain Moliere thanked the King for doing him "the honour of amusing the greatest monarch of the world." It is a strange coincidence that at the same time, Moliere's friend Bernier had been serving the greatest monarch of the Orient, Emperor Shah Jahan, the owner of the Peacock Throne and the builder of the Taj-Mahal.

So Moliere's future was assured. His party was honoured by Louis XIV with the title "the troupe of Monsieur, only brother of the King." A pension of 300 livres for each artist was fixed. That meant a halt to vagabondage and dramatic opportunism; and brought a support that is unflagging and a repose that leads to the flowering of genius.

Yes, we have the first unerring testimony to the flowering of that genius of Moliere in his *Les Précieuses Ridicules* (the preciousities Ridiculous). It was first performed at the Hotel du Petit Bourbon, Nov., 1659, and Moliere appeared in the role of Mascarille. By this marvellous caricature of fashionable "blue stockings" Moliere took the whole Paris by storm, the same Paris that drove him to a healthy exile 15 years ago. He felt that he had captured the audience; price of tickets was doubled while people came to Paris from 20 leagues around to be "amused by a comedy the most charming and delicate which had ever appeared upon the stage." From that day to the last day of his life, Moliere, would go on producing, nearly 30 pieces in 15 years (1659-1673), works that testify to the versatility and virility of his genius and assure his place as the greatest comedian of the world.

The time also was extremely opportune for the appearance of Moliere. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) brought the chapter of the Wars of Religions in European history to a close. It gave a temporary stability to that eternally unstable thing, European diplomacy. So also the internal troubles and dissensions of France were settled by the termination of the wars of the Fronde (1658). The scowling clouds were pierced through with golden sunshine. Tension was removed from peoples' minds which naturally turned towards relaxation. From the interrogation to Fate that is external, the people passed on to the analysis of self that is internal. Unlike the contemporary English mind of the Stuart period, the French national mind was free from the pre-occupations of religion or politics and turned to a spontaneous hedonistic enjoyment of life and beauty. That led to a veritable renaissance in national aesthetics and also, as says Mon. Brunetiere, "to the nationalisation of literature."

The prevailing tendency to enjoyment and introspection produced a mass psychology of refined egoism and creative hedonism that reminded us strongly of the spirit of Gassendi; and the pupil of Gassendi came forward to meet the demands of this new spirit, to satisfy this new hunger. But Moliere was something more than a pupil of Gassendi. He was the intellectual descendant of Montaigne and of Descartes as well. Hence, in the very process of *amusing* the heart of his contemporaries, Moliere attempted to purify and elevate their character through his inimitable power of caricature based on *bon sens* (that rarest of things on earth), and enrich their soul with the dower of contemplative imagination. Hence we find in the works of Moliere that rare harmony of Joy, Equilibrium and Contemplation which go to elevate an ordinary *farceur* into the proud rank of a philosopher-dramatist.

So when, in November 1659, Moliere staged for the first time his *Précieuses*-

ties Ridiculous, he stood out as the master comedian of Manners (*mœurs*) declaring war against the False, the Sham, the Unreal. In this drama the unreality of the romance-hunger of two country girls imitating Paris manners, is exposed with a sanity that is sublime and a humour that is irresistible. It threw the generation of blue-stockings, both in the city and in the country, into a convulsion of rage; but it captivated the general public; and one of the audience is said to have cried out, "Courage Molière! that is real Comedy!" Truly a prophetic cheer, for with it French Comedy took its permanent place in world literature.

In 1660 Louis XIV was married to Maria Theresa amidst phenomenal pomp and festivities and Molière was asked to play three times before the Court. In Oct. 1660, he presented his *L'Etourdi* and *Les Précieuses Ridicules* at the Louvre palace, before the rising master of the realm Louis XIV and the ailing minister Mazarin who would die soon after (March 1661).

The year 1661 was important in many ways: The renovated theatre at the Palais Royal (which now passes by the name of *Maison de Molière*) was opened with the old favourite *The Love Tiff* and a newly written piece *Sganarelle*, reflecting the primitive Gallic humour, a sort of stage recreation. But the Philosopher is ever lurking behind the mask of the Farceur and we soon find Molière flinging himself into the fight against another Sham, the sham of Court Life. The old sly Mazarin was dead; the king was young and magnificent; the court was gay and gorgeous; it was the refuge of real wits and true artists; at the same time it was the resort of scented fops and painted dandies, brainless nobles and shameless libertines—all make-believing themselves into the position of the *élite* of the realm! One of the chief officials, Fouquet, a great aristocratic fraud, wanted to entertain the King with a part of the money plundered from the state. Molière was asked by Fouquet to write something for the occasion. Within a fortnight he composed in refined and brilliantly witty verse *Les Facheux* (The Bores), a marvellous caricature of the court life. As a comedy it was, in its relentless exposure, a tragic surprise for the courtiers. Almost every one of them was pierced by the irresistible dart of the Commoner Comedian; but none of them dared to protest, for the witty King understood the game and enjoyed it immensely. Henceforth Molière had in the Grand Monarch one of his greatest supports in his noble campaign against the "conventional lies of civilisation". Like Shakespeare, Molière was a commoner connected with the court. But while Shakespeare's touch with the court of his time was more or less legendary and his relations with the aristocracy more or less officious, Molière on the contrary was a veritable mirror of contemporary court life and was the foremost critic of that life under the protecting care of Louis XIV. Yet he did his criticism with such a natural ease and finished art that La Fontaine, probably the greatest of his contemporaries, cried out in admiration:

"—now it is no longer Art
One step from Nature to depart."

Marriage and Marriage Dramas.

Moliere is now approaching his fortieth year. After 15 years of strenuous fight he captured the public and established himself in the Court. Naturally his mind sought after the repose of domestic life. Highly emotional and imaginative as he was, Moliere dreamed of a partner who would wipe away all the marks of the cruel battle of life and would bring to him the gift, of fresh youth and profound love. Madeleine was quite good as comrade but to think of her as a wife?—that was not possible for a man of Moliere's temperament. His half-starved youth cried for a wife that would be sweet in her daughter-like devotion and sublime in her lover-like inspiration, in short, "a phantom of delight" that exists "neither on earth nor on sea" but is only a reflex of a Poet's tragedy of Imagination! So our otherwise sane Moliere fell into a violent nay insane love for a flippant girl actress of his company Armande Bejart, the youngest sister of Madeleine, (I accept this view in the face of a world of absurd and outrageously calumnious legends). So Moliere married in his 40th year (January, 1662) a young girl of twenty and entered upon a career of marital martyrdom that would last till the last days of his life.

It is significant that suddenly his works seem to be tinged with a strain of subdued autobiography. Exactly one year before his marriage Moliere produced his School for Husbands (*Ecole des Maris*, 1661), and just towards the end of his year of marriage he staged his School for Wives (*Ecole des Femmes*, 1662). These are dangerous coincidences for didactic critics. What a world of speculation they have given birth to! Moliere was an optimist when he wrote his School for Husbands; hence he makes a happy husband of him who allowed his wife to breathe the atmosphere of freedom. Moliere was a pessimist in his School for Wives, for he makes the sweet little heroine, Agnes, the cause of endless psychological torture to her jealous, impossible, old lover Arnolphe and make him preach that ignorance is a woman's safeguard!

These sound very well, almost convincing; only the manner of approach smacks too much of a moral training school. No true artist, never a dramatist like Moliere, suffers his private life to dominate his inner life of art. His creations are neither pegs for his moral maxim nor masks for his domestic masquerades. Each character, every situation, requires individual attention and unique handling. Herein lies the dignity of real art, its lack of self-consciousness, its sublime spontaneity. Moliere's creations of this epoch, ranging between 1661-1666, from the School for Husbands to the Misanthrope, reflect no doubt and do reflect naturally a good deal of his personal thoughts and aspirations, his private struggles and sufferings. These add a new charm, a rare vigour seldom found in his creations of other epochs. Yet, these so-called autobiographical pieces should be studied and judged objectively as supreme creations of Art, and not as clever dramatisation of his private diary!

The Philosophy of the liberal husband Ariste was surely not out-grown by Moliere; for, down to the last piece he wrote, he made his heroines choose

their partners in a free spontaneous spirit, frequently on the teeth of opposition and in the face of adverse circumstances : Leonore and Agnes, Henriette and Angelique—all fight and fight successfully with the sublime tenacity of womanhood, against the heartless disciplines and thoughtless impositions of their guardians. The victory is always on their side and, may I add, the sympathy of their creator as well ? Moliere suffered much in his conjugal life ; it was a life of perpetual agony. Yet, like a true descendant of Montaigne he preserved his artistic equilibrium and championed, with his last breath, the cause of eternal *bon sens*. When an old lover Arnolphe (almost a foster-father) proposes to his youthful ward Agnes, whom he has brought up with great care, and is refused, we feel the situation comic indeed, a little tragic too, or in other words intensely human. It is this natural humanism this indomitable good sense that from the crowing glory of Moliere and a good sense maintained amidst excruciating agony sounding through the nervous lines of the broken old lover Arnolphe :—

"Go traitress, go ; I give thee back affection.
Thus by the love I bear thee, learn my love,
And seeing me kind, love me in revenge."

In the *School for Wives* Moliere's art soared up by a sudden sweep from the particular to the general. It is no longer a new-fangled fashion of a coterie of Preciosities or the boring inanities of a court life that he is caricaturing. In the *School for Wives* we find Moliere tackling the universal problem of discovering the real training ground for womanhood. And though we hesitate to classify and label, with Brunetiere, the plays of Moliere as comedies of manners, of characters and of morals, yet we cannot help noticing that in his *School for Wives* for the first time Moliere realised, in a conscious-unconscious manner, his mission if not exactly of a moralist, at least that of a seer and revealer of the Eternal Verity. But the Philosopher is so harmoniously fused into the Artist that, amidst many hostile critics, none dared charge it with didacticism. The play, on the contrary, evoked the first enthusiastic praise from the great critic Boileau, who composed a few stanzas on this first literary classic of Moliere.

II

Moliere The Polemist

But the conventional critics and jealous rivals growled furiously. Some discovered in the play a travesty of pulpit sermons others an attack upon the ethics of marriage. Even a confirmed libertine like Prince de Conti condemned it as "a Licentious work offending good manners !"

This was too much for Moliere and in two successive pieces the creator of the *School for Wives* (June 1664) and the *Versailles Impromptu* (Oct. 1663)-Moliere vindicated his position and caricatured his critics. Aggressively propagandist as they are, these two plays still surprise us by their remarkable vivacity. Here we find the orthodox poet Lysidas quoting his Aristotle to silence the artist, who, however, retorts effectively through one character : "You poets are amusing fellows with those rules of yours. To hear you hold forth, one would think the rules of art were the greatest mysteries in the world ; while, in reality they are merely a few simple observations which good sense has made upon elements that might destroy the pleasure one finds in such poems. The same good sense which, once made those observations, now continues to make them, quite as readily, without the aid of Horace or Aristotle "

Not stopping there, Moliere goes forward to hold a brief for Comedy as superior even to Tragedy, a line of speculation that irritated many of his friends and specially the great tragedian Corneille :

"Indeed I think it far easier to soar aloft upon fine sentiments, beard Fortune in verse, impeach Destiny and arraign the gods, than to depict the ridiculous side of human nature or make the common faults of mankind appear diverting on the stage. When you paint *heroes* you make them what you choose ; no likeness is sought in such fancy portraits. But when you paint *men* you must paint from Nature ; and if you do not make us recognise the men and women of our time, you have accomplished nothing."

The above extracts are sufficient to show how capable an advocate or a polemist Moliere was. But it provoked many harsh and scurrilous criticisms from professional rivals. In his "*Versailles Impromptu*" Moliere shows more impatience :

"They criticise my plays ; so much the better ; and Heaven forfend I should ever write any they would like ! That would certainly be a piece of bad business for me."

These polemics, through dialogues, may not be high art but they testify to the intensely human sensibilities of Moliere. He felt the insincerity of his critics. "All the world found the *School for Wives* wicked and all the world ran to see it." It became the greatest stage success of Moliere's career, being played 32 times between the Christmas and the Easter. The receipts were also phenomenal, for "the ladies condemned and went to see !"

Moliere, The Militant Dramatist :

"The Hypocrite."

This insincerity roused Moliere soon to pen one of the most relentless analysis of Social fraud, in his *Hypocrite (Le Tartuffe)* (May, 1664). As a picture of human duplicity and an analysis of sanctimonious humbug, the

Hypocrite is probably unrivalled in literature. Yet the polemist or moralist in Moliere is so marvellously balanced by the supreme artist that the arch-fraud neither degenerates into an inverted ethics (as it frequently happens in so many "problem plays") nor into an unredeemed human devil like Shakespeares' Iago. The *Hypocrite* of Moliere with all his sublime cants and solemn self-deceptions, remains to the last a human hypocrite. So he cries out :

"Though devotee, I am none the less a man". Racine records how the Jansenists thought that the Jesuits were caricatured and the Jesuits flattered themselves that it was aimed at the Jansenists ! In fact every one seemed to discover his neighbour caricatured ; so intensely realistic and so universal was the delineation of Moliere

But appearing at a time when religious controversy was dangerously rife, this masterpiece of dramatic portraiture was suppressed several times and mutilated in presentation and not permitted to be staged complete till Feb. 1669. Even then the title had to be changed and still the Archbishop of Paris interdicted the piece ! So Moliere had to pay for this grand crusade against Cant by being refused (like Tolstoy) a Christian burial after his death ! But crucifixion is the indispensable preliminary to apotheosis and Moliere's case cannot be an exception. Two passages in his preface are of great psychological interest :

"All the hypocrites have armed themselves against my comedy with appalling fury ; yet they have taken care, not to attack it on the side which wounds them ;...following their praiseworthy habit, they have cloaked their vested interests with the cause of Heaven ; so the *Hypocrite*, on their lips, becomes a play which offends Piety !"

Moliere's petition to Louis XIV, whom he cleverly extolled in the play as a "prince who is the mortal enemy of Fraud"—is full of noblest sentiments :—

"I believe that I can do nothing better than attack the vices of my time with ridiculous likeness ; and as hypocrisy is, without doubt, one of the most common, the most disagreeable and the most dangerous of these, I thought, Sire, that I was rendering a not unimportant service to the honest people of your kingdom."

It was really a passionate pleading full of conviction and logic. Louis was moved no doubt, but he had to suppress the play temporarily for State reasons, and Napoleon also is reported to have justified Louis on the same grounds !

Moliere, The Militant Allegorist : *Don Juan*

But to Moliere, as to all really great souls, reason is only reason. It is pure, unadulterated, human, almost synonymous with Nature. Anything that deviates from reason, from *Bon sens*, is unnatural. From this point of view Moliere appears, at the same time, as the precursor and the corrective of the eighteenth century Age of Reason. His reason was neither tinged with the

doctrinairism of the Encyclopaedists nor was it diluted with our modern civilised sophistications, giving rise to State reason and Church reason and so forth. With him there was no compromise with Reality. Hence the Philosopher-comedian proceeded almost immediately to examine the basis of the so-called "Pillars of Society." To do it openly would be dangerous. So he searched and found a splendid archetype, in the traditional figure of Don Juan and based his play on a Spanish play by Tirso de Molina.

This semi-human semi-legendary character has attracted the attention of a great composer like Mozart, a poet like Byron, and modern dramatists like Edmond Rostand (*La dernière nuit de Don Juan*) and Bernard Shaw (*Man and Superman*). Moliere used it in his own original way, making it (consciously or unconsciously who would say?) a veritable symbol of the crumbling "Pillars of Society" the grand fearless monstrous "Patricians" parading the stage! The Don Juan of Moliere is a sort of incarnation of cynicism, audacity and infidelity. He gathers in his person all the vices and some of the virtues of the old dying nobility. He is perfect in fashion, witty in speech, and captivating in conduct. Though a decadent, he conserves his ancestral courage. Confronted with the ghost of the general he had murdered, he cries out with a courage equalling that of ten Macbeths,—

"No, no! It shall never be said of me, no matter what happens, that I am capable of repenting."

Thus Don Juan meets his fate unflinchingly. He believes in nothing, neither man, nor God, nor love, nor retribution, a portentous solitary figure, apparently transcending the weakness of humanity and the consolation of divinity, discovering in his sublime Egoism a *locus standi* as it were, outside the Cosmos!

Moliere, Milton and Shakespeare—Parallelism in Parenthesis.

Though far removed from the burning lake, the thunder of heaven and the inferno (except in the last scene), the *Don Juan* of Moliere seems to work out the destiny of the Rebel Angel with more aesthetic consistency than that we notice in the epic of his English contemporary poet, Milton. The puritanic bias of Milton led him unconsciously to subordinate art to Theology and to spoil thereby his splendid outline drawing of Satan in the opening cantos of the *Paradise Lost*. Moliere stands closer to reality and works out the damnation of Don Juan in a manner at once more consistent and convincing. Hence while Milton's Satan gradually pales into insignificance, degenerating into a coward and a cheat, Moliere's Don Juan gathers round him an atmosphere of epic horror, as the awful comet of social disintegration, crying out with his last breath as it were: "After me, the Deluge!" And the Deluge did come only a century after, in the form of the great French Revolution!

Moliere's *Don Juan* is supposed by some critics to be the nearest approach to a Shakespeare play. Yet it is difficult to discover the ghost of a reason

thereto ! That reminds us of the fact that the Ghost, as one of the *dramatis personae*, is a common factor. But which ghost—that of Macbeth or that of Hamlet ? Preferably of Macbeth, for the Ghost of the murdered man joins the murderer in a banquet ! But where are the other steps in the parallelism—the incoherent ravings of the unhinged Macbeth, the shriek of Lady Macbeth, the last consultation with the fateful witches and the ultimate surrender to Fate with apparent stoicism, through awful introspections ?

Comparison may not always be odious but it is often precarious. Shakespeare is Shakespeare and Moliere—Moliere. Their mentality is so different and their technique so dissimilar ! In the supreme pieces of Shakespeare we find generally one or two characters, regulating and dominating the whole, covering the entire piece with their shadow ; action is secondary, introspection almost everything. Hence it is possible to represent his plays through the extracts from his marvellous soliloquies. Hence his plays are, in practice, pruned and re-dressed by modern stage-managers not always without dramatic justification. But any one who has witnessed the performance of a classical piece of Moliere, has felt that it is impossible to drop a single detail ! The texture is organic, the development inevitably interdependent. Don Juan is no doubt the hero of the piece but one must see the part of Sganarelle played by a consummate actor like George Berr in the Comedie Francaise and he would be convinced that the servant is as important as the master. In the language of Mon. Molend,* we may say that the comedy of Moliere's is "a world fully set in motion by the impetus of the main idea creating it and giving it life. All classes of Society pass in turn before our eyes."

Yes, from the baffled creditor Mon. Dimanche to the country wenches with whom Don Juan is flirting, a veritable tableau of Rembrandt perfect in drawing in *chiaroscuro* (Light and shade), secure in its apparent secularism yet divine in suggestion and implication, lacking perhaps in the gorgeous gold tint of Raphael or in the grandeur of Michael Angelo, yet none the less unique on its own intrinsic merit—such is a Moliere masterpiece to which may very aptly apply Moliere's own lines in appreciation of the fresco of his painter friend Mignard.

"La fresque, dont la grace, a l'autre préférée,

Se conserve un éclat d'éternelle durée"

Differences between the works of Moliere and Shakespeare become more apparent in their respective treatment of the back-ground and their management of the minor characters. Space would not permit a discussion of this very important but rather complicated subject. Suffice it to point out in this general paper, that though accidentally one of the most prolific writers of dramas, Shakespeare stands by unanimous vote as the greatest Poet of the Renaissance. His heroes and heroines may appear (as they do appear to ultra-modern critics like Maeterlinck and Shaw) as a little too theatrical, if not actually

* Life of Moliere.

melodramatic ; yet none would dispute the magnificent quality of poetry that gushes out of their soul. Hence in a Shakespeare classic the monologues are more organic and interesting than the dialogues, and the deep introspection more important than quick action. And above all, crowning all, remains the supreme glory of Nature, charming and playful, sinister and sublime. Nature balancing the characters and transforming them with a supreme grandeur that is only Shakespearean !

In Moliere's work, on the contrary, this aspect of Nature is conspicuous by its absence. Here Nature is the whole *human society* with its Homeric procession of beggars and vagabonds, valets and servant girls, quacks and charlatans, pedants and prigs, upstarts and dandies, all crowding the canvas, inducing cross-currents, helping or hampering movement, developing the main characters which are never allowed to dominate the stage but only to play their allotted role in the drama as a whole. Hence there is less colour and more characterisation ; less pathos, more dramatic detachment. We miss here no doubt that bucolic atmosphere and that lyric rapture of Shakespearean comedies. But what do we gain in return ? An ease that is unique ; a balancing that is unrivalled, a realism and a naturalism that is the despair of even the ism-mongers of our days, a differentiation of types that become universal through their sheer concreteness, a veritable encyclopaedia of common life and above all an apotheosis of the Commonplace ; noblest truths, profoundest judgments coming from the ordinary children of the soil : Mascarilles and Sganarelles, spiritual cousins of Touchstones and Falstaffs, immortal creations of the endless human comedy !

Moliere the Militant Philosopher Poet : "The Misanthrope"

If any piece of Moliere resembles Shakespeare's in spirit, if not in form, it is his *Misanthrope* which, along with *Don Juan* and the *Hypocrite*, form a grand trilogy of the seventeenth century French theatre. Like Shakespeare, Moliere was a sublime plagiarist and a master transformer, so far as the plots of the plays were concerned : the plot of *Hypocrite* he borrowed from Scarron's novel of that name, *Don Juan* from Tirso de Molina, *Forced Marriage* from Rabelais and *George Dandin* from Boccaccio, to mention among others. Only in the case of *Misanthrope* we find him original. But the originality in plot is the least part of it. In facility of expression, in the faithful creation of atmosphere, in the dramatic use of background, in the balancing and perspective of composition, in vigour of characterisation and profoundness of philosophy, *Misanthrope* stands not only as the greatest work of Moliere but one of the very few masterpieces of the dramatic creation of humanity. To leave such a record in dramatic literature, already enriched by masters like Cervantes (1547-1616) and Shakespeare (1564-1616), Lope de Vega (1562-1634) and Calderon

(1606-1681) is an achievement for Moliere indeed ! In *Misanthrope*, Moliere creates for the first time a character *Alceste* which has ever remained the subject of wonder for dramatic critics and of despair for actors. Of course it was never a theatrical success so far as the selling of tickets was concerned. But, from Boileau and Racine to Sainte Beuve and Alfred de Musset, all great writers of France adored this work as the *magnum opus* of Moliere. To Boileau Moliere was above all the author of *Misanthrope*. And when Racine was informed that it had failed as a stage-piece, the poet is said to have exclaimed : 'I don't believe it'. And Racine was not only a professional rival but had already quarrelled with Moliere.

Alceste, the misanthrope, appears as an impossible idealist let loose in a fashionable salon ! He comes successively in touch with Oronte, a hopeless literary egoist, Philante, a champion of compromise and moderation, Arsinoe, a sanctimonious prude, and Celimene, an incorrigible flirt. The party is not very large, the plot is remarkably thin, and the *denouncement* rather weak. Yet the whole action thrills with the tense introspection of one character *Alceste*. In this respect he betrays a striking family likeness with Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Both *Alceste* and *Hamlet* are profound souls and uncompromising idealists. Both are victims of human perfidy. The cases of both are cases of progressive disillusionment and the ultimate tragedy of apparently unmitigated hatred for humanity. The differences are not less patent. *Alceste* moves in a historical seventeenth century salon, while *Hamlet* moves on a semi-legendary atmosphere of court intrigues and murder, of ghost and retribution ! There are more of stage-actions and stage-sensations in *Hamlet* : drowning of *Ophelia*, rapier duel with *Laertes*—things probably indispensable for an Elizabethan dramatist who wanted to rouse his somewhat stolid and hence sensation-loving audience. But drowning all rises the voice of *Hamlet* :

"To be or not to be—that is the question."

Hamlet (or rather Shakespeare) because he wanted to make a tragedy, preferred to answer the question in the negative. The vote was given for "not to be" and out went *Polonius*, *Ophelia*, *Laertes*, *Hamlet*, and "the rest is silence" ! *Alceste*, on the contrary managed to live through the ordeal ; probably Moliere did not find sufficient justification for killing a hero on metaphysical grounds ! Moreover the king and the French public wanted a comedy. So Moliere gave them a comedy indeed ! It opens with a thunderous onslaught of the *Misanthrope* on the hollow, insincere, treacherous courtesies of the so-called refined society where we find those—

"Too cordial givers of unmeaning love,
Too courteous utterers of empty words,
Who in smooth manners vie, treating true worth
And any fopling with an equal grace !"

This recalls strongly to our mind *Hamlet's* terrific diatribe against the insincere laughter of mankind. But, while in the case of *Hamlet* the cynicism

is the result or an accidental though grievous personal wound, in the case of Alceste it is the result of a continuous observation and slowly formed conviction. So, while Hamlet's heart-rending laughter is already almost tinged with semi or pseudo insanity, there is perfect sanity about the laughter of Alceste. That presents such a striking contrast to the prevailing atmosphere of levity and hilarity, that Alceste becomes, as it were, a comic in spite of himself !* Stung by sarcasm or contempt, he cries out in agony ;

"—Upon my faith,
It wounds me mortally to see how vice
Is spared ; into silent desert, far
From man's approach, I am tempted to fly."

Both Hamlet and Alceste are reticent yet profound lovers : To save their Beloveds from the inevitable contamination of Society, they suggest means of escape that are curiously similar. "To the Nunnery go !" was the cry of Hamlet to Ophelia, while Alceste asked Celemene to come with him to "a desert, far from all mankind !" The death of Ophelia quenches the light out of Hamlet's heart, while Alceste bleeds to the end through a heart lacerated with wounds and cries :

"All my greatest efforts are in vain
Indeed, it is for my sins I love you thus !"

Yes, it is the sin of loving too much, the sin of all great lovers : of Dante and Leonardo, of Moliere and Shelley ! Hence Alceste, so vigorous in characterisation, so objective in delineation, is at the same time the symbol of a sublime subjectivism of the great artist. We cannot forget that only a few months after the first representation of the *Misanthrope* (June 1666), Moliere was forced to live apart from his wife (Dec. 1666). Armande Bejart, a giddy girl, frivolous and superficial, was the veritable cross of Moliere's life. So, if we find in Celemene a subdued study of Armande, we must admit that Moliere, as a Dramatist, showed an equilibrium that is almost phenomenal. The deepest agonies of his life he depicted with a faithfulness and dramatic justice that is rarely equalled. Hence the inevitable dualism of *Misanthrope* : the subjectivism of the Man Moliere and the objectivity of the Artist, both fused with so much passion into such a marvel of repose, thrilling with such a depth of tragic calm that it will always stand as a deathless model of dramatic art. This dualism was brought out very ably through the splendid interpretation of *Misanthrope* by Jacques Copeau Director of the famous Theatre Vieux-Colombier : There we find Celemene, the so-called incorrigible coquette, bursting the bounds of a stereotyped character and betraying traits that are so contradictory, so human. She realises the vanity of the polite life in which she moves, yet she cannot accept the offer of Alceste to leave society behind and to go to the desert ! She shows no sign of dramatic conversion. Rather she shows her legitimate misgivings about an existence, may be very noble yet entirely

* Cf. the brilliant parody of M. Courte, *Conversion d'Alceste*.

foreign to her. As a stage-heroine she may not have attained to a climax but she appears intensely human when she quietly walks out of the stage. So Alceste also silently passes out "to find upon the earth some lonely place where one is free to be an honest man!" All his militant zeal for reform, his prophet-like denunciations are over and he seems to lapse into a mysterious silence. Did he end in love or in hate? Probably both! Yes, the case of our *Misanthrope* reminds us strongly of Robert Browning's lines* on the author of the *Divina Commedia* :—

"Dante who loved well because he hated,
Hated wickedness that hinders loving."

Hence in the last scene we seem to forget Moliere the Dramatist only to discover Moliere the Musician, playing the ineffable, voiceless symphony of hopes frustrated and loves baffled, suppressed sighs and silent tears suggesting a New Dawn—a *Vita Nuova*! Then Celemene appears as a veritable symbol of human suffering and *Misanthrope* is found to love Humanity with all the agony of an unrealised dream which his proud passionate soul defined only once :—

"My love will purge her Soul
Of all the passing vices of the time!"

Here we witness the eternal tragi-comedy of the Ideal and the Actual so conflicting yet complementary. Here if anywhere Moliere gives a point to Shakespeare and we may agree with a modern critic† who says that while "inferior in imagery and sublimity of conceptions" Moliere is "equal to Shakespeare in fecundity, and his superior in truth."

Appreciations Ancient and Modern

The opinions about Moliere and his works, like the opinions about all great writers, are as numerous and diversified as the critics who dipped into his writings. Contemporary judgments were conflicting as usual. His illustrious royal patron, Louis XIV, is said to have asked Boileau, "What great writer had most honoured his reign" and the immediate reply was : "Moliere, Sire".

"I think not," Louis replied, "but you know better than I." That shows the attitude of Louis XIV and Boileau. Then we know that La Fontaine had a real artist's admiration for a great artist. La Bruyere and Fenelon appreciated some points and condemned other traits, especially, Moliere's style. Bossuet,‡ had nothing but contempt for the comedian whose "place at the Holy Table was among the public sinners, "and consequently, according to Bossuet, "a Christian burial should be denied him." Voltaire realised the greatness of Moliere, yet his studies and criticism were somewhat cold and condescending.

* "One Word More."

† GE Taylor, pp. 277. Poquelin, Moliere et Misanthrope (1881)

‡ *Maximes et reflexions sur la Comedie*.

Rousscau felt the overwhelming character of Moliere's humour and considered it "morally" dangerous !

The first unqualified acknowledgment of Moliere as a classic, and the first unstinted admiration as a man and a poet, come from the greatest creative artist of Germany, Goethe. Goethe, who encountered Napoleon and showed nothing but a Caesarian contempt for that prodigious Gallic Barbarian,—the same Goethe used to adore Moliere passionately till the last days of his life. We quote a few extracts from his *Conversations* ;—

"Moliere is so great that each time one reads or re-reads him, one finds a fresh astonishment. I look upon him with the same veneration as on the engravings of the great Italian masters" (12th May, 1825).

"What a man is Moliere ! What a soul grand and pure ! He governs the manners of his time whilst others allow themselves to be governed" (20 June, 1826)....

"I know and love him since my young days and I hold to him not only because of his artistic triumph but, above all, because of the natural goodness and the high culture of a poet's soul !" (28th March, 1827).

That verdict pronounced at the beginning of the 19th century is strongly corroborated by the verdict of an authoritative critic of the 20th Century ; Mr. Ward, in his splendid monograph on Drama,* remarks about Moliere : "He is the most versatile, the most sure-footed and the most consummate master of the comic drama whom the world had known."

By the side of these superlatives lavished by foreign admirers, the noble-prose rhapsody of Sainte-Beuve† appears to be quite sober though none-the-less profound and touching.

"Aimer Moliere !" "To love Moliere ! by that I mean to love him sincerely and with the whole heart. . .

To love Moliere is to love health and the right sense of the spirit, in others as well as in oneself."

Personal Life—A Tragic Contrast.

But when we turn from these public encomiums to the details of the Comedian's private life, we are shocked by tragic contrasts ! A man with such an independence of judgment had to serve a king who was at his best but a noble autocrat. An artist of such a refinement of taste, had to humor the "gallery gods" in the triple capacity of comedian, actor and manager. A philosopher of rare sanity and insight had to wear the mask of a *farceur*. A passionate lover of the Sublime and the Beautiful, had the misfortune to be tied to a woman that was the veritable cross of his life ! In 1664 Moliere's first child was born and Louis XIV himself acted as the Godfather in the

* Encyclopaedia Britannica, XI Edition.

† *Causeries du lundi*."

Baptism, but the boy died a few months after. His *Hypocrite* though admired by everyone as a masterpiece, had to be suppressed for State reasons, another tribute paid by pompous Egoism to organised Hypocrisy! As a refuge from such shocks and as a source of mutual inspiration, Moliere organised (in 1664) a memorable circle with La Fontaine and Claude Chapelle, Boileau and Racine. In 1665 Moliere presented Racine's *Alexandre* at his theatre but a few months after Racine ungratefully transferred the right of presentation to Hotel de Bourgogne without a single warning! In 1666 Moliere lost one of his most favourite pupils in the Histrionic art, Baron—through the insulting behaviour of his wife Armande who soon left him. In 1667 Racine made a cowardly attack on Moliere by encouraging many of his artists to desert his theatre of Palais Royal. Soon after Moliere fell seriously ill and he lived for two months on milk diet, in a quiet retreat near Auteuil with his friend Chapelle, drunken but devoted to the last! The theatre had to be closed for six months. In 1669 Moliere lost his father. In 1676 appeared the most venomous and scandalous attack on his life and character—*Elomira the Hypochondriac* written by Le Chalussay. In 1671 Moliere was reconciled with his wife through the intervention of some friends, but the very next year he lost one of the oldest and staunchest of his friends Madeleine Bejart who died (1672) leaving practically everything she had for the benefit of Moliere's daughter and his children yet to be born. Moliere's name figures in her burial act, his last mute token of gratitude. His time was also fast approaching. In broken health, in exhausted spirits Moliere continued his double work of an author and an actor. He had lost all faith in cure, in medicine, in doctors. He was desperate. To crown all, the conspiracies of the Italian royal musician Lully and the hostilities of jealous Racine alienated Louis XIV for the time being. So, while the dying Moliere was playing his masterpiece, *The Imaginary Invalid* in Palais Royal Theatre, "the troupe of the Hotel de Bourgogne was playing Racine's *Mithridates* before the ungrateful king"!* On the day of the fourth performance of *Imaginary Invalid*, his wife Armande and his beloved pupil Baron implored Moliere, with tears in their eyes, not to act that day; but his word of honour proved unalterable. 'There are fifty poor work-people who live on their day's wage; what would they do if there were no performances?' exclaimed Moliere and went out to play for the last time! This last phase of Moliere's life has been dramatised with singular fidelity and pathos by the new play *Moliere* which was staged in Theatre Odeon. There we saw Moliere already seized with convulsion in the last scene, struggling with superhuman strength of his comic art to laugh death itself to scorn! Carried to his home on Rue Richelieu, in a semi-conscious state Moliere breathed his last (Feb. 17, 1673) muttering to himself. 'How much a man suffers before his death!' Thus Death also seemed to have been in a comic mood in carrying away the Great Comedian, surprised

* *Moliere* by Chatfield Taylor.

by a fatal stroke of malady while playing his *Imaginary Invalid* ! And the pious society continued that comedy or rather tragi-comedy by refusing Moliere a Christian burial. Finally, after four days of supplication, the greatest writer of France was allowed to be buried (Feb. 21, 1673) at the cemetery of St. Joseph with no pomp—with a few friends following silently in the dark—unaccompanied by Divine service. Moliere's widow is said to have cried out : "What ! a sepulchre is denied a man worthy of altars ?" And such was the end.

Moliere—The Last Phase.

Thus we see that the last few years of Moliere's life was a period of gradual undermining of his body and mind. Yet, it is a period of prolific artistic creation. The flame of his genius burnt steadily to the last. And here we find unmistakable evidence of the triumph of Spirit over Matter. Even if we leave aside popular farces like *George Dandin* (1668, an amplified version of his earliest farces *La Jaloux du Barbouille*) or the Rascalities of *Scapin* (*Les Fourberies de Scapin* 1671) ; or gorgeous court-ballets like *The Sicilian*, or *Love as a Painter* (1667), *Amphitryon* (1668) or *La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas* (1671) ; or clever skits on the medical men like *Love as a Doctor* (1655), *The Doctor in Spite of Himself* (1666) we must admit that Moliere gives indisputable proof of unflagging creative power through four universally praised and eternally fresh pieces : *The Miser* (*L'Avare*, 1668), *The Burgher, a Gentleman* (*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, 1670), *The Learned Women* (*Les Femmes Savants*, 1672) and the last, though not the least, the *Imaginary Invalid* (*Le Malade Imaginaire*, 1673). In a general popular essay it is neither possible nor desirable to discuss any and every piece of the Great Comedian. A bare statement of his achievements in the domain of dramatic creation is sufficient to convince us as to his title to literary immortality. Brunetiere voices the opinion of millions when he characterises the works of Moliere as "*un fragment de nature et d' humanite sous l' aspect de l' eternité*"*—truly, a fragment of Nature and of Humanity in the aspect of Eternity !

I conclude by reciting the noble and passionate lines† addressed to Moliere by Alfred de Musset (probably next in rank in French drama and poetry) :—

"J' admirais quel amour pour l'apre verité
Eut cet homme si fier en sa naïveté !
Quel grand at vrai savoir des choses de ce monde !
Quelle male gaité, si triste et si profonde
Que, lorsqu' on vient de en rire on devrait en pleurer !"

* *L'histoire de la Littérature Française*

† "*Un Soir Perdu*."

I admired : What a love for the hard Truth
 Had that man, so proud in his simplicity !
 What a grand and true knowledge of the things of this world !
 What a masculine gaiety, so pensive and so profound
 That when one goes to laugh one can't help crying !

Let our tribute be sober, let it be sincere. Moliere's art is a permanent asset of Humanity. His life, as a creative artist, is a perpetual inspiration to his posterity. May both his life and art, reveal their real significance to us and like a guiding star, lead us along the path of Eternal discovery of Truth through suffering that scorns not the Divine prerogative of Laughter.

"...Je suis que je suis. Rire ne m'empêche pas de souffrir ; mais souffrir n'empêchera jamais un bon Français de rire. Et qu'il rit ou qu'il larmoie il faut d'abord, qu'il voie."

"...I am what I am. Laughing does not prevent me from suffering but suffering never hinders a good Frenchman from laughing. And whether laughing or crying he must observe." (*Colas Breugnon* by Romain Rolland, 1914).

Paper read before the "Association des Hindous de Paris" in commemoration of the Tricentenary of Moliere. 15th January 1922.

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BEETHOVEN THE SPIRITUAL HERO*

By

ROMAIN ROLLAND

The musical genius of Beethoven is of universal renown. But what is very little known is his grand Spirit. I wish to say a few words about it to my Indian friends, for I know that they would appreciate fervently the heroic and the religious aspect of Beethoven's character.

Beethoven, coming as he did of a poor family, received an education which was not at all complete. He supplemented it by his own effort, his life-long studies and his burning meditations. He was never satisfied, like most of the musicians (even some of the greatest, like Mozart), with a deep knowledge of his own art. Beethoven wanted to know everything. He wrote in 1809 :

"There is no work of thought which should be too learned for me. With the least pretension of knowing such works thoroughly, I have striven, from my very childhood, to grasp the sense of the best and the wisest works of all ages. Shame to an artist who does not consider it his duty to push this spirit of research to the farthest point possible."

But mere study is not all ; merely to understand is not sufficient. One must learn to select. Beethoven has preference always for the greatest and the best. His instinct goes straight thither from the beginning ; Homer, Shakespeare, Goethe, the sages of Greece and Rome, the poets and the thinkers of India—a veritable Eagle's vision ! I think of his correspondence with the *Iranist-orientalist* Hammer-Purgstall in 1809, and their common plan of working on an Indian pastoral drama (On Devayānti ; vide the *Modern Review*, March 1927). I remember his attraction for the religious ideas of India and for the literature of Persia. The Soliloquy of Macbeth threw Beethoven into a delirium of emotion and he conceived writing music to *Macbeth*, unfortunately not finished†. No less a loss to the world is his projected music on *Faust* which Beethoven wanted to write from 1808, a work which made him cry with enthusiasm and regret, when a friend reminded him of it in 1827. But the indifference of Goethe, not to speak of his ill-will with regard to Beethoven, discouraged the latter. What to speak of sympathy, even a single line of appreciation from

* *Modern Review* April 1927.

† Beethoven possessed the power of concentration to an extraordinary degree. He used to carry in his memory the contents of several great compositions simultaneously. He used to construct them in spirit without producing them publicly till they satisfied him completely. That is how numerous inspired creations, almost complete, were lost to us ; for his premature death prevented him from translating his dreams into notations.

Goethe, of the admirable music for *Egmont*, was denied to Beethoven.* But more generous than Goethe, Beethoven conserved his warm admiration for the Poet down to the last days. In his conversations Beethoven expressed profound thoughts and judgments on Goethe, Schiller and Klopstock.

Beethoven used to read again and again his favourite books. The volumes of his small library, all attest to his warm admiration. Unfortunately that library is dispersed with the exception of two volumes of Shakespeare, the *Odessey* and the *Westöstlicher Divan* of Goethe. A Berlin manuscript of Beethoven contains a collection of quotations which he had transcribed out of the books that he studied ; here also we find the *transcriptions* mixed up with Beethoven's own *reflections* and both are of equally great interest. Quotations and personal thoughts seem to be of the same substance. While reading, we are inclined to ask if it were Homer, Herder, Kant, Schiller or Beethoven who speaks ! One would feel that the same hand had been striking the notes of accord and that the whole weaves itself into the same texture of Harmony. Being a man whose natural language was that of *sound and not of words*, Beethoven sometimes used to borrow his expressions from others ; but he only took such expressions as were already his own. One would almost swear that some of the most striking expressions are Beethoven's own language. In any case, what were only noble thoughts, general and abstract truths with the authors cited, came to be animated, quivering, pulsating under the pen of artist Beethoven who seemed to rewrite them with his heart's blood. For we read them in his life and find them transfused into his blood. His grand *cortege* of friends from ancient India, from Greece or from Germany, all idealists, participate in his sufferings and his joyous heroism.

From this *ensemble* of thought, flowing or sparkling, what is the form that emerges ? What picture ? What statue of the soul ?

To begin with, we see a Herculean grandeur wrestling with Fate ; then a heroic *renunciation* which rises itself above Fate by accepting it—Hercules on the funeral pyre !

The ancient writers had worked on a tragedy, *Hercules on Mount Oeta*, which, later on, the Christian writers had likened to the Passion of Christ. When I read Beethoven, I am struck by the identity of suffering and of magnanimity. It is always the same Passion, the Eternal Passion of offering oneself in sacrifice to Humanity.

I shall cite certain poignant pieces, extracted from the *notes of Beethoven*, and I shall mix, in the design, the passages which he had transcribed from his

* Apart from a certain personal coolness, Goethe, already aged, felt a sort of instinctive antipathy for the new-born romanticism whose passionate music seemed to Goethe (and he was wrong !) to have a dangerous expression through Beethoven. Those crises of the soul disturbed Goethe's serenity, conquered at the cost of struggles and sacrifices. The "Olympian" as Goethe was called, alone knew the dangers which he repulsed from the depth of his soul and which he wished to impress upon all those who took the risk of re-awakening the "soul-troubles".

studies and his own thoughts, so that one can see, to what an extent the one and the other proceed from the same spirit :

"Now Fate has laid hold on me" (Homer). "Would that I do not disappear into the dust, without glory ! No, let me accomplish, first of all, grand things whose echo would resound in the ears of the generations to come" (Beethoven).

"Wishest Thou, then the laurels of victory, without the dangers of battle ?" (Herder).

"Show they strength, O Fate ! We are not masters of ourselves ; he who is determined would attain self-mastery May it be so then !" (Beethoven).

"Under the teeth of the tiger . . . I thank these Almighty, on high ! I die in suffering but not in error." (Herder).

"Endure ! (*Entsagung*) Accept ! (*Ergebung*) Thus we shall gain ground even in the depth of misery and we shall render ourselves worthy of the pardon of God for our faults (Beethoven).

"*Vide malum et accepi.* I saw evil days and I accepted" (Pliny).

"Only to Him, to Him alone, to God who knows everything, that we should resign all !" (Beethoven).

"What can I do ? To be greater than Fate, to love them who hate us and to seek the highest good of perfecting ourselves in creation (Zacharias Werner).

"Thou canst not be a man only for thy sake. Thou canst exist only for others . . . O God, give me strength to conquer myself." (Beethoven).

And in conclusion, I quote four lines of Zacharias Werner which Beethoven so well extracted that they seem to-day like the brazen inscription of the soul of Beethoven, a *Christian Marcus Aurelius*, a warrior-sage of antiquity :—

"Fight for Righteousness and for his daughter, the Eternal Liberty glorified by Law. Submit thyself to the inflexible will of Iron Fate ! Obey and renounce thyself !"

Kampf fur das Recht und fur des Rechtes Tochter
Die durchs gesety verklarte eu'ge Freiheit,
Ergebung in den ungebengten Willen
Des eiseruen geschicks ; gehorsam und
Entsagung . . .

The most penetrating spirits amongst the contemporaries of Beethoven, men who had approached him with understanding which gives sympathy, had found in him the grand drama of Sacrifice ; and their hearts were pressed with a sort of religious emotion. The poet Rellstab, the muscologist Rochkitz, the organist Freudenberg have almost the same expressions in depicting Beethoven : "the patient man of Suffering", "who had brought to millions of souls the joy, the pure spiritual joy," "the man who in order to give his best to the world,

was obliged to be deeply wounded and tortured," and who, although lonely, had united in the embrace of his "Hymn to Joy" all men, all brothers.

To a noble friend, a woman suffering like him, to Countess Erdody, Beethoven wrote in imperishable words which had become the motto of all heroic souls :—

"We, finite beings, are endowed with infinite spirit, we are born only for suffering and for joy ; and we may almost say that those who are chosen by Fate receive Joy through Suffering."

He was, while alive as he is to day, the great consoler for us. He is, for all ages, the most noble tonic in European music, with the vigorous Hændel ; but the latter, health incarnate, turns his eyes away from suffering or screens it with his dazzling brilliance. Beethoven opens his arms to all sufferings and leads them to Joy.

The benefaction of his music does not rest only on his large and profound humanity, comparable only to that of Shakespeare*, who shares the bread of daily life with all. To those who know how to listen to Beethoven his music seems to be a religious light, a revelation of the Infinite : of that Double Infinite, that which is enveloping us and that which is within us. Beethoven passes through our hearts that ecstasy by which J. H. Andreas Stumpff (1823) found Beethoven, sitting on a grassy sward in a valley near Vienna, contemplating the starry heavens ; that ecstasy which Beethoven made to shine with the palpitation of the stars, in the sublime *Adagio* of one of his Quarters in E flat, *opus* 59, dedicated to Count Razumoffsky.

"My Spirit," said Beethoven to Stumpff "mounts up to the Prime Source (Urquelle) from which flows inexhaustibly the stream of the whole Creation. The things that would penetrate the heart must come from on high ; otherwise we have only notes, bodies without soul, mere mud. The human spirit should build out of the earth where the *divine spark had been sent, banished as it were for a time ;* and like the field sown by the peasant, the human spirit should blossom and fructify ; thus enriched and multiplied, it should go back to the Source from which it had emerged."

Thus the genius of Beethoven, appears as a perennial stream of Life which flows from the Urquelle, the Prime Source, and with thousands of human streams, mingling with one another, goes back to the original spring. Thus the great musical genius is the mediator between the human and the divine and he is fully conscious about the magic character of the Art of which he is the Sovereign.

* The great compose Schubert, while young, used to see Beethoven often worn with age, lost in his dreams. Without daring to discuss with Beethoven, Schubert said to one of his friends : "To compare Mozart with Beethoven is like comparing Schiller with Shakespeare. Schiller is already understood. Shakespeare far from being so, for a long time still."

"Music," said Beethoven, "is the non-material entrance into a world that is the highest in our knowledge ; it is a world which envelopes mankind and yet it cannot grasp that world fully. Music is the revelation which is higher than all philosophy, all wisdom. It is the Sacred Wine that exalts the soul for New Birth unto a New Childhood ; and I am the Bacchus who pressess that magnificent wine for human beings, *wine that makes them God-intoxicated*. God is nearer than anybody else to me, in my Art. He who would understand once only my music shall be free from misery, in which the others are engulfed."—*Conversation with Bettina Brentano, 1810*'.

These are words of illumination. We who have verified on ourselves their efficacy, we can bear witness to their prophetic value. The women of his age measured the comprehensiveness of the words, through their intuition of love and of genius. Bettina Brentano was so fascinated as to dare writing to Goethe : "None has any doubt on the matter, but I declare that Beethoven marches long in advance of the thoughts of the whole humanity ; and I have doubt as to whether we shall ever be able to capture his thoughts fully," (1816).

BEETHOVEN CENTENARY

(1827-1927)

BY

KALIDAS NAG

Ludwig van Beethoven passed away at a quarter to 6 p. m., on the 26th of March, 1827, during a thunderstorm, and was buried at the Wabringer Friedhof, outside Vienna. He was born at Bonn on the 16th December 1770 and was, therefore, barely 57 when he bade adieu to this world which he used as a sonorous lyre in order to evoke the sublime songs of Joy and Sorrow and the richest harmonies of Love and Death, winning the proud title, Beethoven the Shakespeare of Music.

What a rare privilege to be reminded of this fact by the greatest living interpreter of Beethoven, and one of his "Doubles" in the world of novels, by Mon. Romain Rolland, the Beethoven of modern romance, who, through his immortal *Jean Christophe*, has given us therein the epic improvisation on the deep and mystic life of Beethoven unknown to his official biographers. Mon. Rolland writes :

"On the 26th of March, 1927 a hundred years will be completed since the death in Vienna of the Hero of Music Beethoven. The whole world would unite in celebrating the event. In all the countries we hear about the announcement of the solemn commemoration and even the enemy governments would unite in participating in the ceremony."

Thus having impressed upon us the universal character of the interest in Beethoven's life, Mon. Rolland communicates to his Indian friends a few facts and some rare literary fragments. These curious and precious documents would explain how the master spirits of the last century, e.g., Goethe and Beethoven, Schopenhauer and Tolstoy, felt a sort of *family attraction towards India*. We are profoundly thankful to Mon. Rolland for hunting up these valuable documents from the Beethoven Archive and we publish the texts together with the prefatory note of Mon. Rolland.

India and Beethoven

"I feel that India should associate herself in that international celebration by publishing a few words of appreciation in her important papers and reviews.

"It may be interesting to remember that Beethoven submitted to the attraction of Indian thought. Here are a few documents which might be of some service.

"These are the actual copies made by me, of the *manuscripts* of Beethoven. These passages were copied by Beethoven in his own hands; these are translations (published or unpublished) of some Indian poems adapted to the European spirit. The exact sources of these texts have not yet been traced, except fragment III, which is supposed to have been borrowed from the 4th or 5th act of *Śakuntalā* in the German translation of Forster. The fragment No. II is the Hymn, which seems also to be the version of a Sanskrit psalm translated into English by H. Th. Colebrooke.

"I send you herewith a few items of biographical information also :

"In 1808 the famous Austrian Orientalist, Hammer-Purgstall returned to Vienna from Asia. Thanks to his friendship with Count Ryewusky he founded a periodical with a view to make Oriental literature better known to Europe. This was named *Fundgruben des Orient* and its first number appeared on the 6th of January, 1809.

"Beethoven was then in Vienna and was in the plenitude of his genius and glory. He had produced during those years the Symphony in Ut minor and the Pastoral. He entered into relation with the Austrian Orientalist. Two letters, luckily preserved, show that Hammer-Purgstall admired Beethoven and "communicated some unknown treasures in *manuscript* to Beethoven, who thanked him profusely.

"But there was something more. Hammer had written, for Beethoven, an operatic poem of Indian inspiration which Beethoven styled as "*herrliches*," (magnificent) and the great musician was very happy to talk on the subject with the orientalist and to learn something about Indian music. But he fell ill and the project was deferred. Other circumstances also intervened, blocking the execution of the project later on. Only we find, amongst the papers of Hammer, a "*Mennons Dreiklang, nachgeklungen in Dewajani, einem indischen Schaferspiel*", an Indian Pastoral based on the Devajāni story which was no doubt the poem meant for Beethoven.

"But Beethoven seemed then to have been more attracted by the religious thoughts of India than by her poetry; and we find in his letters and his notes (1809-1816) traces of assiduous studies and translations of Hammer. The fragments enclosed herewith are a few of the specimens conserved.

"It is important to note this awakening of curiosity in and the passionate attraction of the European genius for the thoughts of Asia. This was to be manifested a few years after, in 1819, by the publication of the poetic masterpiece of Goethe, *Westöstlicher Divan*, which captivated Beethoven. The same process is found translated in the formation of the soul of Schopenhauer.

"I send these fragments of Beethoven to you in original German. Their value is not so much in what they express as in the orientation which they prove to have taken place in the genius of Beethoven in maturity, towards the thoughts of Asia.

"These facts are known to the German musicologists who are specialists in the study of Beethoven. But the larger public know nothing about them and I hope that Indians would be very glad to know them."

Historical Importance of the Fragments.

These fragments have an additional significance to students of Indology in as much as they are land-marks in the history of the *rapprochement* of the spirit of the Orient and Occident, long before the formal enfranchisement of Oriental studies in the academic circles of Europe. We cannot forget that if Beethoven was anticipated by Sir William Jones, Wilkins, the translator of *Bhagavad Gitā*, and Colebrooke the pioneer in the study of the Vedas and Indian philosophy, yet Beethoven was the precursor of Burnouf and Bopp, of Goethe and Schopenhauer so far as the discovery of Indian genius was concerned.

Translations from the Manuscript Fragments of Beethoven (1815)

I

Adaptations from the Upanishads

God is Spirit 'no-matter', and therefore, he is beyond all conceptual definition; as he is invisible, therefore he cannot have shape. But from all that we know of his works, we can conclude that he is eternal, all-powerful, all-knowing and omnipresent. He alone is the powerful Being who is free from all appetites and desires. There is no one greater than he, the *Brahma*; his spirit is self-contemplating. The all-powerful one is present in every part of Space. His all-knowingness is the result of his self-meditation and his ideas include those of all others. Of all his many-sided qualities the greatest is his all-knowingness; for him there exists no threefold states of being, he is independent of them all.

O God, thou art the true, the eternally holy, unchangeable light of all ages and spaces, thine wisdom knows of thousands and more than thousands of laws, but all thy acts are in perfect freedom and redound to thy glory. Thou art above all things that we honour; we all praise thee and pray to thee. Thou alone art the truly blessed '*Bhagavan*'. Thou art the truth in all laws, the incarnation of all wisdom. Thine all-permeating presence in the universe upholds all things, Sun, Ether,—*Brahma*!

II

Hymns

Spirit of spirit! Thou hath permeated every Space and endless Times; and, rising above all limitations of the rebellious thoughts by mastering them, hast brought Beauty and Order. Thou wert before the Heaven and 'world'. Thou wert alone, even before the earth began to swim in the heavenly ether, till through thy inscrutable Love, everything which was not, sprang into existence, and sang thankful praise to Thee! What impelled thee to exercise thy

powers ? O Goodness without limit ! what shining light guided thy strength ? Wisdom without measure ! What created wisdom in the beginning ? Oh lead my spirit, raise it out of its abysmal depth, so that through thy strength carried beyond, it can, without fear, soar upwards in fiery rhythm. For Thou alone knowest how to inspire.

III

Out of God has emanated everything pure and unsullied. If I am ever blinded by passion to evil ways, then I can return again, after many penances and purifications, to the sublime and pure Source, to thee O God ! and to thine Art. No egotism inspires thee here, and it is so at all times. The trees are bent down by the exuberance of its fruits, the clouds lower themselves when filled with beneficial rain and the benefactors of mankind do not boast of their riches.

If under the beautiful eye-lashes the welling tears lurk, resist with fixed determination their first effort to break through. On your wanderings over the earth, when the way goes sometimes up and sometimes down and the right path is seldom recognisable, the trace of your footsteps will not always lead you along the straight paths.

IV

Adaptations from Geeta

Blessed is he, who has suppressed all passions and then with courage fulfils all the duties of life, untroubled about success. Let the motive of your action be in the deed and not in the result. Be not amongst those whose incentive to action is the hope of reward. Do not allow your life to pass in inactivity. Be active, fulfil your duty, banish all thoughts of the consequence and of the result—which may be good or evil ; for such serenity is the criterion of spiritual values. Seek then to find in Wisdom alone a refuge ; for unhappy and miserable are they who attain success in material things. For the truly wise do not trouble themselves over the Good or the Evil in this world. Strive always therefore to keep in use your Reason, for that discipline is a rare art in life.

V

Enveloped in the shadows of eternal loneliness, in the impenetrable darkness of the groves, inscrutable unapproachable, immeasurable, infinitely extended is He. His breath was there even before spirits were breathed into. His eyes looked into his Creation just as mortal eyes (to compare an infinite with a finite object) gaze into a clear mirror.

VI

Jottings from Indian Literature (dated 1816.)

There are specimens of Indian Architecture, temples made of the rocks of India, which are old, 9000 years old.

Indian musical notes and tones ; sa, riḥ, ga ma, pa, dha, ni, sa.

An aspirant Brahmana has to go through five years of silence in cloisters.

With God there is no time.

To one whom the representation of *lingam* caused offence, the Brahmin replied, whether the same God, who had shaped the eyes, was also not the author of the rest of the human limbs.

Amongst the Hindus, one of the classes rules the rest.

Hunting and Agriculture make the body agile and strong.

The Soul of Beethoven

The fragments of Indian religious texts which were found amongst the manuscripts of Beethoven are partly translations and partly adaptations of the sublime philosophies of the *Upanishads* and of the *Bhagawad Gītā* containing the quintessence of Hindu spiritual realisations. We are not sure if Beethoven himself or his Orientalist friends were responsible for the final selection of these profound texts. Most probably it was Beethoven who sifted the various translations made by his friends and copied out, with his own hands, those utterances of Indian sages which responded to his spiritual strivings. For we find, in the text, not only selection of the original Indian thought-melodies, but the very improvisations on them by some master-spirit who is like Beethoven, deeply religious and hence the *cousins germains* of the Indian seers, who were also musicians from the very beginning—who called their scripture *Rik* psalms, and *Chandas* or rhythms, and who were responsible for the apotheosis of the musical sound *Śabda Brahma*. So we may not be far from the truth if we surmise that the rhapsodic commentaries or apostrophisings which follow the Indian aphorisms, are Beethoven's own and as such, they have a rare value.

Every biographer of Beethoven asserts that the art and life of Beethoven are surcharged with religious inspiration :

"A more deeply religious mind never existed. In every trial his thoughts flew upwards and his note-books are full of most passionate ejaculations. God

was to him the most solemn and intimate Reality whom he saw and welcomed through all aspects of Nature and in every mood of Joy and Sorrow." (Sir George Grove).

"Sacrifice, sacrifice always the inanities, the fooleries of life, to Art! God above all—*O Gott über alles!*"

These were his perennial cries; and his greatest interpreter, Mon. Romain Rolland, has also proved it in his Life "*Vie de Beethoven.*"

Romain Rolland on Beethoven

"All his life may be compared to a day of terrific storm. At the beginning a limpid youthful morning, only here and there a gust of weariness. But in the immobile atmosphere one scents a secret manace, a heavy presentiment. Suddenly we find the passing of the gigantic shadows, the tragic rumblings, the terrible and growling silences, the furious rush of storm in the Heroic and in the Symphony of Ut Minor. However, the transparent purity of the air is not as yet blotted out. Joy is still joy and Sorrow nurses always the child of Hope. But after 1810 the equilibrium of the soul is upset.

"A strange light seemed to emerge from his works henceforward. From the clearest of his musical thoughts one can see a misty something slowly coming up; the mists dissipate, gather again and seem to darken our hearts with their capricious and melancholic uneasiness; often the musical idea seems to be lost altogether; it comes out of the haze once or twice and then seems to have been swamped; it jumps out by fits and starts, only at the end of the composition. Even the gaiety of Beethoven of this epoch assumed a severe and savage colouring. In all his sentiments we scent some fever, some poison. In a letter of 2nd May 1810, to his friend Wegeler we read the piercing lines: "Oh! so beautiful is Life, . . . but mine is poisoned for ever!" The storm-clouds gather as the night descends; and suddenly the heavy clouds, dark like the night surcharged with lightning and bursting with tempest, the beginning of the Ninth Symphony! Suddenly with the bursting of the tornado, the curtain of darkness is torn asunder, the night is chased out of heaven and, by the sheer impact of the will, the radiant day emerges in all serenity.

"What conquest of Bonaparte, what effulgence of the sun of Austerlitz may aspire to rival this glory, this superhuman effort, this victory, the most brilliant ever achieved by human spirit? A poor diseased lonely unfortunate creature—Suffering-made! Man, to whom the world had refused joy, creating Joy by his own will, in order to give it to the world. Truly Beethoven has created joy out of his misery, as he himself says in a few proud words which summarise his life and which should be the motto of all heroic souls.

"To Joy through Suffering!"

"Durch Leiden Freude!"

The profound truth underlying every word, every phrase of Mon. Rolland, would be realised by those who have the privilege to listen even once to that Homeric composition of the musical world, the Ninth Symphony which Beethoven created out of the depth of his soul, which was the battle-ground of Joy and Sorrow.

Hymn to Joy.

From the year 1793 when he was a young man of 23 only, Beethoven dreamed of singing for once a supreme hymn to Joy which would be the crowning piece of all his works. All his life he hesitated about the exact form of the hymn and about the place which he could assign to it. Finally in the year 1823, at the fag end of his life, he took up the sublime Ode to Joy by his great contemporary Schiller, and wrote a musical superstructure which would ever remain as a marvel and a despair of musical art. Beethoven was a pioneer in introducing the chorus at the end of the symphony ; and in the choral Hymn to Joy at the end of the Ninth Symphony we feel, as I felt in the course of one of the great symphony-concerts of Germany, that the human soul, in its sublime despair to express itself through man-made instruments, suddenly cries out directly to God, the Master Musician, through the human voice. Beethoven's Symphonic hymn to Joy has all the grandeur and the directness of the Vedic hymns which also culminated in the Eternal philosophy of Joy *Ananda-Rāgam Amṛtam*.

Pilgrimage of Pain

This unique realisation of Joy and through Joy, of Immortality was not the prize of easy philosophising but of awful suffering, of tireless endurance and deathless Faith. This would be proved by Beethoven himself. Hence we conclude this fragmentary tribute to the great Hero of music, by offering to our readers the *Testament* of Beethoven, which requires no commentary. From this unique document we feel how his whole life was, as he intuitively felt it to be, nothing but a pilgrimage of Pain. This was written in Heligenstadt, Vienna, as early as 1802 when Beethoven was barely 32.

The Testament of Beethoven

For my brothers Charles and John Beethoven.

"Oh men who look upon me and consider me as a hateful mad misanthrope, how unjust you are to my poor self ! You know not the secret reason of my appearing to be so. My heart and my spirit were inclined from my infancy to all the sentiments of Goodness, nay more. I was always disposed to do good things, noble things. But just consider how frightful was my condition ever since I was a child of six years, diseased, made worse through the treatment of thoughtless doctors, cheated from year to year with the hope of recovery

and finally flung at the prospect of a prolonged malady, the cure of which would require years if it was not actually incurable.

"Born with a temperament enthusiastic and active, enjoying the distractions and amenities of Society, I was forced at an early age to get myself separated from all and to pass a solitary life. Even if I could rise above these things, how cruelly was I hurt by the sad experience of my infirmity renewed from day to day. It was not possible for me to say : "Speak louder, shout, for I am deaf !" Oh how could it be possible for me to reveal my weakness in that organ which should have been in my case more perfect than in that of others, a sense which I used to possess in the state of almost perfection, a perfection which few of my vocation ever possessed. Oh I simply could'nt speak about it.

"Pardon me then if you have seen me to avoid you, for you know how I wished to mix in your company. My misfortune is doubly painful to me because I ought to have been a stranger to it. How it stands in the way of my finding consolation in the company of men, in delicate conversations, in the reciprocal outpourings of souls. Alone, quite alone ! I never risk going out into the world except when I am driven by necessity. I must live like a proscribed soul. If I approach human society I am torn by a devouring anguish through fear of being detected, of people noticing my condition.

"That is why I am spending five months in the country. My learned doctor has advised me to spare my ears as much as possible : He solemnly overrules my own humble aspirations ! How many times, tempted by my weakness for human company I have allowed myself to be captivated. But what a humiliation ! Here are so many near me hearing the flute from a distance and I nothing ; or that they can hear the shepherd singing and that I nothing, always nothing ! These experiences are sufficient to fling me to absolute despair and it is a wonder that I did not cut short my life myself. It was Art alone that held me back. Oh, it seemed impossible for me to quit this world before having accomplished all that I felt myself to be charged with. That is why I allowed the prolongation of this miserable life ; miserable indeed, with a body so irritable that the least change flings me into the state of worst confusion. Patience ! so people advise me. I should chose Patience as my guide from now. I shall have patience I hope. My resolution to resist should be strong till the time comes for inexorable Fate to cut the thread of my life. It may or may not be good, but I am ready. To be forced to be a philosopher at the age of 28 is not an easy affair ! It is more cruel in the case of an Artist than in that of any other man.

"My God, you see from high into the depth of my heart ; you understand, you know that love of mankind and the desire to do good are in my soul. Oh fellow mortals ! If you read some day this document, remember how you have been unjust to me ; and may the unfortunates find consolation in discovering another unfortunate being like him who, inspite of all the

obstacles of nature had done all that lay in his power to be admitted to the rank of the Elect, of the Artists.

"You my brothers, Charles and John, remember as soon as I am dead, and if Prof. Schmidt lives still, please request him, in my name, that he should describe the case and join, to the history of my malady, this letter which you find herewith ; so that after my death the world may get reconciled with me as much as possible. At the same time, admit you both as the inheritors of my humble fortune, if one can call it so. Divide the same amongst yourselves loyally, try to live in agreement and to help one another : The wrongs that you have done to me which you know, have been pardoned by me long ago. Brother Charles, to you I address my special thanks for the attachment which you have shown lately. I pray and I bless you, so that you may have a life a little freer from anxiety and a little happier than mine. Enjoin one thing above all upon your children, Virtue. It is she that gives happiness, not wealth. I speak from experience. It is virtue which sustained me in my misery. It is to her and to my Art that I am grateful for not having terminated my life by suicide. Adieu ! Love one another. I thank all my friends and particularly Prince Lichnowsky and Prof. Schmidt. I hope that the instruments of the prince might be kept in the homes of either of you, but may it not raise any quarrel between you. If you think it better, sell the instruments if it serves your purpose better. How happy should I be if I can be of any service to you in my tomb.

"Even as I am, I shall fly to Death with joy. If death comes before I had the chance of developing my artistic faculties, inspite of my cruel fate. If she comes thus too early for me and I wish to retard ; but even then I shall be content. Would not Death deliver us from this state of endless suffering ? Come whenever you wish, O Death ! I shall face you bravely. Adieu, and don't forget me in death. I deserve to be remembered by you, for I have remembered you in my life to make you happy. Be happy !"

6th October, 1802.

LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN.

"P. S.

"For my brothers Charles and John. To be read and executed after my death.

HELLIGENSTADT.

10th October, 1802

"Thus I take leave of you certainly in sorrow. Yes ! the fond hope of being cured, at least partially, must now abandon me completely. Like the leaves of Autumn that drop and dry up, my hopes also have withered. I go out almost as I came in. The high courage which often sustained me in the bright days of my life, has vanished. Oh Providence ! make me live a day, a single day of joy. It is for such a long long period that I have been a stranger to

the profound resonance of real Joy. When, Oh when my God ! may I feel Joy again in the temple of Nature and Humanity ! Never ? No, that would be too cruel !

‘B’.

“Woltuen wo man kann,
Freiheit über alles lieben,
Wahrheit nie, auch sogar am
Throne nicht verleugnen”

“To do good to the utmost of power,
To love Freedom above everything,
And, even for a throne,
Never to betray Truth !”

BEETHOVEN

Before the Second World War (1939-40) when he greeted me, for the last time, in a letter to Tagore (Vide “Letters of Rolland of Tagore”, *Viśva Bhārati*, Publication), Mon Rolland published two monumental volumes : “*Goethe and Beethoven*” and the revised *Life of Beethoven*. Both should be read carefully along with my articles published in the *Modern Review* (March 1927) K. N.

MY JEAN CHRISTOPHE

By

ROMAIN ROLLAND

Jean Christophe is entering into his thirtieth year. He has been making headway from the time when a writer friend of mine, affectionate and ordinarily speaking more perspicacious, predicated, while leaning on his humble cradle, that Christophe will not be able to overstep the circle of a dozen familiar spirits. He has toured through the length and breadth of this planet and he speaks to-day almost all the languages of the earth. Now that he returns from his tour, dressed in astoundingly variegated costumes, his father, who in his turn has also used his feet vigorously on the pathways of this world, finds it sometime difficult to recognize the boy! May I be permitted to refreshen my memory as to when I took the little child in my arms and under what conditions my lad announced his entry into the world.

More than twenty years of my life were occupied by the thought of Christophe. The first idea dated back to the spring of 1890 while I was in Rome, and the last words were written in June, 1912. But the work overflows the above limits of time. I have recovered a few rough sketches, going as early as 1888, when I was still a student of Ecole Normale Supérieure of Paris.

The first ten years (1890-1900) were those of slow incubation, when I abandoned myself to an inner dream, with eyes open; while I was realising other works: the first four dramas of the Revolution (the Fourteenth of July, Danton, the Wolves, The Triumph of Reason), the Tragedies of Faith (St. Louis, Aert), the Theatre of the People etc. Christophe was to me a second life, hidden from outside eyes, and through it I could resume contact with my deepest self. Till the end of 1900 I was tied, by certain social bonds, to the Market Place of Paris and like Christophe I felt terribly foreign to that place. I carried Christophe within me like a mother her baby. It was the invulnerable citadel, my "Isle of Calm" where I used to stand alone in the midst of hostile waters and gather there my forces in silence for future struggles. After 1900, I was entirely free and, alone with my inner self, my dreams and my army of the Soul, I launched resolutely on the waves.

The first cry of appeal was sent out in a stormy night of August, 1901, from the height of the Alps near Schwytz. Before now I have never published the document and still millions of my unknown readers have found the repercussion of that cry, echoing along the walls of my literary creation; for the deepest depth of our thoughts are seldom expressed in a loud voice. A single glance of Christophe sufficed to make my invisible friends, dispersed in this world, feel the tragic fraternity which was at the source of all my work and

to feel also the fruitful despair from which issues forth the river of heroic energy :

"In a stormy night, in the midst of mountains, under the fiery vaults of lightning, amidst the savage growlings of the thunder and the hurricane, I think of those who are dead and those who shall die, of this whole earth enveloped by the Void, rotating on the heart of Death, earth which also will die soon. To all that which is mortal *I dedicate this mortal book* which seeks to say : 'Brothers ! let us come nearer, let us forget that which separates us and remember only this that we are all confounded in a common misery. There are no enemies, no wicked beings, there are none but miserable creatures ; and the only durable good fortune is to understand each other, love each other. Understanding and love are the sole flashes of Light which bathe this night of our existence, between two abysses on either side of life.'

"To all that is mortal, to Death which equalises and pacifies, to the unknown Ocean wherein innumerable rivulets of life lose themselves, I dedicate this work of mine and myself"—(Morschach, August, 1908)

Long before the undertaking of the definite composition of the work, a large number of episodes and principal features were sketched : Christophe, since 1890 ; Grazia, from 1897 ; Anna of the Burning Bush portrayed entirely in 1902 ; Olivier and Antoinette in 1903, one month before the writing of the first line of the first chapter of the *Dawn*. I had only to draw together the sheafs of corn to make a bundle, at the time when I noted in my diary : "To-day, 20th March, 1903, *I start writing definitely Jean Christophe*".

One would now see how absurd is the assertion of those muddle-headed critics who imagined that I was engaged in the work accidentally and without plan ! The desire and love for solid construction was in my blood and I developed it early through my classical French education at the *Ecole Normale*. I am of the old race of Burgundian architects. I would never undertake a work without having laid well the foundations and sketched the broad outlines. Before putting a single word in black and white, the whole work was designed. Few books are so completely and organically composed as *Jean Christophe*. The same day, 20th March, 1903, in my preliminary sketches* I fixed the various divisions of the poem. I anticipated the ten sections of the volume and fixed their outline, their mass, and then realised the whole.

The work of writing down these ten volumes† took about ten years of my

* All my original sketches, my notes and drafts of *Jean Christophe*, in two boxes, have been deposited by me in 1920 at the *Nobel Archive* of the Swedish Academy of Stockholm, with the exception of my manuscript of *Antoinette* reserved by my native country and I deposited them in 1928 in the departmental Archive of Nièvre.

† *Jean Christophe* was first published in 17 numbers of the fortnightly review, *Cahiers de la Quinzaine* by Charles Peguy, from Feb. 1904 to Oct. 1912 ; then in 10 volumes at the Librairie Ollendorff. In the first we find certain chapters which have been pruned in later editions, especially in the volume *Revolts*.

life. Commencing on the 7th July, 1903 at Frohburg-sur-Olden in the Swiss Jura, in the same site where Christophe would lie buried, not very far from the scene of the tragic duel between the Pine and the Beech trees, the work was finished on the 2nd June, 1912 at Baveno, on the bank of Lac Majeur.*

It was written in large part in a small tottering house of Paris, above the catacombes, at 162, Boulevard Montparnasse. On one side of the house was the shaking march of heavy wagons and the incessant rattling of the city and on the other side, the solitude of the old Convent gardens, bathed in sunshine, with trees doubly secular, full of chattering sparrows, the chirping ring-doves and the melodious merles. My life was at once solitary and worried, without friend, without joy, except that which I could create myself, and ever charged with crushing drudgeries : tutorial work, writing articles, historical research. Such tasks procured bread for me ; and I could snatch only an hour, or often less from those tasks, to attend to my Christophe. But without him not a single day passed in those ten long years. He was ever there, the author apostrophising his shadow ; and the face of St. Christophe, ever watching, was never missed for a moment.

I wish to explain here some of the general ideas which made me undertake and push to the end, amidst indifferent or sarcastic silence of Paris, this vast *Poem in prose* which refused to take the least notice of the material obstacles and which deliberately broke through all the accepted conventions of the French literary world. Success was of little importance ; there was no question of obeying *an order from within*.

In the mid-way of this long history, I found the following lines in my Notes for Christophe, dated December, 1908 : "I do not write a literary work, I write a *book of faith*". When one believes, one acts without the least anxiety about the result, Victory or defeat matters little. Do what we must ! At that epoch of moral and social decomposition of France, I took upon myself the duty of reawakening the *fire of the soul* which was sleeping under the ashes ; and for that, one must blow the ashes and the heaped-up dust at the beginning. To oppose to the Market Place, engrossing and vitiating the atmosphere, the toiling legion of intrepid souls, untarnished by any compromise and ready for all sacrifice. I wished to group such souls round the call of a hero who would be their leader ; and for the leader to appear one had to create him. I demanded from such a leader two essential conditions : (1) Eyes

* The following are the dates of the compilation of the different volumes :

L'Aube et le Matin, July to October 1903. L'Adolescent, July, 1903 to April, 1906.

La Révolte, July, 1905 to April 1906. Antoinette, August to October 1906. La Foire sur la Place, June to August 1907.

Dans la Maison, August, 1907 to September, 1908.

Les Amies, June to September 1909. Le Buisson Ardent, July 1910 to July 1911 (interrupted by a street accident from which the author narrowly escaped, finishing at this time the final volume as well as the *Life of Tolstoy*). La Nouvelle Journée, July, 1911 to June 1912.

free, clear and sincere like those of the "Hurons" whom Voltaire and the Encyclopaedists made to appear in Paris with a view to castigate, by their native vision, the stupidities and the crimes of the society of their age. A pair of open eyes were like observatories I was in need of, in order to see and judge modern Europe; (2) Seeing and judging were but starting points, after those comes action. Whatever you think whatever you are, have courage to show it and to say it. Have courage to act! For an "enlightened" of the 18th century to be sarcastic might have been sufficient. But he was too slim and weak-kneed for the rude combats of our days. We must have a Hero. Be that!

I gave my definition of a Hero in the introduction to my *Life of Beethoven* contemporaneous with the opening chapters of Jean Christophe. I refuse that title to "those who have triumphed by thought or by force. I call heroes only those who were great by their heart". Developing further, I discovered the heart not only in the region of sensibility but in the vast empire of inner life. The heroes who can command and can support on those elemental forces is of such a stature as to be able to hold his head high against a world of enemies (of Rolland's Notes: *Les Voyages Interieurs*).

The model of Beethoven was naturally suggested to my mind while I developed my early conceptions of a hero; for in the modern world and amongst the people of the occident, Beethoven is an exceptional artist who had united with his creative genius, being the master of an immense inner empire, the genius of the heart fraternal to all human beings. But one should be careful not to see in *Christophe* a portrait of Beethoven. He is a new Beethoven, a hero of that type but autonomous and flung into a different world which is ours. The historical analogies with the musician of Bonn reduce themselves to a few traits of the family of Christophe in the first volume, *The Dawn*, which I introduced with the intention of affirming the Beethoven lineage of my hero for planting the roots in the past of the Rhine country. I enveloped his early days in an atmosphere of old Germany, of old Europe; but once the tree sprung out of the soil, it was encircled by to-day; and Christophe himself in every detail is one of us, the heroic representative of that generation which marched from one European war to the other: from 1870 to 1914.

If that world in which Christophe grew had been broken to pieces and confounded by the formidable events emerging since then, I have every ground to believe that the Old Oak is alive still. Cataclysms might have broken some of its branches but the trunk has not been destroyed. I am gaining daily proof from so many countries of the world to find their nest therein. The fact which is most striking and which goes beyond all my effort to build up the work is that *Christophe does not feel a foreigner in any country*. From the farthest countries of the most different races like those of Europe, of India and China, of Japan, of America, I have seen people coming to say: "Christophe belongs to us. He is in us. He is my brother. He is myself." And that proves the

veracity of my faith and that I have attained the goal of my effort ; for at the very beginning of my creation I read these lines (October, 1893), : "Ever to demonstrate the *Unity of man no matter how multiple are the forms* in which it appears. That should be the first objective of art as that of science. That is the object of Jean Christophe".

I proceed now to give some considerations to the artistic forms and the style which I specially selected for Jean Christophe, for the one and the other hold closely to my conception of the work and its goal. But I propose to discuss it in length in a general essay on my *aesthetic conceptions* which are not the same as those of the majority of my French contemporaries. Suffice it to say here, that the style of Jean Christophe (after which one is accustomed to judge my work as a whole) is dictated by the governing idea which inspires all my efforts and those of my comrade Peguy, during the early days of his fortnightly review, *Cahiers de la Quinzaine*. That rough and virile idea, puritanic to excess like our own selves, was expressed, by way of reaction against the gelatinous and decomposing epoch and surroundings in the following terms : "Speak straight ! Speak without flourish and affectation ! Speak to be understood, not only by the group of refined folk but by the millions of the simplest and the humblest beings ; and have no fear to be understood too much ! Speak without shade, without cover, clear and firm, if necessary in heavy style which matters little, if only thou could thereby *hold firm to the soil*. And if it is necessary, to express the thought better, thou must repeat the same words ; repeat, clarify and do not hunger after novel expression. May not a single word be missed, *may thy word be action*" !

These are principles which I vindicate even to-day against contemporary aestheticism and I apply them even now in certain books which deal with action and derive their value from action. But that is not the case in all books ; and any one who can read will find the fundamental differences in matter, in artistry in phrasing and in harmony between *Jean Christophe* and my *Enchanted Soul*, not to speak of my works like *Liluli* or *Colas Breugnot** (Vide *India and the World*, Sept., 1932) whose substance itself dictates a quite different handling and combination of rhythm, timbre and symphony.

Even in Jean Christophe, all the volumes do not respond with the same rigour to the exigencies of the opening book. The puritanism of the first battles relaxed itself in the third group of the work entitled : The End of the Journey (the Friends, the Burning Bush and the New Day). With the softening of age which falls on my hero, the music of the piece worked itself out with greater complexity and richer shades. But the rigid routine of theory is no

* This neglected masterpiece of Rolland won for Dr. G. Schuler, the Doctor's degree of the University of Marburg (1927) (Vide : my translation of Rolland's note on Colas which Maxim Gorky loved among the other works : *India and the World*, Sep. 1932). In occupied France Rolland closed his eyes (Dec. 1944) in his native village Clamecy near the historic Cathedral of Burgundy.

longer obtrusive, and yet they are all satisfied, judging the work as a whole and life as whole.

Later on, one will find in my Book of Notes, materials for abundant documentation, explaining the underside of Jean Christophe tapestry, particularly that which concerns contemporary society, brought to lime light in the volumes : *The Market Place and in the House*

It is too early yet to speak about that.*

But probably it would be interesting to signalise one section of the work which my original projects foreshadowed but which was never executed. That was an entire volume which was to take place between the *Friends* and the *Burning Bush*, of which the subject matter would have been Revolution. Not the triumphant revolution and rush of the present day. At that epoch (1900-14) the Revolution was vanquished ; but the vanquished of yesterday make the victors of to-day. There exist in those *Notes* a fairly developed sketch of that volume which I suppressed. Christophe was found therein expelled from France and Germany, taking refuge in London, mixing with the groups of exiles and the condemned of all the countries. He is united in intimate friendship, with one of their leaders, a grand moral personality, of the stamp of Mazzini† or of Lenin (1870—1924). That vigorous agitator by his intelligence, his faith and his character became the leading spirit of all the revolutionary movements of Europe. Christophe took active part in one of these movements which exploded suddenly in Germany and Poland. The narrative of the event of insurrections, combats and division within the revolutionary camp itself, occupied a large part of the book ; towards the end of which the revolution was crushed and fugitive Christophe, after thousand dangers, escaped into Switzerland. There a supreme Passion waited for him and hence the *Burning Bush*.

I had also projected as a conclusion to that long tragedy of a generation of men, a sort of Symphony of Nature,—not Meerestille! (silence of the Sea) but Erdstille (silence of the Earth)—into which the great combatant of Life enters serenely : I returned always to the desire of giving to the human epic a *denouncement* analogous to that which I projected for my Dramas of the

* I ought to warn the readers against their identifying the personages of the book with the personalities of to-day. Jean Christophe is not a plot-novel with a key. If the book frequently visualises real events or individuals, it does not hold within a single portrait, either of the past or of the present ; but all those beings brought to light are naturally nourished by a quantity of experiences and memories of life, fused and transformed in the process of creation. It is none the less true that quite a number of our notorious contemporaries could be recognised in my satires ; and that they vowed an implacable hatred, the effect of which on me, manifested themselves in 1914, during the war, on the occasion of, or under the pretext of, the publication of my *Above the Battle*.

† I prepared then for a Life of Mazzini which would have been included among my "Heroic Biographies". I spent several years in the work of documentation ; but for diverse reasons, which is not opportune to recount here, I turned back from the project.

‡ The phrases occur in a famous poem of Goethe, set to music by Beethoven.

Revolution, published later on as *The Leonides* (*Vide India and the World*, November, 1932). The passions and hatreds melt themselves into the Peace of Nature, the silence of infinite space envelopes the agitation of Humanity and it loses itself like a stone in the water.

Always the thought of Unity, unity of man among themselves and with the cosmos : "*Seid unschlugengen, Millionen Diesen Kuss der ganzen Welt !*" (Embrace one another, millions of beings and kiss the whole universe !)—words of Schiller set to music by Beethoven in Ode to Joy, in his Ninth Symphony. I emphasised at the end of Jean Christophe that strong equilibrium in the bosom of action in course of our march : *Harmony, august marriage between love and hatred*. The end of Christophe is not the end but only a stage ; Jean Christophe is never finished, even his death was but a moment in the rhythm, the heaving of a great sigh upward towards the Eternal : "A day will come when I shall be reborn for new combats" (The last words on the lips of dying Christophe).

It is by that way that Christophe found himself the companion of several new generations. He might die a hundred times ; but he will take birth again and again. He will ever fight, he is and will remain the brother of the free men and women of all nations who fight and suffer and conquer.

"Dieu immortal, non plus mortel"—Empedocle.

At the foot of the divine Rock I was nourished by mystic Grace,
Charming maidens, flowers, heaven and earth, ruined temples bathed in the Sun,
All listening to the steps of the Player of the Harp,
Entranced in his dream of the gods, past and future.
When on the wings of lightning flashed before me thy Word,
Burning and at the same time elevating this humble anchorite,
And I saw Love crowned with the laurels of glory,
And those lips smiled on me, and I saw thee,
O Poet ! soaring above the darkness, arbiter of Justice,
Poet for eternity, belonging to the race of Empedocles
Godlike Romain Rolland !

Athens, 1930

COSTIS PALAMAS.

Translated from the original Greek by Nausica Costis Palamas the talented daughter of Costis Palamas who received me and addressed on "Tagore and modern Greek Literature". I am thankful to both the Poet father and the daughter for their genial hospitality in Athens in 1930. I thank them for the privilege of publishing this noble poem in the special "Rolland" number of my *India and the World*, issued by a strange coincidence, on the thirtieth birthday of Jean Christophe. That epic symphony of our discordant modern life has reached every corner of the globe. We are grateful to Mon. Rolland for giving us the privilege of publishing, in this number also, his autobiographic notes on the composition of the great work.—K. N.

A LETTER OF LEO TOLSTOY

BY

ROMAIN ROLLAND.

(I wrote to Tolstoy, for the first time, about the Pentecost (May of 1887. At that time I have been founding my creed ("Credo Quia Verum") on the direct sensation of the Divine Existence: "I feel therefore I exist." And I could not understand the proscription of Art by the author of "What to Do?")

I do not find anything but a few fragments of my original letter :

"Sir,

I would not have dared to write to you if I had to express to you my passionate admiration. It seems that I know you too well through your works, to address to you a few compliments which would appear almost impertinent on the part of a boy like me.....I am tormented by the idea of Death which I find haunting almost every page of your novels and above all in your *Ivan Iliitch* I am convinced also that ordinary life is not the real life.....The reality of Life is in the renunciation of the egotistic opposition of the living creatures, and in our close union with the Supreme Life, the Universal Being, should try immediately to get fused into that Life. That is your thought I believe. My thoughts also follow the same line.....I understand that to realise that renunciation of selfish personality, we must avoid all barren sentimentalizing and work for the benefit of all. And you say Sir! that benefit to others, practical charity, and bodily work alone can tear ourselves away from the baneful consciousness of our limited Ego, can give us the *ataraxy* or quietude of thought, the peaceful sleep of the heart, the only pleasingIt is this oblivion of ones self, Sir, that I am seeking, that I desire with all my heart; and I believe that I shall attain it.

But why do you insist that it can come only through *manual labour*? I ask you this question which engages my heart more strongly: Why do you condemn Art? Would you not use it rather as the most perfect instrument for the realisation of Renunciation? I read your new work, "What to do". The problem of Art is assigned therein quite the last place! You say that you condemn Art without giving all the reasons for your proscription. Excuse me if I cannot wait any longer and permit me to ask you your reasons. I believe to have understood that you condemn Art because you detect therein the selfish desire of subtle enjoyments which make our selfishness more coarse by the hyper-excitability of our senses. I know also that for the most of the so-called artists and writers, Art is nothing but an aristocratic sensualism.

But is not Art something else, something more? Another thing which means everything to a small number of artists? To them it is only Art which means the oblivion of the selfish individuality, the absorption into the Divine Unity, the creative Ecstasy. In that state what can Death do to us? Death is dead. Sovereign Art has killed Death - ...

Am I wrong? Do tell me Sir, if I am mistaken. I am in love with Art because it shatters my miserable Ego and unifies me with the Eternal Life - Do you also not believe that Art has a great role to play, above all amongst old races of men who are dying through the excesses of their civilisation?...

Please reply to me Sir! Tell me in all sincerity, if labour without thought which you extol, would really satisfy you? Would you never feel the regrets due to the sacrifice of Thought and to the disowning of Art; and moreover, if it is possible to reject Thought and Art by the simple fact of our wishing like that?

I am in need of advice. I find near about me not a single guide or moral preceptor. In France, in Europe I find only indifferent or sceptical people or the dilettantes...

ROMAIN ROLLAND

(Reply of Leo Tolstoy)

4 October, 1887

To Mon. Romain Rolland.

Dear Brother !

I received your first letter. It touched me deeply in my heart. I read it with tears in my eyes. I had the intention of replying to it, but I could not make time ; and, over and above the difficulty that I feel in writing in *French*, I must write lengthily in reply to your questions which are largely based on a misunderstanding.

The questions raised by you are : Why does manual labour impose itself on us as one of the essential conditions of our true happiness ? Must we voluntarily cut ourselves away from all intellectual activities of Science and Art, which seem to be *incompatible with manual labour* ?

To these questions I have replied, so far as I could, in the book entitled : "*What to do ?*" which I hear has been translated into French. I have never presented manual labour as a principle, but only as the application of the most simple and natural *moral law* which is the very first to appear before all sincere people.

Manual labour, in our depraved society—the society of the so-called civilised people—imposes itself on us uniquely by reason of the fact that the principal defect of that Society was and is down to this day, that we have freed ourselves from manual labour and are profiting by the labour of the poorer classes ; they are ignorant unfortunate, veritable slaves like the slaves of the old world and we do nothing for them in comparison with what they do for us.

The very first proof of the sincerity of the people of this society professing the principles of Christianity, philosophical or humanitarian, is to try to come as fast as possible out of this contradiction.

To succeed in this, we have the simplest and the readiest method of manual labour which starts with the act of taking care of oneself. I would never believe in the sincerity of Christian convictions, philosophical or humanitarian, of a person who allows his own chamber-pot to be cleaned by a hired servant.

The shortest and simplest moral formula is to take the service of others as little as possible, and to serve others as much as possible, to demand the least and to give the utmost possible in our relations with others.

This formula, which gives a rational meaning to our existence and the happiness which results from the same, removes all the difficulties at one stroke and no less the difficulty appearing before you : that relating to the role of intellectual activity, Science and Art.

Following the above principle, I admit that I am never satisfied and happy until I have the firm conviction that, while acting, I am making myself useful to others. The contentment of those for whom I act is an extra, a surplus of

happiness on which I do not count and which cannot influence the choice of my actions. My firm conviction, that what I do is neither useless nor evil but is something for the good of others, is therefore the principle condition of my happiness.

And it is this, which urges involuntarily a sincere and ethical man to prefer manual work to scientific and artistic works. The book that I write needs the work of the printers; the symphony that I compose needs the work of musicians; the experiments that I make needs the work of those who manufacture the instruments of laboratories, the picture that I paint needs the work of those who make the colours and canvas. All these works may be useful to men, but may also be completely useless and even injurious, as it often happens in many cases. Thus while I work at things whose utility is highly debatable and to produce which I must moreover make others work, I have before and around me, endless things to do, of which one and all, are undoubtedly useful to others, and to produce which I need not make a single person work: a burden to carry for one who is fatigued, a field to cultivate for a peasant-proprietor who is ill, a wound to dress, millions of things like these which surround us and which requires nobody's help, which produce immediate contentment in those for whose welfare you have performed the act: planting a tree, tending a calf, cleansing a well and such works are, beyond doubt, useful to others and which cannot but be preferred, by a sincere man, to doubtful occupations which, in our world, are preached as the highest and the noblest vocation of man.

The vocation of a prophet is high and noble. But we know what sort of people are priests who believe themselves to be prophets only because it is to their advantage and that they have the chance of passing for prophets.

A prophet is not the person who receives the education of a prophet but who has the intimate conviction that he is a prophet, that he must be so and that he cannot but be so. This conviction is rare and cannot be realised except by the sacrifices which one makes for his vocation.

It is the same for true science as well as for real art. Lulli, with all his risks and perils, left his profession as a cook and took to violin; by the sacrifices that he made he justified his title to the musical vocation. But our ordinary student of a conservatoire, one whose sole duty is to study the things that are taught, is not in the state of giving proof of his vocational zeal but he simply profits by the position which seems to him nice and advantageous.

Manual work is a duty as well as a blessing for all; the intellectual activity is something exceptional which becomes a duty and a blessing only to those persons who have that vocation. That vocation cannot be tested and known, except by sacrifice which the scholar and the artist make of their repose and their prosperity in order to pursue their vocation. A person who continues to fulfil his duty of sustaining life by the works of his hands, and yet devotes the hours of his repose and of sleep to thinking and creating in the sphere of

intellect, has given proof of his vocation. But one who frees himself from the moral obligations of every individual and, under the pretext of his taste for science and art, takes to a life of a parasite, would produce nothing but false science and false art.

True science and true art are the products of sacrifice and not of certain personal advantages. (*Vide What is Art ?* 1898).

But what happens then to science and art ? How many times have I listened to this question made by people who have neither any pre-occupation for nor any clear idea whatever of science and art ! One would be inclined to believe that those people have nothing so near to their heart as the well-being of Humanity which, according to their belief, could not have evolved except by the developement of those things which they call Science and Art.

But how is it that we find people to contest the utility of science and art, as well as people still more comic who believe it to be their duty to defend them ? There are manual labourers. No one bothers about contesting their utility and never would a labourer take it into his head to prove the utility of his work. He simply produces ; his production is necessary and is good for others. We profit by it and never doubt its utility, still less, attempt to prove the same.

The workers in the realm of art and science also are in the same condition. But how is it that we see people straining all their powers to prove the utility of Science and Art ?

The reason is that real labourers in the field of science and of art do not arrogate to themselves any special rights ; they give the products of their work which are useful and they do not feel the need for any special right and to prove their rights. But the great majority of those who call themselves, scholars and artists, know quite well, that what they produce are not worth the things they consume in society ; and probably because of that, they take so much pains, like the priests of all ages, to prove, that their activity is indispensable for the well-being of Humanity.

Real science and real art always existed and will exist always like the other modes of human activity and it is impossible and useless either to prove or to disprove them.

That science and art play a *false* role in our society is the result of the fact that the so-called civilised people, headed by the scholars and artists, form a caste of their own, privileged like the priest. This caste has all the defects of other castes, lowering and degrading the very principles under which they organise themselves. Thus we get in the place of true religion a false one ; in the place of true Science a false one, and the same thing we find in Art. It has the fault of weighing heavily on the masses and even more, of depriving them of the very thing which one pretends to propagate among them. This apparently consoling, contradiction between the principles professed and their practice, is the greatest weakness of the case.

Excepting those who maintain the inept principle of science for science's and art for art's sake, the champions of civilisation are obliged to affirm that science and art are great assets for Humanity. In what sense are they assets? What are the sign by which we can distinguish the good from the evil? These are questions which the champions of science and art do not care to reply to. They even pretend to say that the definition of the Good and the Beautiful is impossible to make; generally speaking they cannot be defined.

But those who speak like that do not speak the truth. In all ages, Humanity had done nothing in course of its progress but to define what is Beauty and what is Goodness. But that definition does not suit the champions of culture; for it unmasks the futility if not the injuriousness of opposing to Goodness and Beauty, what they call their Science and Art. The Good and the Beautiful have been defined through centuries. The Brahman and Buddhist sages, the Chinese, the Hebrew and the Egyptian sages: the Greek Stoics and the Christian Bible all have defined them in the most precise way.

All that tend to unify mankind belong to the Good and the Beautiful. All that tend to disunite are Evil and Ugly.

The whole mankind knows this formula. It is inscribed in our heart.

That which unites people is good and beautiful for humanity. Well, if the champions of Science and of Art have the good of humanity as their object, they should not ignore it; and if they do not ignore it they should cultivate only those arts and sciences which lead to the fulfilment of that object. Then there should not be the Judicial science, the science of Political Economy and of Finance, which have no other object but to secure the prosperity of certain classes of nations at the expense of others. If human welfare had been the ultimate criterion of science and of art, then never would those so-called positive sciences, which are completely futile from the point of view of human welfare, have acquired the undue importance that they have now; so, the products of our arts, which are good, more or less, provide excitement to the old rakes or relaxation to the comfortable idlers, would never have gained so much popularity.

Human wisdom does not consist solely of the mere *knowledge* of things. For the things that one may know are infinite and to know the largest amount of things is not *wisdom*. It consists in knowing the hierarchy of things which it is good to know and in learning to arrange one's knowings according to their importance.

Now, of all the sciences which man can and should know, the principal is the science of living in such a way as to do the least harm and the utmost good, and of all the arts that of knowing to avoid evil and to produce good, even in the smallest of our efforts. But we find that, amongst all the arts and the sciences which pretend to serve Humanity, this very first in science and in art, according to importance, not only do not exist but are excluded from the lists.

What we call science and art, in our society, is nothing but a stupendous humbug, a huge superstition into which we fall ordinarily, as soon as we get

out of the old superstitions of the Church. To see clearly the route which we should follow, we must begin at the very beginning, removing the blink or eye-preserve which is comfortable no doubt but which obstructs the real vision. The temptation is great. We live, either by labour or by some intellectual application ; we raise ourselves gradually in the social scale, and we find ourselves amongst the privileged, the *priests* of civilisation, the *cultured*, as the Germans say. And to doubt the principles which had given us that position of advantage requires, as it does in case of a Brahmin or a Catholic priest, much sincerity and great love of truth and goodness. But for a serious man like you, Mon. Rolland, who questions Life, there is no other choice. In order to see clearly we must free our mind from the superstitions in which we are steeped, however profitable they might be. That is the condition *sine qua non*. It is useless to discuss with a man who holds blindly to a fixed creed even on a single question.

If the field of reasoning is not completely free, there may be fine discussions, fine argumentations and yet we may not move toward Truth even one step. The fixed point would arrest all the reasonings and falsify them. There are creeds of religion and creeds of our civilisation ; both are quite analogous. A Catholic would say : "I may reason, but not beyond that what my scripture and our tradition teach me ; they contain the whole and immutable Truth." A devotee of civilisation would say : "My reasoning stops before the data of civilisation : Science and Art. Our Science is the totality of true human knowledge. If science does not possess as yet the whole verity, she will do it in future. Our art with its classical traditions is the only true art." The Catholics say : "Outside man there exists only one thing complete in itself, as the Germans say it, is the Church." The man of the world says : "Outside man the only thing that exists is Civilisation."

It is easy for us to see the faults of reasoning in religious superstitions, because we do not any longer share them. But a believing anchorite, or even a Catholic is fully convinced that there can be only one religion that proves itself by reasoning. It is the same case with us, believers in Civilisation. We are fully convinced that there exists only one true civilisation our own ! And it is almost impossible to see the illogicality of all our reasonings which do nothing but to prove that, of all the ages and of all the peoples, there is only our age and a few millions of creatures inhabiting the peninsula which is called Europe, that finds itself in possession of the only true civilisation composed of true sciences and real arts !

For knowing the *truth of life* which is so simple it is not absolutely necessary to have something positive : a profound knowledge or a philosophy ; it is necessary only to have the negative virtue : of not having Superstition. One must place oneself in the state of a child or of Descartes saying : I know nothing, I believe nothing, and I do not wish anything but the knowledge of the Truth of life which I am compelled to live.

And the reply given is complete for centuries, and it is simple and clear :

My personal interest prompts that I must have all wealth and good fortune for my own self. The reason speaks that all creatures, all beings desire the same thing. So all the souls, that are like me in search of their individual happiness, would crush me; that is clear. I cannot possess singly the happiness that I desire. But the searching after happiness is Life. Not to be able to possess happiness, not even to attempt for it is not to live.

The reasoning says that in the order of the world where all creatures desire only their own good, myself, a being desiring the same thing, cannot have it, therefore I cannot live. But inspite of this clear argumentation we continue to live and to seek for happiness! We say: I would never have good fortune and be happy except in the case in which all other beings would love me more than they love themselves. That is something impossible. But inspite of that we all live together; and all our activity, our searching of fortune, of glory, of power, are nothing but attempts to make ourselves loved by others more than they love themselves. Fortune, glory power give me but the appearances of that state of things, and we are almost happy, and we almost forget for the moment that they are but *appearances and not the reality*. All beings love themselves more than they do love us and happiness is impossible. There are people, and their number increases from day to day, who cannot solve this difficulty and burn their head while saying that life is nothing but a mockery.

Ane yet, the solution of the problem is more than simple and offers itself spontaneously to us. I can never be happy except under a condition of the world wherein all beings would love the others more than they love themselves. If this thing is realised then the entire universes would be happy.

I am a human being and Reason gives me the law of happiness for all beings. I must then follow the law of reason that I love others more than I love my own self.

Let but man follow this line of reasoning and life would appear before him in quite a different aspect as it had never done before. The creatures destroy one another no doubt but they also love one another and practice mutual aid. *Life is not sustained by destruction but by the Reciprocity of love amongst living beings* and this is translated within my heart into Love. So far as I could survey the march of the world, I see that the progress of Humanity is due to this principle of Reciprocation. Our History is nothing but the progressive clearing up of the conception and application of this unique principle of the *solidarity of all beings*. This reasoning is corroborated by the experience of History as well as by personal realisation. But beyond reasoning man finds the most convincing proof of the truth of that reasoning in his intimate feelings of the heart. The greatest happiness that man knows, the largest freedom, the utmost joy, is in Abnegation and in Love. Reason discovers for

man the only way to happiness, and the feelings also push him to that conclusion.

If the ideas that I strive to communicate to you, appear not so clear, please do not judge them too severely. I hope that you will read them someday in a way more clear and definite. I only wished to give you an idea of my way of seeing things.

LEO TOLSTOY

N. B.—Completing his two big novels, *War and Peace* (1868) and *Anna Karenine* (1878) Tolstoy, approaching 60 who pre-occupied for ten years (1878—88) with the problems of Art and Life. Rolland began corresponding with Tolstoy in this critical period of his life. I had the rare privilege of poring over this noble letter of the Russian Sage the very first day that I saw Mon. Romain Rolland in Paris. He has cherished this epistle as one of the most precious things in his life; and he made touching references to this Great Soul straining every nerve to make his idea of Love clear to this unknown French youth who grew up to repay his debt by consecrating profound and spiritual studies to Leo Tolstoy (1912) and to his Indian disciple Mahatma Gandhi (1923). K. N.

(Translated by Kalidas Nag from the original French). (*The Modern Review*, January 1927).

VICTOR AND VANQUISHED

By

ROMAIN ROLLAND

The Modern Review October, 1925

France was psychologically retiring from the occupied territories of defeated Germany. The retirement, as I heard, before leaving France in 1923, was conditional. But the fateful march of History is not conditioned either by political reparations or economic adjustments. The only permanent solution of such Sphinx-riddles of History lies in the change of hearts. The diplomatic and financial pre-occupations of the age are clouding today, as they did before, the main issue, the salvage of human civilisation. To illustrate this point and to indicate the proper position of the individual in his reaction against this general confusion of ideologies, thoughts and actions—we publish these three documents from the papers of Mon. Romain Rolland who could not survive the Second World War which brought the "brother-enemies"—France and Germany as *Comrades* in the "Common market" of post-war Europe.

KALIDAS NAG

I

An Appeal to the French for coming to the Aid of Suffering Germany.

Before suffering, there is neither victor nor vanquished.

One of the most sacred traditions of our people is to uncover before the Dead, that is being carried, no matter what sort of life the person had lived. Doctors, hospital nurses, sisters of charity, all those who watch over human suffering for diminishing it, have the signal honour of consecrating to one and all who suffer, the same devotion.

Fortified by these sacred sentiments, we come to appeal to France :

The people of Germany die of hunger. Thousands of innocents expiate cruelly the consequences of the scourge of War for which they are not more culpable than the ambition, the avidity, and the selfishness of their governing classes. In Berlin, in Leipzig, in Friburg, when the bread cost (about the end of October) seven to ten million marks, the monthly salary of an intellectual worker, never reached the hundredth of that price. Professors, doctors, engineers, advocates, sell their books, and their instruments of work for buying bread ! The students of certain universities are obliged to go a-begging about the country, in large groups. In Berlin 70% of the children go to school without a sufficient meal. A large number of them have no hot soup except

every two days. Thousands of families, weakened by privations, sink slowly. The suffering from cold goes to add to that of hunger. The winter opens with a terrible famine and epidemic.

France was chivalrous not long ago when the great Victor Hugo was living to help ; France extended her hands to the vanquished on the field of battle and nursed their wounds.

We issue this appeal to all of our race, without distinction of party or creed. Alas, the French are decimated by diverse passions ! But let us do justice to one another. All of us have this in common, that all of us have respect for our France, that all of us have faith in her nobility, and have anxiety to safeguard it. Let us show it to the world. Let us affirm that there is no place in French heart for base hatred, or a more ignoble callousness about the misfortune of other peoples. Let us prove rather, that victorious France remains still the land of Compassion.

No one can prove his victory except by the greatness of Soul. And the highest force is the force of Charity.

We invite the French to extend the hand of succour to the people whom they have defeated.

Christmas, 1923.

N. B. This Appeal of international amity, issued by the greatest writer of France in favour of her age-old adversary, was signed by some of the foremost men of science and letters : Prof. Langevin (physicist) and Prof. Meillet (philologist) of the College de France Prof. Charles Gide (economist) of the Faculty of Law, Mon. Buisson, President of the League of the Rights of Man, Frans Masereell, the artist, G. Duhamel (Academician), Pierre Hamp, Jean Richard Bloch, Charles Vildrac, and other distinguished writers of modern France. K. N.

II

The peoples of to-day are but puppets of politics and finance. Unfortunately, they are not sufficiently organised to put an immediate stop to that sinister game of antagonism and virulent intrigues which ruin all the nations equally. For, who does not know the shameful bargainings of this age, wherein victory as well as defeat of nations have become matters of "business" for the Sharks or "men of prey", from both the contending countries ?

But if we, in France, and in Germany as well in England, have not yet been successful to form a strong party of enlightened views, and an independent press which can control the Governments and upset their suspicious combinations, we may use the moral force of protest which can make itself heard beyond the frontiers. Even when constrained to submit to a deadly politics, our peoples have the power and the duty to proclaim that they disapprove it, to condemn publicly the acts of oppression and the excitations of hatred, by which one tries to maintain *disunion between nations*, profitable only to national

exploiters. Above all, the peoples should never neglect any occasion to affirm their solidarity, amidst the sufferings and ruins of the monstrous catastrophe, into which they are hurled, one against another, with bandaged eyes. There is no better remedy against such evils than the magic word: *Mutual Aid*. Its value does not lie solely in the material help which the murdering nations can render to one another. It lies, moreover, in the moral consolation, which it may bring for their redemption. The thing which had blasted the soul of Europe, the thing which weighs darkly on the heart of the two peoples (Franco-German) through years of warfare,—no less in the heart of the victor than in that of the vanquished—the thing which obstructs the revival of *taste in life*, in activity, in hope—rather than mutual distrust, rancour, and degrading suspicion. The two victims accuse one another of that and increase their misfortune. Friends of France and Germany! alleviate the suffering rather by sharing it. Let us not lose time in vain recriminations about the past; but let us strive, so that the future may be brighter for our sons. An immense field of activity claims all our hands. To work, one and all, for a common cause!

N. B. The above address was communicated by Mon. Romain Rolland to a meeting held in January 1924 at the Hotel des Societes Savantes in Paris, under the auspices of the French section of the "International Women's League for Peace and Freedom." K. N.

III

I return spending a few weeks in Germany. I have seen many Germans, not only from one city to another, but in the same city, from one class or generation to another, and sometimes in the same. How could one speak of establishing relations between a Germany which is not united, which one cannot embrace as a whole, and a France which is no less multiple and divided? The very first necessity will be to try for long, with patience and sincerity, to bring together for Germany (and perhaps for France also) the *diverse elements* of the *tableau*, so as to make again a "Germany" of Madame de Staël. That is a difficult task, especially at this hour when that enormous mass is in a state of confusion.

Secondly, I find that I cannot at this time, fix any more my gaze on the Franco-German quarrel. The tragic events which are on the way to accomplish their end, on the whole of the Old World, relegate that quarrel to the museum of cast-off clothes, amidst the clamourings of the past. The great nations of the Occident are on the eve of ruin. It is but natural that there should be only questions of revenge or domination between them! If these enraged blood-hounds persist in tearing one another to pieces, the heavy rod of Destiny alone will separate them, and curb them, bruised and humiliated. May the harshness of my language be pardoned by those who would read me. Here, for the last eleven years (1914-25) I have watched this stupid War, crumbling the pillars of European civilisation; and I have cried out in consternation, through

my articles "Above the Battle" (September 1914). But what can an isolated voice do? Now I am keeping silent. I have no more fear, for I see Fate. And I know that Fate is wise when the peoples are mad. Fate has taken possession of the helm. Let any one who can, try to snatch it from her!

Young souls! with heart strong and tempered in battle, who amongst you is ready to dispute the reign of Destiny?

N. B. Mon. Romain Rolland spent the summer in Germany and communicated these lines to *La Revue Européenne* (August, 1925), at the invitation of the editor, to write something in connection with the "Inquest on Germany." Germany, after the second World War (1945) is again fatally divided while the "Cold War" is going on. K. N.

CARL SPITTELER

By
ROMAIN ROLLAND

It was in April 1915 that I came into contact with Spitteler. Eight months of the Great war had already passed. For eight months had I waged all alone, the hard fight which I called ironically "*Above the Battle*." It was a combat (just or unjust it is not for me to judge) which challenged my conviction, my soul. At that time I discovered *Prometheus*, the hero who had sacrificed his life and his soul. Joy and emotion thundered through my being. I felt that I was no longer alone. I have a master and a companion.

I wrote to Spitteler a little before his seventieth birthday. I expressed to him my profound admiration for the double rays of Liberty and Beauty which emanated from his works.

"It seems, when one reads the book *Prometheus* in these tragic days, that the heavy clouds which envelope Europe, had dispersed, and that one views, shining above our head, the profound firmament with its own peace and eternal laws. In the thick of the combat which ravages us, I salute in you the heroic serenity of sovereign Art . . ."

So I wrote, on the 21st April 1915, and Spitteler replied the very next day :

"We are related to one another spiritually in many respects. Hence our own manner of thought, as Europeans, striving to do justice to different peoples. And how many things of similar nature are in our writing as well as in our lives ! Your *John Christopher* . . . my wife, when she read the book, cried out : "Astonishing ! It is just as if you had written the book !" And then your noble sense of Liberty, in things religious ; and above all our common adoration for Beethoven . . ."

I received these lines in Geneva, where I had been working in the International Agency for the War-prisoners. The delirium in Europe ran high. The Intelligence departments of all the countries rivalled one another in violence and insanity. In France, people scourged (in papers) "good mediocre spirits like Kant, Goethe and Heine !" In Germany people boycotted Spitteler for denouncing the violation of neutrality. Everyday he used to receive insulting letters which he kept in a big glass-jar, called humorously "his aquarium." He leaned over it from time to time, for his amusement. I myself was no less favoured. I found myself caught by two rolling flames of absurdity. The French papers accused me of betraying France by loving Humanity.* The German journals

* "That wretch (R. Rolland) continues to lavish his love on Humanity, which really speaking goes against France". (Henri Massis in *l'Action Française*, 2 May 1915) "During war everything that one gives in love to Humanity, one steals from one's own country"—inscribed on the pamphlet of Henri Massis : "Romain Rolland against France."

charged me with making myself "an accomplice in the prolongation of the war by my writings". Useless to pursue me. I finished my series of articles by my paper on "*Jaurès*" published (not without difficulty) in the *Journal of Geneva*, and I went to breathe again in the atmosphere of eternal Art.

I retired to Thun with Spitteler's *Prometheus* and *Epimetheus*. I lived in it, as it were in a fortress, for one month. Everything else disappeared. The uproar of War—Europe in delirium! Alone amidst the silence of the Swiss meadows, the shrieks of the swallows, the river Aar and its reed-grass, the emerald stream, the beautiful silvery trees and the joyous steps of Pandora laughing with the rivulets.

"... And the night and Peace enveloped her; and above her head, the blue stars twinkled, and in that vast space, no other sound reached her ear, but her own steps in her delicate footfall. . . ."

I was carried beyond the centuries.

Ever since I was born it was the first work which I found *eternal* in Europe, amidst the world of living writers whose books, with the exception of "*War and Peace*", wear the mask of Time, the hundred masks of a day and a night of Humanity. The poems of Spitteler break the framework of Time. The master-creator creates Time, like other beings. He does not obey time. He is a king in the universe of the Soul. These splendid epics belong to the same family as the great books of Vedic India and of Homeric Greece. I thought that such a race of creative heroes had disappeared. It exists even today! Spitteler was the last representative of that race in the Occident, isolated in this epoch. If he had found himself famous that was because of a misunderstanding, of a political discourse.

"My political rôle!" said Spitteler to me with a gentle smile. "An hour and half of my life a point, that's all!"

I went to see him in Luzern toward the end of August 1915. He received me, hands extended, with his warm cordiality. He was big and strong, broad-backed, a little compressed, with red figure, white beard, the moustache still tinted blond, the hairs flung back a figure of smiling pride of aristocratic simplicity. The portrait which Holder made for him in April 1915 gives very just impression.

His voice was sweet and heavy. He spoke French quite well. His manners were those of good old courtesy, gallant towards women, kind to all, yet not without an affectionate irony. He observes you while speaking, with beautiful smiling eyes; and when you narrate something (which probably he can't hear well) he has quite a special way of exclaiming! "Go on, what then?" in a tone of energetic and astonished interest.

He lived isolated, with two daughters and his wife, avoiding the literary world and he felt no need for associating with it. When I enquired if there was in Luzern some intellectual life, Spitteler replied: "No, thank Heavens".

Even the Lake Luzern was rendered invisible by the large balcony of his Swiss cottage covered with climbing plants, overlooking the garden, in rapid slope, the country and the lake. One is inclined to believe that it was outside the small city. But Spitteler loved to be in contact with popular life. Every morning at seven, before breakfast he used to visit the market, to buy his fruits and vegetables himself for the pleasure of speaking with the people, and then because he loved to taste good things and he knew it.

He was a home-bird. He had, in his youth, passed one year in Germany, two or three years in Russia, eight days in Paris, eight days in Italy up to Pompeii and back in eight days ! But in Switzerland he was a good walker, and, never feeling tired of the same walk, he caused every spectacle of the earth to surge from his familiar mountain, his own little Dietschenberg.

Few relations he had in Switzerland and outside almost none. In Germany it was Weingartner who had made Spitteler known ; and Spitteler always conserved for him a feeling of loyal gratitude although, since the discourse of Zurich, Weingartner had broken with him, by writing a violent "open letter". He continued to admire the works of Spitteler but he declared that the author did not deserve admiration. "It was not he (Spitteler) who wrote, it was a god who descended in him," a German god naturally ! To which Spitteler, with his chaffing good humour replied : "It was astonishing all the same that the German god could condescend to come to a Swiss who, knew and appreciated the French, the English and the Russian, and not to Messrs. Hindenburg, Mackensen and Co. !"

Little did he love Germany of to-day, although it was the first country to welcome his genius. But there he felt hurt by much narrowness and pedantry. He spoke about it with supreme disdain : "One reads there the critical works on poets and not the actual poets" (He pretended to have verified it often, even with regard to Goethe and his most celebrated work *Iphigenia*).

He contrasted the German public with the French *élite* which knows ever to conserve the cult of their *classics* and the memory of their masterpieces. Then the Germans, said Spitteler, never judge by themselves but by theories ; they do not say "this work is good or not good" They ask themselves : "Does this work fit in quite well with the definitions which authorize it to be good" ? Thus the "*Olympian Spring*" was depreciated *a priori* (1) because an epic is not possible in our age (2) because the metre employed by Spitteler is not admitted in these days. One never asked if genius had not the right as respectable as those of the theories and modes.

I said that, ever since the war, Germany had brutally rejected him. He shrugged his shoulder at that and called the Germans a vassal people who had lost all independence of thought. "They have become incapable of understanding free men and free peoples." (Perhaps Spitteler exaggerated a little the liberty of freemen and free peoples !) He spoke definitely of the literary and artistic superiority of the Swiss people, of the superiority of some Swiss

personalities to the whole group of German production. Spitteler was convinced that the superiority was due to the fact that the Swiss-land was a republic and that it had conserved the manners and healthy spirit of Liberty; the writers there are independent: no hierarchy, no Academies, no grades civil or military, official or mundane! A great artist is not placed on a pedestal; he remains in the same level with everybody, a man like any other man.

Thus the great Artist, aristocrat in heart, that free soul, glorified in his people the democratic equality wherein he found himself fused with the mass of men who had never read his works.

Beethoven was present in our first conversation. He was a common friend. In adolescence, both of us had followed his foot-steps *duca-e-maestro*. He was our inspiring hero. At the age of seventeen, when Spitteler wished to be a writer, he took an oath not to publish anything till his first work should at least be as good as the *Opus I* of Beethoven.

Spitteler spoke to me on Music and his face was radiant with emotion. I told him:

"It is curious, it seemed to me rather that you are more of a painter than a musician."

His joyous expression suddenly darkened. He said, "About painting I don't speak—I don't want to speak, for that opens an old wound. It is healed now but it may open again. That is why I do not wish to look at pictures. They cause me pain. But music I could—and I abandoned myself to Music."

As I understood, his father prohibited the career of painting while Spitteler was sixteen. And I told him how I also at that age was forbidden the career of a musician by my father. The face of Spitteler brightened up anew and it meant one more tie of sympathy between us.

It is natural that his temperament as a painter reappears in his works. Before writing anything he feels the need of fixing in his mind the place, the scene in all its details, the atmosphere, the different planes etc. "I must see everything," so he said.

Speaking about that marvellous episode of Pandora, I said that one felt well how Nature was his master and that he (Spitteler) lived in communion with her.

Spitteler made a gesture of recoiling and said: "But that is without seeking. Nature is not my objective. My longing look is turned towards the Great Beyond, the clouds, symbols, metaphysics, as people would call.... In the space between the clouds and the eye-glass, the flies are passing by. I chase them. But they always return and I catch them in passage".

He said again, "I always thought, I always knew that it was not true that the idealists see less clearly the Reality than the realists. The idealists see them better. To take another metaphor I should say, that one can see all that

pass outside, from the window of a well-furnished mansion house as well as from that of an empty house."

But all that pass within the abyss of the soul, how his look plunges into it without fear of giddiness. ! He sees, he does not explain ; I was careful to ask the meaning of some of his visions. He replied like Goethe :—

"Had I only known the meaning !"

Once I said that certain words of his vocabulary were difficult to understand ; Spitteler supposed that I meant to speak about the thought.

"To me also," said he, "many things remain obscure."

When Genius assimilates that which Faust called the 'Earth-Spirit,' his evoking power surpasses his reasoning force. But Spitteler, like Faust, never staggers before the spirit which he has constrained to appear :

"I am afraid of nothing."

So he replied to me, half in jest, half in earnest, the day when conducting me from his house to the station ; I wished to spare him the fatigue and asked at the entrance of the big bridge, if Spitteler was not afraid of the Dun.

Never did he know fear, this hereditary poet of heroic Switzerland.

"Amidst all the evils of life, the remedy which I use, is Courage, not to be anxious about anything."

His smile challenged Destiny. When his soul itself abandons him, on the verge of annihilation, the soul plants in his garden a young flowering branch, the imperishable smile which illumines his life.

"And this is the blood-red shoot : an unfaltering Joy is whispered by Laughter, illumining life perpetually ; and in future, the Sorrow that Destiny would bring may not extinguish that smile.

I saw Spitteler again towards the end of summer, a little after the famous celebration in Geneva in honour of his 70th birthday. He looked thin, exhausted. He complained to me about that army of admirers who had suddenly revealed themselves and who had been intruding on all his time ! He asked me as to how did I manage to escape from them. I told him that I have arranged myself in a way to become unpopular. He laughed with a good heart and envied me of that luck. He spoke regretfully about his excursion into politics, like Lamartine, whose example he cited, as just what an artist should never do. The sympathy of Geneva at least had done him good. He had guarded radiant memories of that. He confided to me the desire that he had of living a few years more, to taste life which he found good and beautiful. Life had not always been sweet to him. I spoke to him about his *Prometheus*. I told him that I had found, at the bottom of that first work, personal suffering of tragic character, while in *Olympian Spring*, his work of golden maturity, there is the harvest-gathering of autumn, all Light

Spitteler replied with a moving seriousness :

"Youth is not full of joy. One says that it is a happy age. It is not true. Youth, at least for men, is a terrible age, in a land of moral shrinkage like ours..."

He evoked his past memories and I exchanged mine. We discussed how life is not sufficiently long ; that it declines and disappears, just at the moment when one begins to understand and relish it !

In the evening we were brought together by our noble host Mr. H. Remsen Whitehouse, ancient ambassador of the United States, in a small circle of men to talk on literature. But literature tired Spitteler as much as politics. He took me by my arms and brought me to a small room for discussing our favourite topic Music. I played for him Monteverdi, the old Italian and German tunes of the 17th and 18th centuries, and the *Rittorballet* of Beethoven. We exchanged, in low voices, words of profound friendship and while taking leave I kissed him.

I discover today the following note written after my return.

"I think of the dear old friend, of his tired face on which Death is about to put his signature. I am happy and sad to have known Spitteler so late. He is the first living poetic genius whom I met*. "But why must this meeting be so delayed, that he is 71 and myself 50, and that we have such a short road to go jointly together ?"

II

The miracle of genius lies in this that his life never passes away for ever. He extracts from life the nectar of Immortality. He puts in his art and sublimates all the essence of his day, his joys, his sufferings, his pleasure-pangs, his *Sophrosuny*. They remain here for all time.

Ever since my first encounter with Spitteler, I have travelled with him, whether near or far. The whole valley reverberated with his songs surging from the vast river of his Poesy. Whenever my own thought and action arrested their course, I heard his roaring music ; specially in those first months of our friendship when everything from him appeared new to me. There was not a single day of 1915 when I did not reserve at least an hour for exploring Carl Spitteler.

At the very beginning I was struck by his Prometheus and Epimetheus ; by its very ruggedness, its chaotic aspect, the violence of the sap running riot which seems to shoot from the trunk of the oak, gigantic foliage, which develops here, myths, apologues, parables of a simple and familiar grandeur, and there some savage symbols which seem to emerge from some fable-book of the Middle Ages. Or one is fascinated by the incomparable joy of that symphony, the Swiss pastoral *Pandora* ! One would be reminded of young Beethoven

* In 1915 I did not know personally Rabindranath Tagore.

with his ardent gallops, yet already charged with experience and breaking with Herculean arms all the shackles of thought and form, as in the latest *quartettes*.

I follow the river further ; and, as if emerging from a dark ravine, stands Pandora, the Eternal Beloved ! (I cannot think of separating myself from her). She glances across the valley, bathed in sun and shade and, with a view to express her happiness too full, she sings her most melancholy song—"Dark and mournful—" her favourite ditty.

So I see unfolding before my eyes, the immense circular panorama of mountains, the river which spreads out on full banks, large and calm, in the land of the gods, the Olympian Spring. It is no longer the tragic individuality of Prometheus, his accent of ambition and suffering, lived and vanquished—that strong wild odour, that unique originality which is characteristic of the early works. One feels, to one's advantage, in the poem *Olympian Spring* the strong will, the intellectual order, the sublime play of creation—Apollo the Hero (title of a song in *Olympian Spring*). What an exuberent flowering of dreams, visions, inventions magnificent and charming, everything new and fresh, springing, healthy and frank. The spring unfolds itself ; full spring-tide on the mountains and on the sky the flower of the stars ! That is a new world by itself, the world of myths and gods, one seems to be intoxicated with it.

I have been dreaming, for the last forty years that I know Switzerland, of a great Swiss poet who would interpret his country, not only by its race as Gottfried Keller has done gloriously, but by means of the forces of its soil, its clouds and snows, its rocks and waters. Here he is ! Who else but a Swiss genius like Spitteler, can depict the colossal ascension of new gods, from the Hades to the Olympus, their encounter, on the mid-way of the giddy slopes, with the ancient gods who are carried by the avalanche, with king Kronos riding on his refractory horse which falls like a stone into the bottom of the precipice...I march upon the heels of the Olympians. I creep up, I listen to Hebe, the shepherd-girl putting to her mouth the conch-shell in her hand, sounding her "Hurrah". And here we are bathed in the rarified air of the summits where the seven ravishing Beauties, the daughters of the good king Uranus, are swimming ; and from that enchanted halting-place streams forth a serene and passionate joy which I have not tasted in any other literary work. To what can we approach Dante, Mozart and Veronese, at one and the same time ? The magic of Spitteler's art seems to have transformed words into tastes, into colours. The *cameo* of literary materials, about which I heard Spitteler to say grumblingly as "such an ingrate and cold medium", had become, by the magic touch of his pen, picture and melody. So fascinating is the charm that one finds no consolation after having been separated from the seven Beauties, sweet and tragic like lost Love !

But other visions hold you, other landscapes of the world and of the Soul, quite an universe of Dream, from one to the other pole, the infinitude of Joy

which shapes itself without the help of thought, the abyss of Suffering, the enigma of life crucified by *Amanke*. More intrepid than Goethe, (who, I am sure, knew the same agonies but recoiled from them with a shudder), Spitteler never stepped back like Faust at the name of the "Mothers" ! He goes right to the bottom of the Abyss, to the very limits of annihilation. And not only he returns but returns without the wrinkles of torment on his forehead, as we see on the face of "Him who comes back from the Inferno." Spitteler returns, master of himself and of the inner world of which he has the key in his hand, fighting the night secretly like his Uranus, against the stupid monster who obstinately struggles to sap the foundations of life and, like Uranus, irradiating his light and his robust Laughter. (Olympian Spring).

The poem unrolls itself like a splendid cycle of Symphonic Variations. In writing this word I remember once more our Beethoven and his mysterious art of evoking, from one and the same theme, all the physiognomies of thought, of showing in profile, by a series of musical *bas-reliefs*, all the forms of sentiment (as we see in the 33 Variations of Beethoven, *Opus 120*, on the theme of Diabelli). So I consider the twelve grand Variations of "*Die hohe Zeit*" (The Holy Time) in the Olympian Spring, those heroic plays of sovereign Spirit. It is the *apogée* of the age of the Gods, the epoch of happy plenitude. Spitteler had consecrated to it twelve songs, each one of which recounts the sublime play of a God. Then the tragic modulations, the "Anankes Halt !" which cuts short the song of the infant "Happiness". The introduction into the symphony of the motifs of terror, the theme of Death, the agonies of Hera, the song of Redemption. "In spite of all", from *Herakles* when he descends from heaven and marches proudly to his task of Suffering and the Cross which await him, facing sacrifice "with Measure and Peace"—a varitable ocean of music ! One cannot discern the end. I re-open the books. I find it hard to escape from it. I wish to swim in the ocean for years. Why return to the shore ? Life in its entirety is there, with the unfathomable night of its submarine depths and the sunshine which plays on the laughter of the waves.

After that symphony of the Olympians, whose orchestra dazzles, I read long afterwards, during these last months, the third Epic : *Prometheus the Patient*, the work which was published, in December 1924, only fifteen days before the death of Spitteler. I rediscover the heroes of the beginning, in a much more dramatic form, liberated as they were from ornaments, from super-abundant dreams, and the filing of the impetuous wings of youth. The form is more mature, more classic, concentrated, collected, denuded of accessories, reduced to essential forces. But under the noble design of the grand sober lines, a plenitude of experience, bitter yet elevating. How much more of keenness and detachment, compared with the early Prometheus ! The *Suffering* is without limit and without limit also the *Peace* conquered. I do not know anything more somber and yet more serene than the final chant of "The Conqueror". (*Der Sieger*). The work is the last testament of Spitteler. Since

the first Prometheus, age had crept in and the conqueror had known the taste of the ashes of glory. Man attains here the stage of supreme victory, the complete mastery, without fear, without hope, the radiance without deception..

One knows the grand design of that drama of the soul, the individual soul who, without bravado but sure of itself and calm, hold his head high before the Angel of God (*Der Engelgottes*)*, and repels him disdainfully by his conscience which he asked to barter. The anger of the Master whirls round the proud Rebel. Years of persecution and of dark solitude, amassed on the grey head of this silent Job their dust and defilement. Then at the time when the enemy invades the kingdom of God, ill-defended by men and betrayed by their pale conscience, with bended legs, it was the persecuted, the cursed, the isolated Prometheus who saved the sons of God—without love of battle without desire of recompense, without even the desire for justice; simply on the order of his Soul—that soul of which he is no longer a dupe. In the second Prometheus, if he loves the Beloved, as much as in the first, he loves her without illusion, equal to equal; for he knows and speaks out how much his Beloved Soul had cost him! That Soul, which had forsaken him during the years of suffering, which had demanded from him the renunciation of all the joys of the world, which exacted everything and gave nothing; and which, at the time when the hour of victory is near, (a victory, which does not even make him joyful) abandons him, his friend and his faithful servant, to the threshold of Death. But he reproaches it not. He loves his cruel Beloved, the Soul! And if it were the question of doing it for the second time, he will commence again! Absolute stoicism, but with such a transport of heroic love and virile pride as to make it an intoxicating beverage.

Intoxicating for the strong, but their name is not legion. It is almost good that such an work remain unappreciated by and unknown to the common herd. They cannot shake off their indifference but to detest that Prometheus the bringer of Fire. For the fire consumes their petty hopes, and the thing by which those hopes are replaced; the Soul, the soul-fire, is too brilliant for the weak hearts, for the average humanity.

I see Spitteler like Matterhorn, a formidable mountain in the Alps, but isolated. A whole mountain from the base to the summit. Each one of us can find some work there; to mow the herbs, to collect the flowers, to gather the fruits. And each one of us can find there the spring to slake the thirst

* The world and humanity have no direct transactions with God; but only with the "Angels of God" (*Der Engelgottes*). He is to them like a Governor General and Viceroy of India! God has delegated his powers to Epimetheus, propelled by an official conscience, and he sends to exile the unconquered Prometheus. Far away above the living world, the old God, invisible, sick, afflicted by the remorse of the sins of Life, whose progress he cannot arrest, is going round and round like the tragic figure of a demented King Lear!

and the shade to lie down in repose and to dream. Thanks to its abundance and diversity of climates and landscapes, the passers-by are permitted to select and to appreciate by halves or by minute fragments ; or not to understand at all and yet to love ; to love but a single detail of art, a corner of thought, so that the greatest Poet should survive in the memory of the commonest multitude.

But while the springs of the mountain nourishes the people in the valley, the snow-clad summits rise high in the blue abyss and the dome of fir forests, black and white, and the stars trembling in the frozen sky. And now the plants rustle under the trees bent by the annunciatory breath of the storm. And Prometheus in agony, with his whole blood boiling, watches the coming of the goddess of immortal Beauty, the Soul whose eyes fascinate ! Prometheus would fly ; but he finds himself tied. She approaches with her strange smile. She places her hand on the shoulder of him whom she had elected to be her victim ; and, within her palpitating eye-lashes, one sees a sparkling flame, like a Tiger on watch.....

"...and behind her fire-haired eyelashes, it shines and threatens and moves stealthily about, like fire, and like the tiger who roams under the bushes, and through the dark leaves, shines now and again, his many-striped yellow body".....*

(The whole passage is inspired by the first appearance of the Soul to Prometheus, as depicted by Spitteler in *Prometheus and Epimetheus*.)

* Translated by Kalidas Nag : *The Modern Review* August, 1925.

ROMAIN ROLLAND AND MAHATMA GANDHI

During the Epic Fast the following message was conveyed to Mahatma Gandhi by his illustrious commentator and friend Romain Rolland :—

"We are close to you and with you in these grave days when your life is once again at stake. We send forth our fervent prayers, that hardness of heart, of those of your people who obstruct the great work of national reparation to the *untouchables*, gives way ; and that they should tremble to assume before History the execrable responsibility of having caused your death, carrying for ever the brand on their forehead, in the memory of all men of the future.

"But permit me to attach to your sacrifice a larger meaning yet than that for the cause of the *untouchables*. In these tragic times when the whole world has been given over to the most atrocious Violence, on the eve of a World war, which will overshadow, in cruelty and in amplitude, all those of the past ; when the whole humanity is divided between the *oppressors* and the *oppressed* ; and when the latter, maddened by their sufferings and injustices and intoxicated with violence which makes martyrs of them, will see no help except violence, your *immolation* before the Goddess of Justice, who is all love and without violence, acquires a universal and sacred value like that of the Cross. If the Cross has not, alas, saved the world, it has shown to the world the way to save itself ; it has illumined the night of the millions of unfortunates. But may this sacrifice of yours be spared to-day.

"May you remain long yet—I will not say amongst us (because I doubt if my life, ill as I am, will be very prolonged now) but amongst our brothers and sisters of India and of the World, who need your presence on the boat, to guide them in the Tempest. Give us your blessings."

SCANDINAVIAN CELEBRITIES

By
KALIDAS NAG.

I

ELLEN KEY (1849-1926)

Ellen Key is no more. A chapter in the history of European Feminism is closed. She was more than a mere feminist ; she was a "Great Woman"—in a truer sense than many men are called "Great Men" in history. Her career is the most effective refutation of the arguments against Women's Rights asserted with Human Rights of the French Revolution (1789). Ellen's life is the noblest manifestation of womanly power as the purifier and elevator of human society.

It was in March 1923. I had been invited to lecture before the Oriental Institute of Christiania (presided over by Dr. Sten Konow) and to address the Students Congress of Trondjhem (Norway) arranged by my friends : Prof. and Mrs. Edgar Schieldrop, Mon. Romain Rolland, ever solicitous of the health of his young disciple and friend, protested against my accepting the invitation in that cold season ; but he yielded when the young Indian's enthusiasm for the wonderland of the Midnight Sun proved too strong. M. Rolland however insisted that I should be adequately equipped for that Scandinavian voyage and wrote a kind letter to Ellen Key introducing his Indian friend.

To see Ellen Key ! My expectation knew no bounds. I ran to my "Grandmother" of Paris, Madame Louise Cruppi (wife of Senator Cruppi), who had written a book on the "Women writers of Sweden" with a special study on Selma Lagerlof and Ellen Key, whom she admired fervently. I had devoured the volume, gathering all sorts of information about Ellen Key. I had a lot more from Madame Cruppi, who gave me another letter to the great Swedish lady ; and I received a very kind letter from her, inviting me to accept her hospitality while visiting Sweden.

Fired with enthusiasm I defied the cold season and the snowbound North Sea. I sailed from Antwerp in a Norwegian boat, "Biaritz" cutting through the hard crusts of ice ! After two days and three nights' continuous voyage through a magnificent landscape of the searoute, partly liquid, partly solid, with floating masses of ice, I landed in lovely Christiania, now Oslo, where I was greeted by Andrea Butenschoen author of the "Mughul Princess". The great part of the month of March I had to spend in my lecture tour through Ibsen-land Norway, of unspeakable grandeur and purity of natural scenery. I saw plays

of the master dramatist Ibsen and left Norway behind lest I may be detained and never reach the goal of my Scandinavian pilgrimage.

Towards the end of March I had been crossing the frontier between Norway and Sweden, once united, then separated peacefully, since 1905, to form two distinct States. The train was moving slowly along the hillsides covered with the dark green pines. A Swedish lady kindly helped me in discerning the problematic frontier mutually accepted, without any clash.

"Do you see that faint line on the ridge there, with a row of dark pines? That is our frontier agreed upon .."

"But frontiers are seldom agreed upon, Madam. They are made and kept by violence," I remarked.

"Yes, but this is a case of *non-violent struggle* for the mutual settlement of frontiers, a rare achievement, which we, women of Scandinavia, might be proud of; our great women workers like Ellen Key and others struggled nobly to avert war and to bring about a settlement by pacific methods".

I have read about the unique event, which proves the efficacy of liberating the *woman-power* of society in order to purify politics. I am glad to note that Mr. John Janeson, in his obituary notice of Ellen Key in the "New Leader", has paid a warm tribute to her on this count:

"She threw herself into the struggle to maintain Peace between Norway and Sweden: and while the entire Socialist party worked valiantly and Branting and others were threatened with prison, it was Ellen Key, more than any one else, who was responsible for averting war between the two Scandinavian peoples". This was worthy of the lands of the Nobel Peace prize.

The moment I entered Sweden I felt the difference of atmosphere and landscape: in the place of the soft sinuous lines of the Norwegian Fiords, I saw the bare and severe plains, tinted with the dark green pines, an austere panorama recalling the gigantic figures of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII, of Swedenborg (1688-1772) and Strindberg. Yes, Sweden is the land of audacious fighters, both in the realms of thought and action. Visiting the historic old city of Upsala, its cathedral and university, I entered Stockholm a clean and lovely city flatteringly called the Venice of the North. (Yes, Venice minus its historic memories and proverbial stench!) The silhouette of the illuminated buildings against the sky looks splendid from across the charming Lake. The Art Gallery and the Historical Museum, the Royal Palace and its rare collection of old tapestry and Oriental carpets (which, thanks to the courtesy of Dr. Bottiger, superintendent of the royal household, I had the privilege to see), all these kept me engaged for a few days while I had been collecting informations for my voyage of discovery in this land—the sequestered home of Ellen Key.

In the quite hotel of "Clara Larsson" I had a friend, my first Swedish friend Madam Butenschoen, translator of Rabindranath's *Gitanjali*. Throughout my Scandinavian tour from Christiania to Stockholm she had been my ever helpful "friend, philosopher and guide." She introduced me to Prof. Paasche,

an authority on Icelandic *Edda* and Scandinavian *sagas*. I had been discussing my future tour programme to Alvastra with her when there was a knock and the maid brought in a card from Per Halstrom, the member of the Swedish Academy and of the Nobel Institute ! I knew that he was one of the foremost writers of modern Sweden and that it was, on his official report, that the *Gitanjali* was finally awarded the Nobel Prize. So I was thrilled to meet, in a corner of that Swedish hotel, both the Swedish translator of the 'Song Offering' as well as its literary sponsor in the Nobel Academy.

Per Halstrom enjoys the reputation of being a *litterateur* of forbidding presence. He seldom comes out of his lonely villa in the suburbs of Stockholm and rarely mixes in society even when he condescends to enter the capital. Aristocratic aloofness, keen wit, penetrating vision, slightly tinged with a refined cynicism, that was Per Halstrom. I do not know what happy conjunction of planets conspired to make him take kindly to me. In our promenade through the historic sites of Stockholm unknown to tourists, over our meals in the most artistic den "Gylden" reconstructed by the great Swedish painter Andrea Zorn, we discussed several problems of modern literature and art ; and incidentally I had the privilege to listen, from one of the prominent rebels against Strindbergism, the history of the new orientation in Swedish literature; sick of the stark realism and naturalism of the eighties, the new school from 1890 turned a new leaf : the epic lyre of Heidenstam, "the renaissance of wonder" in the legends of Selma Lagerloff, the sovereign art and pathos of Froding, about whom Ellen Key had remarked that "he knew the difficult art of transforming the poison which he had absorbed into a balm for others." The whole of this period of a new creation, of the dawn of a new personality was made living to me by the laconic yet profound exposition of the master-artist Per Halstrom, renowned translator of Shakespeare, was brought back to me in a Swedish *Maid Tavern*, so far from Startford-on-Avon !

I was getting ready for my lecture in the Historical Museum of Stockholm when the mail brought me a letter in a familiar hand. Ellen Key had written a very kind letter giving full instructions as to the trains, changes, etc., and inviting me to her home at Alvastra. It is not a very well known place and I had to take every precaution to avoid being over carried or going astray. I left Stockholm early in the morning and, changing the train in the Katenhaolm junction, reached Alvastra in the afternoon. But before that I was approached by a gentleman who boarded the train in the previous station. He inquired politely if I were the "Indian gentleman" proceeding to visit Ellen Key ? Having thus identified me he informed me that the noble lady was rather anxious lest I missed the station and had asked him to awake me up from my Indian trance ! We laughed heartily ; for I did not look exactly like a self-absorbed Yogi as she apprehended. The train stopped at Alvastra ; I stepped out of the compartment with my not inconsiderable suitcase when I was surprised to find an old lady stretching her hand to help me in getting my bag

down ! I dropped the bag and looked hesitatingly for a moment. She grasped my hand and smiled. "Welcome, Kalidas Nag. I am Ellen Key. Did you receive my letter in Stockholm ?" I fumbled a few words of thanks but my whole mind was absorbed by that figure : a lady of middle stature, with hairs all grey (she was 73) but perfectly erect, clad with the dignified simplicity of a peasant woman but with eyes beaming with a rare intelligence and tenderness. This is Ellen Key, the greatest woman thinker of our age !

"You see, Mr. Nag, we shall have to cross this field before we reach my cottage."

Thus she interrupted my trance smilingly. We started walking side by side. What a vigour in her steps, as if 73 was no age with her ! She had been asking me question after question about my impressions of Scandinavia, about our common friends of France, Mon. Rolland, Madame Cruppi and others. We reached the shores of the lake Vättern and, on the bank, a simple but charming two-storeyed white house and on the small rural gate was the inscription : *Memento Vivere*.

The moment we entered she forced me to take a little rest while she got ready a small table preparing our afternoon tea. She was all activity. She kept no servant. She had adopted a poor orphan girl who lived with her and helped her in her household work when some guest appeared. As a hostess Ellen Key was all attention. She started treating me like a child in a few minutes. I felt that she was a born "grandmother"; probably that is why she had preferred to evade the intermediate examination of motherhood and had reached the last eminence of woman's life by double promotion ! How easily she draws people towards her. There is a magic quality in her voice. As an intimate conversationalist she has very few equals.

She took me into her study. A large room with big glass windows through which one can ever watch the ripples of the sombre lake. The room is decorated by a few landscape pictures and portraits of some of the master spirits of Europe : St. Francis, Shakespeare, Goethe, Kropotkin.....all testifying to the catholicity of her taste and the largeness of her intellectual horizon. I now understood how, in all her historic fights for the women's cause, Ellen Key had used throughout purely intellectual weapons, scorning to don the armour given by Nature to womanhood. As she used to produce crushing arguments against the reactionary anti-feminists, so she boldly challenged the hectic fuss and intolerance of the rabid feminists of her own sex. With the fairness and courage truly heroic, this daughter of a nation of heroes proclaimed : "In the battle of opinions the conditions for each side should be equal. Intellectual conflicts should be fought only with intellectual means."

Sitting in that quiet room we discussed so many topics ! I am thankful to have had the privilege of listening to the simple statements of this great soul, the battle-ground of so many thoughts and emotions. Yes, if Ellen Key appears

as a pure intellectualist in most of her works, at the back of her intellectualism there is a whole world of rich human emotions.

From time to time she lapsed into an autobiographical mood and I gathered the dramatic passages in her life. Born in 1849 (Dec.) of Prof. Emil Key and the Countess Sophie Posse, Ellen inherited their culture and refinement to a rare degree. When she was barely twenty she started writing articles supporting the Liberal party, of which her father was an ardent champion. A financial crisis with the loss of her father's fortune left her undaunted. An aristocrat by training and temperament, Ellen at once took (1880) to the humble life of a school teacher, like Selma Lagerof, in Stockholm.

In 1889, at the age of forty, she felt the full maturity of her talents and launched into her career of public service in thought and action, severing her connections with the halting Liberal Party, and formally joining the Socialist camp. She was a born leader of thought and, as every strong leader does, Ellen Key provoked criticisms and vituperations from every quarter. But she was firm as a rock and she triumphed over all. The history of this fight is partially recorded in her imperfectly reported addresses and speeches and her somewhat hastily written (she was too busy to write patiently) books like "Love and Marriage" "The Morality of Woman" "The Renaissance of Motherhood". "The False employment of Feminine energies", published in 1895, opened a bitter fight with her own sex that was only partially settled in 1910 when Ellen Key, with her habitual openness to truth, admitted that the *feminists* had also awakened to the constructive calls of society and that they were not busy only with the destructive part of the programme which provoked criticism.

Thus for sanely directing the Feminist Movement, for her contributions to the cause of Socialism and Pacifism, Ellen Key occupies an unique position in the history of the Women movements of our age. Time would determine her exact place in the rank of "Representative Women"; but we may note that a fastidious critic and scholar like Dr. George Brandes once saluted her in a public meeting of Copenhagen as "the most intellectual woman of Sweden; yes, of Europe, perhaps of the whole world".

But her career is important from another aspect. It is a glowing and most convincing testimony to the fact that true intellectualism need not and does not neutralise the rich emotional impulses and aesthetic sensibilities of a woman. I shall give only two extracts to prove my point: Ellen Key, who was an ardent lover of Nature, consecrated a study to the greatest Nature and Animal-painter of modern Europe: Bruno Liljefors. Her words speak for themselves.

"To make Nature sing to us (just as Liljefors makes her sing), one must build one's house in her lap, must live like a hunter, a fisherman or the animals of the forest. One must speak with the Night and the Day, with the sun and the moon, the mist and the snow, the earth and the water. One must be friend of all sorts of lights and obscurities . . . must listen to all the voices, even of

the herbs, of the flies, of the insects, must watch the hide and seek of Light and Darkness, both finally melting into one . . . And then to let all these things glide gently down to the Soul to remain hidden there, forgotten, unconscious, so as to be born again in the world of the conscious, after the war of selection between the diverse impressions is over" . . .

What a rare combination of the sensibilities of a Poet and a Painter !

But Ellen Key the publicist, orator, party leader, thinker and artist, gets her supreme glorification from that unique dowry of woman, Motherliness. Though she spent all her life single, as the Vestal Virgin of our age, ever watchful to keep the flame of Truth and Love alive, there was the divine heart of the mother ever wide awake in her. In her greatest book the *"Century of the Child"* she writes :

"The crime of Pedagogy is to cramp the innate nature of the child by charging it with the loads of others. The teacher does not feel that there is before him a New Soul, a distinct Personality who has the right to think for itself. The teacher does not see in that new soul anything but the new manifestation of the old human species ! The parents also try desperately to see that their offsprings are the models of the virtues demanded by Society. Hence the hopeless recapitulation of the same types : solid lads, sweet girls, correct officials, etc.

"But the New Types of the unexplored paths, the thinkers of unknown thoughts, these types rarely come up from the "decently brought up" children ; we must give our children the peace of conscience, allowing them to defy accepted opinions, habituated customs convenient sentiments. It is only then, that in the place of a collective conscience, there would appear that Individual Conscience which is the supreme glory of human life."

If we have the good fortune to witness the emergence of this New Type with a new conscience in the near future, then we must remember with gratitude Ellen Key, the virgin mother of that unborn generation.

Before my departure she spoke warmly about her firm faith in the future. She told me how she was engaged in her latest book on 'Youth the All conquering.' Yes that, was the key-note of her life ; for I could never feel that I had been speaking with a lady of 73. Her intellect as well as her sympathies were cosmic. She asked me a host of questions about India and her womanhood and when I told her that her books had reached our educated boys and girls and that they read her with avidity, tears came to her eyes. I felt then for the first time what a deep sympathy she had for India. While I was busy inscribing a few lines in her Book of Friends, signed by so many pilgrims to Alvastra, Ellen Key wrote a few lines on a card and read it out to me gently :

"Dear India ! since I was 8 years old I loved it ; and every time I see one of India's sons I hope ! Your mother India shall become what her best sons and daughters hope, work for, suffer for !"

II

SELMA LAGERLOF (1859-1940)

In Nov. 1933 her admirers celebrated the 75th anniversary of Selma Lagerlof who was born in 1859.

The renowned Swedish author started her career as a modest teacher ; but with rare devotion to her Art and with self confidence, she came to be the first woman writer to win the Nobel Prize in 1909.

She was born at Marbacka in Vermland, a countryside with which her stories and fictions are closely connected. She relates vividly the stories of the lives of the people of bygone days. She is a born story-teller and her first and the best story is *Gosta Berlings Saga* (1892). Here she displayed an imaginative power, a fantasy and a poetic gift which carried her to the forefront of Swedish nay European literature. Sweden, then at the peak of naturalism, could not understand the book which was first published in Denmark where the leading critic George Brandes hailed the book as a masterpiece ; and so *Gosta Berlings* was welcomed and republished (1895) in Sweden and later translated into 36 languages.

Her first book was followed by several collections of wonderful *short stories* ; and, at the end of the 19 century, Selma Lagerlof made a journey to the Near East and to Palestine. Her most artistically achieved novel was *Jerusalem* (1901-1902). On the one side, we find her influenced by the Icelandic sagas. But she added an Italian influence to it, as we find in her *Miracles of the Anti-Christ*, the renewer of the world ; she is optimistic and full of Mysticism. Her *Jerusalem* induced emigration from Sweden to Palestine ; and in the second part of the book she describes the fortunes of the emigrants, anticipating thereby the many trials of later day Zionists.

In 1904 she published *Kristnisegeuder*, inspired by a rare religious optimism. The art of describing Nature in the most loving way was shown by her best book for children "The wonderful Adventures of Nils Holgersson".

The Swedesh Academy awarded its Gold medal to her in 1904 and in 1909 gave her, at the age of 50, the biggest honour of the Nobel Prize for Literature. In 1914 she was elected the first woman member of the Swedesh Academy where I met her and her learned colleague Per Halstrom, the translator of Shakespeare. Both were great admirers of Dr. Tagore, the first Nobel Lauriate of Asia. Per Halstrom was the official *rapporteur* of the Nobel Academy on Tagore's *Gitanjali* which won the Nobel Prize in 1913.

Selma Lagerlof warmly responded to me when I invited her to write for the *Golden Book of Tagore* (1931) contributing, with her cordial greetings, a noble Prose-poem which I quote below.

TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

By

SELMA LAGERLOF

Many years have passed since the day
when I heard Rabindranath Tagore
deliver his speech of thanks for the Nobel Prize.
But still I bear in mind the memory of a stately Figure,
 clad in loose flowing robes of grey silk
and of a countenance of rare nobility.
When one compared it with the other faces there,
it seems to be modelled with far greater care and skill.
A Spirit gifted with a keener thirst for Beauty
or perhaps with a clearer recollection of its Heavenly origin
 than is commonly vouchsafed to us,
had formed this head and body for its earthly dwelling place.
 I saw him stand on a desk in an ordinary lecture-room
Men and women in evening attire, filled it to the last place.
Everywhere one met familiar faces :
 not for a moment could one forget
that one was in Stockholm, in old Sweden.
The lecturer spoke in English, clear and comprehensive,
Not for a moment would one forget
that one was in Europe and in the West.
But, the Foreign Bard began to speak to us,
 and in a few simple words,
transported us to a far off Magic-land !
I dare not say that it was precisely India
but it was a land which He bore in his heart :
a land without unrest, a land of Peace,
where no jealous strivings, no lust of Power had place
 A heavenly Peace enveloped us !
We wandered along the banks of slowly gliding streams ;
under the summer stars we listened to the gentle words of Wisdom.
And life was shaped anew by fair and happy people
 into Poetry and good will.
When shall it dawn, that day so distant, so longed for
when life has reached its goal and final Harmony attained
and the old dream of Paradise has become a reality ?
Then will the men of that time, remember the Indian Seer,
as one among those who prepared the happy Future,
 as one among those, who, with invincible Hope,
 uprooted the poison-plants of Hatred
to sow, in their stead,
 The apples of Love and the roses of Peace !

PESTALOZZI CENTENARY (1827-1927)

By
KALIDAS NAG

I

That schoolmasters might claim a permanent place in the Pantheon of Immortals was brought back to my mind by one of my friends of Switzerland, the Mecca of Pedagogues. It was Dr. Martin Hurlimann of Zurich who kindly looked me up, in the course of his pilgrimage through India, in the company of Dr. Wehrli, the famous Swiss Anthropologist, who was building the Indian section of the Anthropological museum of the Zurich University. It was such a joy to meet and talk with a true idealist like Dr. Hurlimann. He easily scented my chronic enthusiasm for Heroic souls; and catching the infection, he confessed that he was the admirer of—a Schoolmaster Hero, Heinrich Pestalozzi, born in Zurich in 1746, a contemporary of Rousseau and Goethe; and like them, although in a humbler sphere, a real Pioneer. Dr. Hurlimann has written a profound study on the great Swiss Educational Reformer (*vide Pestalozzi Ideen*, published by Rascher & Co., Zurich-Leipzig). Moreover, Hurlimann belongs to the Continental school of historians who consider history not simply as a chronological apparatus for catching the so-called "events" of the nations, but as a faithful recorder, of the development of civilisation and of the march of Humanity, along the path of deathless creations. Hence his passion for Art and his attempt to interpret, through artistic Photography, the life and art of peoples.

But the most invaluable discipline ensuring the capacity of a people to create permanent things, is a sound system of Education. By discovering this basic principle and proving himself a martyr to it, Pestalozzi became immortal. The facts of his life which I gathered from Dr. Hurlimann, I am bringing before my Indian friends who would join me in expressing my sentiment of gratitude to Dr. Hurlimann. It was also due to him that I am able to present to the public a document of rare value, Pestalozzi's meditations on Education, which I publish at the end of this tribute to the memory of this Educational Columbus of Switzerland.

II

Pestalozzi came of a high family of Zurich. His father died early and the whole education of the boy was in the hands of the mother, a remarkable woman. Having the mother as a *Guru*, Pestalozzi imbibed a very high regard

for womanhood as the maker of nations. Hence we find in Pestalozzi's masterly romance *Leonard and Gertrude*, the mother Gertrude to be the heroine who, by her lofty womanly virtues and abilities, purifies her family, then the village and ultimately leaves a mark on the history of her country. The other education-romance of the age, the *Emile* of Rousseau, also centres round the life of a woman. Love and Nature came henceforth to be the guardian angels of Education when it was revolutionised by master-spirits like Pestalozzi and Rousseau (1712-1778).

Sympathy the Key Note of Pestalozzi System.

Sympathy was the very keynote of the life and system of Pestalozzi. While in the University of Zurich, he breathed the noble atmosphere of creative idealism, which made Zurich (of Einstein) a force not simply in Swiss educational life but also in German literature. This was admitted by a German poet like Wieland. A spirit of adoration of Nature and a love of Shakespeare were symptoms of the age. The 'Back to Nature' cry of another Swiss prophet, Rousseau, was already in the air; and a group of vigorous thinkers and critics like Bodmer and Breitinger were inaugurating a political revolution along with the literary and spiritual renovations. The preachings of the great Swiss pastor Lavatar engendered the spirit of National awakening; and Pestalozzi wanted to devote his life to political reform, with a view to ameliorating the condition of the common people.

But Destiny smiled obliquely. He would be a great reformer but not in politics. He was hopelessly unpractical; so he left the difficult world of politics and attempted to build up an agricultural settlement in Neuhof after his marriage (1769). From the economic point of view the experiment was a failure. But the desire to help the poor and the helpless was insistent; and the *back to the soil* idea was equally deep rooted in him. So we find Pestalozzi—like our Gandhiji—establishing another farm which was more an educational laboratory than a financial venture. For, we find its author more busy thinking how to make the soul, and not the hand alone, free from the shackles of conventions. The work of the hand was considered as the means and not the end, which was to Pestalozzi the emancipation of the Spirit. Thus he anticipated Tolstoy and Gandhi by insisting on *manual work* as a great corrective to our purely intellectual education; manual work was also the most effective method of instilling true democracy, dignity of labour and sympathy for the majority of mankind who are labourers. It is noteworthy that Pestalozzi had weaving and spinning as a part of his curriculum. He was busy with another great experiment for six years (1774-1780), during which he built his Home-school for the orphans who never know what home is. He used to live and work with his pupils (and his wife was a great helper here) and kept a regular *diary* for each of his children. This silent and sublime service to the helpless and and the

deserted, this intensive study of the children from day to day, gave moral solidarity to his system and a universality to his outlook that would ever keep the memory of Pestalozzi sacred. This *Tapasyā* produced fruits in the form of two of his famous works : the *Evening Hours of a Hermit* (1780), a Book of Meditations, and the epoch-making novel *Leonard and Gertrude* (1781), a sister-portrait to Rousseau's *Emile*. Pestalozzi was undoubtedly influenced by the works of Rousseau : *New Heloise* (1761) *Social Contract* (1762) and *Emile* (1762), which convulsed the whole of Europe. If the nineteenth century was a century of educational reforms, it was due to the works of the two great Swiss masters, Rousseau and Pestalozzi, who had "the honour of conceiving a method which is the corner-stone of all sound theories of Primary (Basic vocational) education."

After the French Revolution, Switzerland was invaded by the French in 1798 and Pestalozzi opened a school at Stanz for the orphans of war. Himself homeless and penniless, he could not help gathering the helpless children around him ! What a pathos in the noble struggle in which he warred desperately against the demons of War and, even when failing to make his work successful, starting another educational work at Burgdorf. Here he joined a school but was driven out from the position of a subordinate teacher by the jealous and bigoted senior master. This was his reward at the ripe age of 55 !

Influence of Pestalozzi

However, he was able to start and run a school of his own, aided by the Swiss government, at Burgdorf (1799-1804). Here he published his second social novel : "How Gertrude educates her Children" (1801), in which he set forth that "the development of human nature should be in dependence upon natural laws with which it is the business of every good educationist to comply" in order to establish a good teaching method, learn first to understand Nature, its general processes in man and its particular processes in each individual ; observation, the result of which is a spontaneous preception of things, is the method by which all objects of knowledge are brought home to us. This is the outline of the Intuition Education (*Anschanung*) of Pestalozzi which is the corner-stone of the Danish and German Folkschools. It led to a veritable revolution in the science of pedagogy and the reputation of Pestalozzy spread far and wide. In 1802 he was sent to Paris on deputation and he tried to convert Napoleon to his theory ! The latter sympathised but with characteristic cynicism replied that he (like the Tzar) was a little too busy to think of the alphabet ! Pestalozzi however was made an honorary citizen of France, like Schiller and Washington.

In 1805, a year after Kant's death (1804), he moved his school to Yverdon and it attracted the attention of the whole of Europe. It was visited by Talleyrand, Madame de Stael and others ; while Humboldt and Fichte praised the method followed in the institution. Amongst his pupils Pestalozzi claimed

Delbruck, Carl Ritter, Zeller and last, though not the least, Froebel, the founder of the *Kindergarten* method. The Prussian government sent boys to be trained in Yverdon. When the Czar granted him an audience Pestalozzi naively sermonised the Emperor of Russia on his duty to educate the Russian mass! Following each argument Pestalozzi, with his awkward yet vigorous gesture, stepped forward, and the Czar was obliged to walk backwards, till at last the Emperor was not only cornered but actually pitched on the wall of the reception hall; and he burst out laughing while he embraced that divine Fanatic of education.

A Sad End

Yet the last days of his life were very sad. The colleagues of the school rebelled against him, and Pestalozzi, (of the age of Kant's *Perpetual Peace*), sick of perpetual conflict (since 1815) retired from the school of Yverdon in 1825. He was as lofty in his ideals as he was hopeless in his practical sense. Hence his business plans came to nothing; although his vision of the true principles of education continues to inspire us down to this day. He wrote his educational Prayer, the Swan Song, and died in retirement at Brugg (17 Feb. 1827).

His own words now would speak for the greatness of the man:

III

A Vision of True Education

"We are warned, as humanity has seldom been warned. Thousand of bleeding wounds are calling out to us in a manner as they have not for centuries called out to the world. It is urgently necessary that we should consider once the source of the errors of the Citizen and the Society, giving rise to this mass of *corruptions of civilisation*. Once more we should find, in the improvement of our nature itself, the means of escape from all the sufferings and all the miseries which we, the higher and lower, the rich and the poor, should equally come forward to face, not as frightened weaklings, but as men, who can face their posterity, their children and their race with stern dignity.

Let us become men (*menchen*), so that we may become citizens and statesmen again.

Nature the Source of Real Education

The art of being man, of becoming man, of remaining man, the art of making man human (*den Menschen menschlich*) as well as that of maintaining his human character, this art which thou deniest, O! foolish absurd race, and ridiculest, as something undiscoverable, is, God be praised, not yet discovered. It is ours, it has been ours and it will ever be ours. Its principles lie inextinguishable and unshakable in the human nature itself.

Culture and Anarchy

But the world as it is, seems every day to become more detrimental to this pure basis of the happiness and culture "*Bildung*" of man; every day it is

advancing towards the destruction of the life of the home "*Wohnstube*". This is against God and the human spirit and makes it sensible only to its bestial and voluptuous existence and active without manliness, (*Menschlichkeit*) love or grace, in the private and public relations of life.

Education to Humanize Mankind

Even in minor children we find the feeling of animal arrogance and animal violence ; fraud and cunning, as they develop in a fox, are found in ill-trained boys ; apish vanity and the pride of a peacock get possession of the nature of the girl, before the tenderness of her developed maidenly character can expose to her this vanity and this pride as contemptible, when compared with the innocence and simplicity of human feelings which are the products of human training.

Problems of Our Day

Fatherland ! the problem of our day is not yet solved, it still stands before you and awaits solution. The spirit of the time is not favourable to its permanent solution. Thousands of our men, who are living only for the day (*Zeitmenschen*), are active in tying and tightening all sorts of bonds, shackles and knots. But few fingers are refined and tender enough, bold and powerful enough to loosen these bonds, shackles and knots. If the ordinary man of the day is entrusted with the untying of such knots, he would always (and, how unhappily) rush to seize the sword (in order to cut the Gordian knots !)

Fatherland ! teach your children not to consider this means (of the sword) to be the highest. Highly estimated, the sword easily degenerates into a means of paralysing in you the old and essential things which you need today, and make you a cripple. No, Fatherland, not the sword, no, no, but *Light more Light* upon yourself, deep knowledge of the evils which lie within you, against your own self ; knowledge of the real condition of your Self, that is what you want.

From Violence to Non-Violence

The elevation of our race to true manhood (*Menschlichkeit*), to real culture is in its essence a transformation of the bestial and lawless violence into a human non-violence (*Gewaltlosigkeit*) brought about by law and justice and protected by the same ; a subordination of the demands of our sensual nature to the demands of the human spirit and the human heart.

The Diseases of Civilisation

Look at the whole society of man, sunk deep in the corruption of civilisation ; look at those whom you should consider to be the noblest and the purest. Look at the mother ! No, I don't call her mother ; look at the woman of the day who is sunk in the corruption of civilisation. She cannot give her children what she herself has not and does not know. Her life, her maternal life as it is today, is for her child, an actual death. She does not know what maternal

anxiety is ; she does not know what *maternal faith* is. She has no anxiety, no strength, no faith for her child. Her anxiety, her energy, her faith is all for worldly dalliance, of which she does not wish one single card out of her hand, not even for a moment, for the sake of her child !

Imagine now also a father of today. I cannot call him father ; imagine a man of the world, sunk deep in the corruption of civilization. You will find in him the same effects of the corruption of civilization, you will find in him the same error of mind, the same desolation of heart as we found in the woman of the day. He is nothing but a business-man and he treats the education of his children just as any other business.

World replacing God

Without regard for the will of God, the parents want to educate their children for the *world only* and to represent to them the world as the God. The talents of human nature are for them nothing but means to get as much power and honour and enjoyment of life as possible, for themselves only against all others. The intellect, which has been implanted by God, in their children, for innocence, is separated by them from their heart and made gradually the means of self-seeking.

And almost all creatures, sunk into the corruption of civilization, think and act and feel just as the man of the world and the woman of the world.

Bankruptcy of Politics

The faults of the official people ("*Behordenmenschen*"), who are mere bloodless forms than living people, are fundamentally the same as those of the women of the day and of the business-men. The civilized, corrupt magistracy are found as wanting as the home (*Wehnstube*), of the common people : Fundamental knowledge and strength for what they should do, not what they would do, are lacking. In the magistracy, just as in homes, dreams are dreamt about things which are unknown, and sleepless nights are spent in searches after something, which, if it would be known, it would not be worth wishing. This state of complete hardening of mind, which I would call the wickedness of statesmen, changes the *Vetersinn* (the feeling of a father) of the government into mere economic principles of property.

The Silent hidden Virtue of the Life in the Hut

O my fellowmen ! who have attained to a rare height in the culture-less arts of civilization and its blind delusive strength, O my fellowmen, come for a moment out of these dazzling delusions of your self, and look at the lofty strength of silent hidden Virtue, which is still alive in the obscure, lowly good

huts of the country side. Look at the residuum of morals and good habits, which still express themselves in your *rural areas*, the national strength and the national character of your village ancestors.

Freedom and Non-Freedom

The idle and deceptive talk of the time about human and social freedom and equality, and about non-freedom and non-equality of men, would be carried away with the noise of its savagery and its social delusiveness. The diffusion of divine freedom and equality, which has been given us for eternity, is only apparent ; for it has been seldom acknowledged with sincerity and love. Freedom and Equality in the nature of human virtues, and the equally necessary non-freedom and non-equality would resist the wild waves of barbarism, as an eternal rock resists the waves of a violent torrent.

Tenderness the Highest Human Strength

Friends of humanity ! The sublime claim of holy tenderness for the weak of our race, this tenderness which is really the highest human strength,—this is the exalted external sign of the inner sanctity of a sovereign Power.

Fatherland ! beneath the thousand voices that have, through the terrors of the past years, come up to the wisdom of a mature self-help, there is only one supreme Voice : We must educate our children better and with more strength and earnestness than they have been educated until now.

If we are able to enliven Humanity in its better individuals, for the recovery of themselves and to strengthen the pure enthusiasm of the human nature for this purpose,—then our race would raise itself to the hardest, to the highest and to the most sublime of what human nature is capable of. The powerful arm of the nations will then be unchained. From *single action to a common activity* ! Life will be stirred up. Each single action of wisdom and virtue will react upon the common strength, common wisdom and common virtue. These acts, may then be done by the highest and the greatest as well as by the poorest of men ; they will disappear as single actions. They will be actions of and for the *whole humanity*, actions of the higher human nature, noble exploits of our race, dedicated to Humanity and to the Fatherland and to the most urgent needs of our time.

Pestalozzi the Prophet of Optimism

It must, it will, become better ! There will be a *common power* for the creation of a general improvement of things.

There will be a cry in the world : Up ! Arise to the arms of Wisdom and Virtue ! Up ! Arise to the arms of innocence and Love !

Down, down with false honour which puffs up human nature and thus destroys its Morale and its Spirit.

Down, down with false honour, which, going out from the barbaric weakness of our corrupt civilisation, proud of its stupidity and arrogance and unkindness, wants to recapture the holy heights of Civilisation. Down, down with the first source of the evils of the world ; down, down with false honour, but act only by means of wisdom and love. No evil force, no weapon of barbarism. The devolved Understanding and the burning Love of a better race. May it smile upon us all !

Modern Review, May, 1927.

The great German Philosopher Fichte 1762-1814, like Pestalozzi and Rousseau, advocated literary and practical Education to be given simultaneously in the Common school, the training-ground of the Community. Its success or failure depends on this *Basic* education, as later affirmed by Gandhi. Like him, Fichte observed.

"Everyone should know that he is indebted absolutely to the Community and should work and eat or starve along with the Community".

HUMANISATION OF HISTORY

KALIDAS NAG

(An address delivered, in connection with the symposium on "L'Esprit International et L'Enseignement de l' Histoire"—the International Spirit and the Teaching of History, in the Third International Congress of Moral Education, held in Geneva (28th July—First August, 1922), under the presidency of Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart.)

I

The Hindu Mind and Historical Reality.

The elemental harmony of the great Epic of India (Mahā-Bhārata) practically exhausts itself in the awful hush of the tragic field of carnage, Kurukshetra. But the Hindu Poet-Seer did not hesitate to take a little liberty with the strict canons of Epic composition, by adding a few more cantos of Peace, the *Śāntiparvan*, as the only fitting end of War. It is not the peace of the impatient propagandist or that of the builder of an Utopia. It embodies the maturest reflections of the last representative of the noble warrior-race, Devavrata Bhīṣma, awaiting his heroic end on the bed of arrows. The apotheosis of Sovereign Power has proved itself to be a tragic illusion. What appeared to be unshakable has had a disastrous collapse. The Hindu mind sought, through Bhīṣma, a new foundation of social order, and found it in Dharma, the Eternal Verity. Hence the evolution of the Hindu doctrine of *Rāja-Dharma*, the discipline for the supreme purification and transfiguration of Sovereignty.

As a humble representative of the land of such an indomitable optimism, I must confess that I am not sufficiently modern to brush aside, with refined cynicism, the noble programme of your Congress. I firmly believe in the self-purification of humanity. So I welcome the fact that the reformation of History-teaching has been assigned the first place, in this first session of the International Congress of Moral Education, after the World-war.

Extract from the preamble of the congress :

"Since the two International Congresses of Moral Education, of London (1908) and of the Hague (1912), the War had come and had brought to the

"Depuis les deux Congress Internationaux d'Education morale, de Londres (1908) et la Haye (1912), la Guerre est venue et a remis au premier plan le probleme de l'education morale. Les bouleversements materiels et moraux qu'elle a produits ne sont pas seulement les effets d'un passe auquel nous ne pouvons plus rien changer, mais les causes d'un avenir qui serait desastreux pour la civilisation si tous les hommes de coeur ne s'unissaient pour attenuer le mal.

"Reparer ne suffit pas, il faut construire. C'est a ce travail de construction que nous vous convions : **** des lecons theorieques n'y suffisent pas. L'action pratique fait plus que les parole pour relever les ruines et preparer un avenir meilleur."

forefront the problem of moral education. The material and moral confusion which it (the war) had produced, are not merely the effects of a past of which we cannot change anything but are the causes of a Future which will be disastrous for civilization, if all people of heart do not unite themselves in order to alleviate the Evil.

"Reparation would not be sufficient, one must reconstruct. It is in this work of Construction that we have invited you; * * * mere theoretical lectures would not be sufficient here. Practical steps would do more than words to repair the ruins and to prepare for a better Future."

II

History Tested by Historical Anomaly

The World-War. Recrudescence of Barbarism.

I have sufficient historical sanity to admit that war is not an uncommon phenomenon of human history. Yet it is equally true that the participants in war have always sought some sort of justification for it. Thus we read in history about the wars of self-defence and of self-expansion, wars of religion and of conscience, war of rights and of liberties. Finally we come to the highly subtle justification of the XIX century colonial Europe, as wars for the propagation of civilization in less civilized countries! The uniqueness of the World-War of our epoch, however, lies in this, that it made a short work of all sophisticated and unsophisticated justifications, plunging the world in a deluge of refined barbarism and scientific savagery, thereby forcing modern man to think, if there is really any rational progress in history. From inter-communal homicide to international suicide is a progression of doubtful survival-value! Truly, orthodox historians are not wanting to-day to produce documentary evidence to disprove the responsibility of their respective national governments in launching the monstrous slaughter; but that has only deepened the distrust of all normal human beings in a method of historical study which makes a case appear inevitably true in parts yet as relentlessly false as a whole. That is an anomaly which saps the basis of the science of History. Yes, this war has shaken, to the very foundation, the faith of modern men and women in their Historians and Histories. That is what this Congress avows candidly in its short but pregnant preamble. It is high time that we should start an investigation into the causes of such a degradation of History and into the possibilities of its reformation. If History should stand as it ought to stand, as the truly impartial record of Humanity, it must be purified from its nationalistic special pleadings and re-established on its only just and dignified basis, the foundation of humanitarian Internationalism.

III

History as it is and as it Ought To Be.

(a) Discrepancy between the writing and the teaching of History.

It is needless to point out before this Congress that History, as a branch of study, has a long history behind it. From Herodotus and Tacitus to Michelet and Mommsen, the Science and Art of historical presentation have undergone a change that is phenomenal. A chance survey across the shelves of any modern library would convince us of the fact that the output of historical literature in our epoch is no less extraordinary. But the moment we turn our eyes from these monuments of research to the mentality of the common men and women, formed by the so-called historical studies, we face the shocking discrepancy between History as an intellectual discipline for *savants* and History as a moral guide for the public. Blinded by the academic pride of historical detachment and objectivity of judgment, the Historians have failed to gauge how their researches are being used, or in what way those have been affecting the minds of their audience. Moreover, in spite of their pretension to sober narrations of common facts, the Historians, with a congenital human weakness for the uncommon and the extraordinary, have generally emphasised the cataclysmic factors in society like war and exaggerated the importance of the Super-man and the Heroes of history. Thus the normal and actual development of human society, through peace, mutual aid and co-operation, has been overshadowed by the lurid clouds of war and hatred. So, the history of the millions of men and women, the *Helots* and the *Pariaks*, mutely bearing the painful burden of the "civilised" man, have been forgotten in the glamour of Hero-worship. This initial wrong emphasis, this fundamental iniquity has made History, theoretically the most human of all intellectual disciplines, the most inhuman in its cruel injunctions and insinuations.

(b) Wrong emphasis on conflict and not on co-operation as the dynamic of human progress.

The Graeco-Persian war produces a Herodotus, the Peloponnesian war inspires a Thucydides, the Punic wars a Livy and the Germanic wars of the early Roman empire, a Tacitus. Such unfortunate coincidences in the history of our model historians have tempted millions of superficial readers to make the dangerous deduction: "War begat human histories!" Thus by a curious perversion of judgment, the progress of human civilisation came to be represented as depending inevitably on War, the veritable prop of the bulk of our historical narratives!

No wonder that hatred is writ large on so much of the so-called historical literature. It is a fact disconcerting yet indisputable. Mankind has been taught more or less to believe that the progress of one must be at the expense of another; so one must wait for the earliest opportunity to pounce upon the throat of the other; that one's neighbour is a natural enemy, so

one must learn to suspect him, hate him, and destroy him if possible. These lessons of history are not exactly inculcated with such brutal frankness; there is always the patriotic halo and the academic innuendo to relieve the shocking inhumanity of this historical philosophy. Yet, it is a tragic truth hard to dispute, that the lessons have gone home into the heart of those for whom they were intended. That is why and how, in this age of Science and Illumination, with facilities of international communication unparalleled in history, we believe the killing of our neighbour to be a civic duty and nationalised murder as almost a moral responsibility. Centuries of civilisation, as recorded in history, have not supplied man with a higher criterion of judging values.

(c) Fundamental weakness of History—defective valuation: criteria of values in the East and West.

The most serious defect in the norm of history evolved in the Occident, as it appears to an Oriental mind, is its insufficiency of evaluation. Facts are treated too much as materials of intellectual discipline or physical exploitation. Very little emphasis is laid on the bearing of facts on the formation of the inner life of mankind. Hence History has lent herself to be used as a tool in the hands of politicians and economists, and failed to answer to the spiritual questionings of man. Originally the mother of all humanistic studies History has by repeated desertions or devolutions of her prerogatives, come to be degraded into an armoury of arguments to be used, by her masters of the platforms and the counter, the so-called "Makers of History". Thus sometimes History is flattered as "applied Politics" and another time she is cynically honoured as the "Mississippi of falsehood"!

Asia, on the contrary, developed quite a different attitude towards reality. The significance of facts to an Asiatic lies in this, that facts are the symbols of the Reality that is ever shaping the inner life. Hence we find here comparative neglect to perpetuate facts as facts and the tendency to interpret them as illustrations of *life values*. It may be another extreme; but it is an attitude to be reckoned with in the future formation of the canons of comparative history. The continent that has given to the world Buddha and Confucius, Christ and Muhammad, should enter into the consideration of our historians engaged in the transvaluation of human values.

(d) Attitude of the West to the non-Western world, ominous for future history.

And it is exactly here, in the attitude of an average European to the non-European countries, that we feel the most disruptive of all modern tendencies threatening to disfigure the future history with inter-continental cataclysms. By exaggerating the element of conflict in human evolution, Europe has made a fatal apotheosis of war. The inevitable perpetuation and sublimation of savagery therefore made Europe the direct instrument of the most shocking of modern vandalisms and ruthless destruction of the harvests of civilisation inside Europe; while outside Europe, by considering every other people of

the globe as debased, degenerate and exploitable, Europe is threatening to prepare the ground for a terrific colonial conflagration, in Asia and Africa, smouldering under her ostensible propaganda of superior culture. When a European student reads Herodotus, he reads in the triumph of civilised Europe over the Asiatic Barbarians (in a sense not quite familiar to Herodotus). The vandalisms of Alexander the Great, in Egypt, Persia and India are coolly accepted, by masters as well as pupils, as a legitimate means of propagation of culture to uncivilised peoples. Yet when Attila repeats similar experiments on Europe there is a tremendous moral indignation against the Asiatic Hun ! The simple fact is forgotten that few nations like few individuals may claim to monopolise particular virtues or vices, and that it is as childish to speak of European magnanimity and "Asiatic" cruelty, as to speak of Mexican magnetism and Polynesian gravitation ! the crusading passion of the Europeans made them look upon the Orientals as veritable monsters ; and the principal fact was lost to common readers that incalculable amount of culture and refinement entered the barbarous world of mediaeval Europe through the agency of the so-called Oriental monsters and infidels.

No wonder that when Europe attains internal stability and consolidation, she considers it her moral duty to propagate her superior culture on the inferior races of the globe. This is in reality the old Crusading zeal in a modern garb, with this difference that while, in these mediaeval crusades, the sword was frankly before the Cross, in the modern crusades it is behind. That is how we find the Western powers (with an audacity that would have staggered Alexander the Great) engaged in partitioning summarily not only countries but continents into their respective "spheres of influence", for the propagation of culture. The unconscious majority submitted to this uniquely equitable settlement. But a minority, still preserving certain sensibilities, Egypt or Persia, China or India began to struggle against the operation ! So, to bring those difficult patients quickly under control, the Western surgeons started forthwith their latest scientific methods of anaesthetics and injection or amputation according to different types of diagnosis of the cases. But when suddenly, these very surgeons of civilisation, forgetting their patients on the dissection table, started knifing one another, that produced a scene so strikingly original that it roused not only the subject of their experiments but even some of the record-keepers, the Historians and the Publicists.

Thus while the great archaeologists and historians (all honour to Burnouf and Bopp, to Champollion and Maspero, to Rawlinson and Layard, to Remusat and de Morgan) were faithfully trying to reconstruct the real history of the non-European peoples, the common Europeans, under their uncommon leaders, the politicians and economists, were making capital use of those historical researches, finally starting a cold-blooded carnage probably unparalleled in history. And, thanks to the dogma of "historical detachment", the human protest against this tragic betrayal of science and civilisation and

suicidal regression of culture came, not from Historians, but from Poets and Artists (the never failing and ever faithful torch-bearers of Truth and Progress) from our Rabindranath Tagore and your Romain Rolland. Whilst the official historians, writing on the World-war, simply helped to intensify hatred to such an extent that even common men and women cried out from the depth of their souls : 'Heaven save us from our Historians !'

(e) The urgency and the possibility of Reform : problem of State-control.

Thus in this awful fire-baptism of humanity, the historians have been tried by History and found wanting. And along with the historians the science of history has suffered a depreciation in human prestige that is damaging. If we want now to re-establish History on her only true pedestal of Truth and Humanity, every individual writer and teacher of history must immediately start the work of expiation, search into the causes of this dire disease of international hatred and apply prompt remedy, so as to restore the world to its normal life of Peace and Progress. Putting aside for the time being, the doubtful virtue of historical detachment, we must now emphasize with our whole soul the principle of human attachment and sympathy with Cosmic Life, one and indivisible. Flinging all convenient cants and academic subterfuges, we must admit and demonstrate that there is really one all-pervading life, which, being wounded in one part weakens the whole, that the central drama of evolving Humanity is the one organic History, and that history, apparently limited by Time and Space, is really co-eval with the entire creation ; that culture is not the monopoly of the East or of the West, of the conqueror or of the conquered ; that civilization, like all precious hermitage of Humanity, is a sacred trust, that it has been inherited, that it should be enriched and ultimately transmitted from generation to generation, irrespective of colour, creed or levels of culture ; the lower a people of a community is in the scale of humanity the greater should be the attention paid to elevate it ; and graver the injustice done, the quicker should be the cry for reparation, from Historians before any other.

To bring about this radical reform in history teaching, the professors as well as the parents and guardians of the pupils must co-operate as closely as possible. Not satisfied with the mere paying of the tuition fees, every father and every mother should exercise his or her legitimate right to enquire what sort of historical opinions are being inculcated upon their children through the super-historical books of political and colonial expansions, through the carefully careless publication of "State-papers", and through the History-Vedas consecrated by the "Text-book committees" of the various Departments. That is sure to bring about a clash between the community and the octopus of militaristic Politics. But, for its very safety and progress, the community must accept the challenge and make the influence of collective conscience felt in this vital question. So the narrow nationalistic propaganda to which the historians of all countries, more or less, have lent their aid, teaching to the German boy

that his Fatherland is the only elect land in the globe, to the English boy that his country can do no wrong, and to the French boy that his *Patrie* is ever on the side of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity,—this palpable caricature of Reality must be given up and saner and wider outlook of International History should be introduced.

(f) A graduated programme of Evolutionary History (vide Table).

The most effective method of stopping the possibility of the development of the national megalomania would be to widen the vision of the students from the infancy, by a graduated course of history, on humanistic basis, a rough outline of which is given herewith. By magic lantern-slides and moving pictures in big cities and by good picture-books, maps and charts in the rural areas, the little boys and girls of Elementary School Grade should be made alive to the fact that their country is only a portion of this Earth which again is a floating fragment of the Cosmic System. Some good astronomical films (e.g. *Histoire du Ciel*, exhibited in Paris) would be of greater value than any amount of oral lessons, in broadening the minds of these budding scholars. Through these Picture-histories of the Cosmos and of the world the students should be informed that the stage is being prepared for the actors of this grand Cosmo-drama, at first the dumb inanimate actors of the Inter-planetary Geological periods amidst stupendous upheavals and terrific depressions and then the subjects of the vegeto-biological world eloquent with grace and colour and lastly the actors of the animal and Human world endowed with the wonderful gift of free movement and articulation.

Similarly, with the help of pictures (static or moving, added by pleasure-trips to museums etc. the scholars of the Middle and High School) Grade should be taken through Physical Geography, Bio-geography and Anthro-geography, finally ushering Man the Masterpiece to the front.

In the Upper School and College Grade, the natural history pictures and charts should be largely supplemented by illustrations from the anthropological and cultural history of humanity, with special reference, in each case, to the existing facts of the local history of each group of scholars. The best cure for abstraction would be, not a clever definition, but immediate appeal to the known and the concrete. At this stage the training through the eyes should be amplified by oral lessons, due precautions being taken that the healthy spirit of questioning and criticism is not crushed under the burden of details and that sympathetic imagination is not paralysed by forced memorizing. Students should, at this stage, be introduced to good books, describing and discussing the march of various races and nationalities, along the path of civilization, through peace and co-operation, and indicating wars and aggressions as occasional relapses to primitive savagery, not as inevitable conditions of progress. The rise and fall of nations, the growth and decay of civilizations should be discussed as much to quicken their sense of causation as to deepen their emotion and sympathy. The silent yet deep-seated revolutions, effected

in the history of human culture, through the invention of *fire*, the discovery of the *plough* the potter's *wheel* and the tailor's art ; through the appearance of the horse as the animal of conveyance, replacing the philosophical ass or ox ; the groping of the Primitive Man after Beauty and Utility : his marvellous bone-scratchings, cave-paintings and diverse relics of primitive art and technology ; through the normal instinct for peaceful economic exchanges ; through the discovery of token-money, migration of symbols and the ultimate circulation of the alphabets, the inter-oceanic commerce and inter-continental race-movements — these should be assigned a place of greater importance than the military adventures of an Alexander, of a Napoleon, and the lives of great inventors and philanthropists, of poets and prophets, more than the careers of soldiers and politicians, popes and emperors.

Thus when a scholar leaves school, either to join the university or some profession, he or she would, by that time, possess a fair idea of the evolution, of humanity as a whole ; and for that reason there would be less likelihood of his or her falling victim to any false alarm, raised by the platform or the press, the two inevitable yet highly precarious props of modern Democracy. On this groundwork the special studies of the College and University stage may easily be built, Technical treatment of different branches of history would commence here, but not so technical as to rob them of all human interest. Through every special lesson the inter-dependence of different disciplines, their co-ordination and general evolution, should be suggested. The central problem of humanity should every now and then be emphasized. The students should be made to realize what a grand advance has been made in the Science of History with the transcending of narrow national barriers and liberating human studies, on international and comparative lines, in the departments of Law and Jurisprudence, Ethics and Religion, Philosophy and Aesthetics, Politics and Economics (*Vide Table*).

Finally, with this widening of historical outlook, the technique of teaching also would change. In the earlier stages the emphasis should be on (i) the thorough realization of historical phenomena, and (ii) on the correct and impressive description. In the advanced college and university stages, two other functionings of the mind should be brought to bear on historical problems : (iii) the definite normation, and (iv) the ultimate evaluation of mass and movements, of events and personalities. Fortified on all these four points, History would come to be not only a comprehensive discipline for human intellect, but a great regulator of human emotions, and an elevating and ever-faithful guide of human *will to live and let live*.

IV

Real and abiding Reform : through the Humanization of the Historian and the development of an International Conscience.

In all the processings of the historical mind, as we have noted above, the personality of the historian is postulated as ever present. Whether it is possible or desirable to eradicate this *personal* element is a subtle question. But what is

an indisputable fact is that, up to this time we have found very few historians who may claim the doubtful honour of being totally impersonal. The very fact that an individual is surveying some phases of human experience, makes it almost inevitable that the ultimate picture of that survey would be suffused with the glow of personality. Far from desiring to reduce human mind into a cold monotonous recording-machine, we want ever fresh, ever potent individual to focus new light on facts, to discover new facets of that mystic gem of many tints, Reality. Such a personality presupposes a discipline that gives the magic virtue of revivification. That discipline for a Historian is nothing more nor less than History itself, the genuine record of evolving Humanity. Through observation and collection, criticism and evaluation, a real Historian should feel that he is realizing Humanity as whole.

The deeper he goes in this realization, the more comprehensive would be his observation, and more equitable his evaluation. So, to a great historian, Universal Humanity is not a mere hypothesis; it is "the master light of all his seeing", and the ultimate goal of his self-realization in which the antithesis, between the individual and the universal, is resolved into a supreme synthesis of fraternity and love.

With this noble transformation in the personality of the Historian, History would shake off her tutelage of the sub-sciences like Politics and Economics grown out of her. She would assert her rightful privilege of being the Mother-arbiter amidst those conflicting daughter-disciplines. She would transcend the limits of narrow nationalism, and embrace whole Humanity as her real jurisdiction. With her unparalleled memory of the great Past, and divine intuition of the unborn Future, History with firm conviction, would guide the steps of the new-born faltering Present. She would not only then recover the prestige lost and reclaim the homage forfeited, but would also liberate the human mind to sweep across the vast panorama of evolving Life. She would develop an international conscience and cosmic sympathy that would direct human will into the channels of Justice and Charity and she would evoke a new Passion for Humanity that would open up untapped sources of human creation in the realm of the Sublime and the Beautiful. Then her messages would be truly cosmopolitan, and her formulated laws genuinely universal. Then her verdict would have all the validity and force of accredited Truth, and her sanctions all the sanctity of a Divine oracle. Then humanity would turn to history not as a mere "curiosity shop" or a lumber-room of time-serving precedents, but as to the very *Veda* of Life, reverberating with the eternal cry of mankind:

Asato mā sad gamaya,

Tamaso mā jyotir gamaya,

Mrityor mā amritam gamaya !

"From the unreal, lead me on to the Real.

From darkness, lead me on to Illumination.

From death, lead me on to immortality."

With sincere faith in this gradual transformation of History, I beg leave to make the following Recommendations :

V

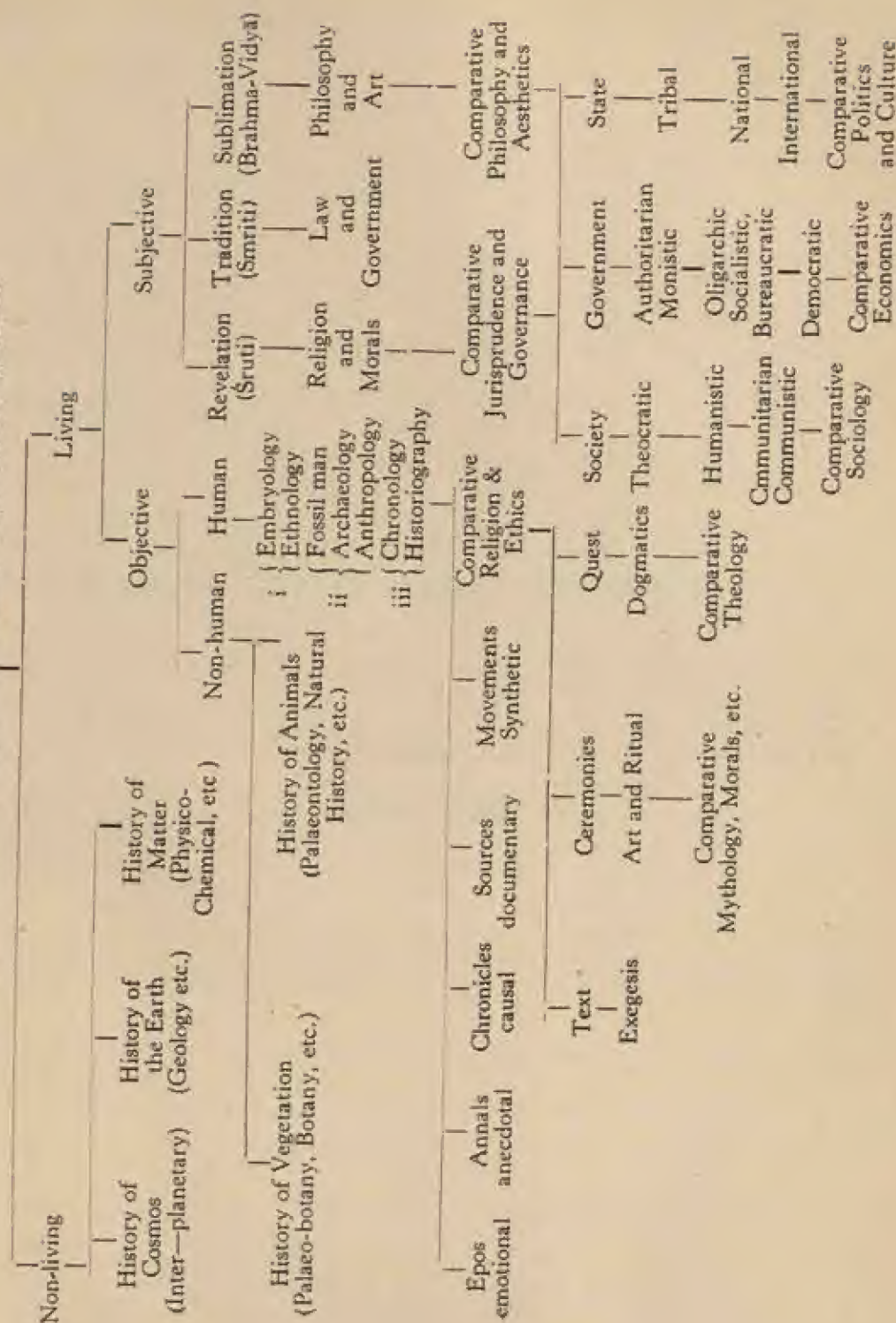
Recommendations.

1. To ascertain the facts about the prevailing systems of history-teaching in the principal educational centres of various countries, their text-books syllabuses, methods of teaching, particular emphasis etc.
2. To publish and distribute freely a Summary-result of the analysis of those facts.
3. To start an organ to ventilate Positive Ideas about history teaching, based on Internationalism, and incidentally to criticize the existing methods and manuals.
4. To encourage the growth of Local Associations, of parents and sympathisers, working for the Internationalization of Historical studies
5. To form an International Board of Historians, whose original contributions and established positions, as authorities on their respective subjects may be brought to bear on a rapid and radical reform in our universities, colleges and schools.
6. To invite and encourage the local associations to communicate frequently with the board of experts, and to ascertain the problems for future congresses, reunions, etc.
7. To counteract the lamentable wrong emphasis on Politics as the prime mover of human destiny, and to start a searching examination of the political bias by supplying the broader basis of sociological and cultural method of presentation.
8. To ascertain, by comparative method, the valid canons of Historical Evaluation, and writing a History of Human Civilisation.
9. To establish a central Committee for publication of Standard Text-books by recognised experts of various countries, from the standpoint of Internationalism.
10. To bring every means, of consultation and co-operation, to elevate history from her present humiliating state, to be the real Guide of Mankind pointing to International Co-operation as the greatest creative agency of human culture and to universal Love as the noblest goal of Existence.

HISTORY

Co-eval with Creation,

To represent the Past, To regulate the Present, To foreshadow the Future.



v

INDIA AND THE WORLD

EDITED BY
KALIDAS NAG

DEDICATED
TO
ABRAHAM LINCOLN
ON HIS 150th BIRTH ANNIVERSARY

K. N.

Salut au Monde !

All you continentals of Asia, Africa, Europe, Australia, in different of place !
All you on the numberless islands of the Archipelagoes of the sea
And you of the centuries hence when you listen to me !
And you each and everywhere, whom I specify not, but include just the same ?
Health to you, goodwill to you all, from me and America sent !
Each of us inevitable.
Each of us, limitless—each of us with his or her right upon the Earth,
Each us allow'd the Eternal purports of the earth,
Each of us here as divinely as any in is here.

Walt Whitman

TO AMERICA

By

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The discovery of America was followed by the discovery of Europe in a new soil and surroundings. Such an access of new experience is necessary for all old cultures for their own rejuvenation. It was a fortunate accident which helped the Western civilization, through this transmigration, to win a new term of life and further explore its possibilities under an unaccustomed stimulus.

During the Middle Ages, the restless spirit of adventure in Europe went out seeking fortune in foreign lands. In America it built up a new habitation, and produced its own wealth with the resources of a virgin Continent and resourcefulness of a heroic inheritance; through this process of creation strenuously followed, it found back its youth; and, severing its political connection with the mother race, began its independent career of nation-building.

The first impulse of growth in this new national life went to the development of its material body. That structure grew fast; inexhaustible sources of wealth were opened up and the material prosperity took a magnitude unequalled in the whole world.

But the inner spirit naturally takes a much longer time to mature its personality; and thus, for a considerable period of time, the American mind appeared like repetition of European mentality.

But life enriches and maintains itself in vigour not through repetition but through its renewal by variation; and I feel certain that such a course of life's variation is evolving a new personality in American civilisation. Being young she still has her faith in the eternal reality of ideals and that faith is creative. Disillusionment is the fatal malady produced by the self poisoning that grows on in old civilizations from their decaying tissues. Though occasionally a display of cynicism, which is a sure sign of senility, is met with in American literature one feels that it is merely an imitation and not a genuine expression of negation of faith in this youthful and energetic people. I have no doubt about the independent individuality of the great continent of America which is not a mere cultural annex of Europe but a civilization with a truly distinctive and progressive character of its own.

America due to its ocean barriers and its vast self-contained continent, rich in natural resources and its possibilities of intensive expansion, has started on a career unbound by any narrow limitations. Secure on the foundation of a consolidated state it can perfect its freedom to the furthest degree. The high standard of living naturally fits in with the richness of the country's resources and its inventive genius. But this very supersaturation of wealth produces in

the American mind a yearning for the riches that belong to the inner realm of spirit. Spiritual ends of life are pursued with a keenness in America not found anywhere else in the modern world ; and the production of wealth, instead of hampering her inner vision, has emancipated America's imagination of a *creative democracy* which will offer true freedom to the human spirit.

One cannot but feel that this spiritual adventure of the American civilization will find ever-renewing avenues of self-expression, that she will exploit her material resources for the well-being of Humanity, conquering disease and spreading scientific habits of living, and offer, by her directive control of scientific knowledge, benefits which will spread far beyond her own geographical limits.

The quest of spiritual realization which distinguishes America to-day and therefore attracts true prophets from other countries to her shores, is sure to reveal itself in a *new civilization in which Europe will be reborn*, freed of its discordant inhibitions and its heritage of dead past ; and the vitality of a forward-marching idealism will find its growing perfection, assimilating the true gifts of the East as well as the West, in the unity of the human spirit.

(By courtesy of the Tagore Association of America)

Passage to India !

Lo soul ! seest thou not God's purpose from the first ?
The Earth to be spann'd, connected by net-work
The people to become brothers and sisters,
The races, neighbours to marry and be given in marriage,
The oceans to be crossed, the distant brought near
The lands to be welded together :

Walt Whitman

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

Quoted on his Bi-Centenary (1732-1932)

April, 30, 1789

"Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the President station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe—who presides in the Councils of Nations—and whose Providential aids can supply every human defect—that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes; and may enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow-citizens at large less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the Invisible Hand which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of Providential agency. And in the important Revolution just accomplished, in the system of their *united government*, the tranquil deliberations and *voluntary consent* of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, can not be compared, with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings, which the past seems to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed.

"Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since He has been pleased to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity, on a form of Government for the securing of their Union, and the advancement of their happiness; so His Divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations and the wise measures, on which the success of this government must depend".

* * * * *

My first wish is to see this Plague War banished from off the earth—and the sons and daughters of this world, employed in more pleasing and innocent amusement, than in preparing implements and exercising them for the destruction of mankind.

India and the World, February 1932

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

By
KALIDAS NAG

Andrew Carnegie as a builder of fortune baffled the imagination of his contemporaries. In appropriating that vast fortune for the benefit of mankind he was a real pioneer and even to-day few would equal him. Between the foundation of the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburg in 1896 and that of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust in 1916, nine-tenths of the fortune of Carnegie was distributed, in countless gifts, made to over three thousand libraries, five hundred Universities and Colleges as well as to the great Peace Palace at the Hague, at present the seat of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Carnegie Corporation of New York, under its President Mr. Frederic P. Keppel spent eight million dollars in "human betterment." And two-thirds of his total distribution of 350 million dollars went to the creation of eight large permanent funds. To lay the foundation of the Unity of human knowledge, the famous research centre, the Carnegie Institution of Washington was organised and innumerable libraries and cultural centres in America and outside were endowed for a similar purpose.

But the unity of human knowledge might remain a mere metaphysical abstraction and need not necessarily lead to an organised effort to "human betterment" was probably the shrewd suspicion of Scottish poor youth, Carnegie. That is why, he made the noble attempt to supply the basis of the study of humanity as a whole, by bringing into existence the now world-famous Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. That historical letter of Mr. Carnegie was dated 14th December, 1910, which showed that he was not a mere philanthropist but a man of prophetic vision as well. The shades of the Balkan Wars, the Tripolitan War, and the so-called "Great War" were then hardly perceptible. Yet he anticipated them all and silently consecrated an Altar to Peace in an obscure corner of Europe. There the lamp of Non-Violence (Ahimsa) and Fraternity (Maitri) continued to flicker while whole Christendom was deluged with the brothers' blood. This atavistic relapse of the *soi-disant* civilised mankind to savagery and cannibalism, led to a rude awakening of conscience. Men and women rushed to the salvage of civilisation while reading Spengler's "Downfall of the West". But what this post-war band of workers were attempting to do through the International Red Cross, the League of Nations and such organisations, have been anticipated by the Carnegie Endowment: Its international Peace section. functions

through three divisions, (i) Division of Intercourse and Education, (ii) Division of Economics and History, (iii) Division of International Law. The first Year Book was published in 1911 and some of the early publications appear to us to be significant in their titles : Nationalism and War in the Near East, Losses of life in Modern Wars, Economic Protectionism etc., published by the Economics and History divisions. A series of valuable books and pamphlets have been published by the division of International Law :— Documents relating to the Program of the First Hague Peace Conference, Diplomatic Documents relating to the European War, Resolutions of the Institute of International Law, The Hague Court Reports and other publications edited mainly by Mr. James Brown Scott, a jurist of International fame and Director of the Division of International Law.

Although Europe and America necessarily loom large in the horizon of the Carnegie team, the Orient is slowly but steadily impressing itself upon their mind. Ten years before the meeting of the Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations, a Conference on the Limitation of Armaments was called, by the Government of the United States, to meet in Washington in November, 1921. The representatives of the Powers originally invited to the conference were the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, for the consideration of the question of the limitation of armaments. China joined for the discussion of the Pacific and Far Eastern questions. Prof. W. W. Willoughby brought out in that connection an excellent study on the present conditions and prospects of "Constitutional government in China" published by the Endowment. There the author proves conclusively that "there has indubitably been developing a political consciousness, and the more genuine political patriotism . . . specially among the thousands of students," determined to see a national government created which in the future will be able to protect the honour as well as the interest of China, against foreign affronts and foreign attacks ; and the writer appealed at the end for 'friendly aid to China' : "Those who best know the substantial virtues of the Chinese and the merits of their civilisation have not the least doubt of the final outcome of China's effort, if she is given a fair opportunity to maintain her status as one of the great nations of the world." In "The New aspects of International Law" Mr. Nicolas Politis, President, International Institute of Public Law (Paris) and a former Greek Minister of foreign affairs gives a brilliant survey of the lines of modification, leading to really modernised and humanised international law based on the ideals of international solidarity and co-operation : "The organisation of international life is incompatible with the dogma of Sovereignty which exalts and fosters nationalism which tends to promote international Anarchy.....The more international relations develop, the more is the liberty of nations restricted, each step in the direction of solidarity is marked by a new limitation of their freedom." In his chapter on compulsory justice Mr. Politis hopes that in the international community, Justice

will in the end replace brute force, as it has succeeded in doing in the family, the city and the state. The "International Penal law" and "The status of the Individual in international law" also bring home to us the intensive thinking that has developed amongst our modern jurists, thanks to the Endowment for International Peace.

The division of Intercourse and Education was under Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, the former President of the Columbia University and the Nobel Peace Prize-winner. With rare enthusiasm and organising capacity, he developed the working of his Division, so as to bring the most influential organisations of culture and publicity of various nations into a line of co-operation. One of the first booklets, published in 1912, under this division, is on "Sino-Japanese Relations" by Dr. C. W. Elliot. Then followed studies on "Educational exchange with Japan," "Growth of Internationalism in Japan," "Intellectual cultural relations between the U. S. A. and the other republics of Latin America," "Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars.," "Hygiene and War (1917), etc. Not satisfied with mere publications of books, the Director sends free to important libraries, collections of books known as International Mind Alcoves, dealing with the daily life, customs and history of the various peoples, although few libraries of India has received as yet the attention of this Division. To stimulate healthy curiosity along these lines the Division encourages the development of International Relations Clubs in various countries; and we are glad to note that India, Japan and China organised several such clubs in co-operation with the Division which utilises frequently the services of a special correspondent or a visiting Carnegie professor in the Orient. The Carnegie professor, mainly recruited so far from Europe and America visit the cultural centres of any part of the world, literally from "China to Peru", and Tahiti to Turkey, "as messengers of good-will", explaining "with modesty as well as with patriotism the problems of life in their respective countries and the contributions which they are endeavouring to make towards the common good of humanity." The honorarium and expenses for such professors during the year, 1921-30, amounted to 21,602.72 dollars. The Division, the same year contributed 8,000 towards the support of the American committee in Geneva of the League of Nations Associations, 10,000 to the American Association of University Women, 10,000 to the thirteenth International Physiological Congress (Boston), 20,000 to the Institute of Pacific Relation, holding its third Biennial Conference at Kyoto (1929). It made a donation of 125,000 to build the America House in the *Cité Universitaire* of Paris and as scholarship to students aspiring to work in the newly founded Institute of Art and Archaeology of the University of Paris.

The importance of Paris, as a Cosmopolitan city and the centre of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation has necessarily induced the Division to locate its European centre in that city, at 175, Boulevard Saint-Germain, Paris VI, where there are special courses of lectures in co-operation with the famous

Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales of the University of Paris. Prof. Dr. A. Tibal holds the Carnegie chair and distinguished French jurists like Mr. De Lapradelle, and M. Basdevant delivered lectures regularly. In 1923, came out that momentous report by Prof. Henri Lichtenberger of Paris on the "Relations between France and Germany."

Last though not the least of the achievements is the systematic publication of Documents of international interest, through a series of bulletins embodied in their annual, *International Conciliation*, for the publishing and distributing of which the Division allotted over 20,000 for the year 1929. The importance of such a publication would be evident to any one who would study some of the articles published during the last five years: In 1925 volume we read a brilliant study on "The Permanent Court of International Justice" by Prof. Manley. O. Hudson, of the Harvard Law School. "The Diplomatic relations between United States and Japan" (1908-1924) to the passing of the Anti-Asiatic Bill, was surveyed; and the Japanese side of the problem was presented by Mr. T. Miyaoka, of the Bar of Japan who wrote on "The Japanese law of nationality and the rights of foreigners in land, under the laws of Japan." In a profound address on "American ideals during the past half a century," Mr. Elihu Root regrets the "deficiencies" and 'wrong steps' (specially about Japan) of his countrymen; and expresses the hope that the American people would grow "every year into greater competency to maintain and give renewed life to the ideals of the Fathers of the American Republic. Sympathy with distress and suffering, sense of the *brotherhood of man*, appears among the American people, as nowhere ever before in the world." During 1926, the journal published a study on "The Present conditions in Russia," another on "The Political doctrine of Fascism", by the Italian Minister of Justice Alfredo Rocco famous in the history of penal law reform. The same volume reprints the stimulating essay of William James on "the Moral equivalent of War," published as early as February, 1910 in *International Conciliation* No. 27. "It would be simply preposterous" says Philosopher James, "if the only force that could work the ideals of honour and standards of efficiency into English or American natures, should be the fear of being killed by the German or the Japanese. Great indeed is Fear; but it is not, as our military enthusiasts believe and try to make us believe, the only stimulus known, awakening the higher ranges of man's spiritual energy." In 1927 a valuable Syllabus on recent Chinese politics and diplomacy was published under the title of *Chinese politics and the Foreign powers*, foreshadowing the tragic developments of Manchuria and Japan. The most important documents published in the year 1928 related to "The Slavery convention of Geneva," and "American proposals for International co-operation against War," from Roosevelt's Nobel Prize address of 1910 to the Briand-Kellog Treaty of 1928. A full account of the sixth International Conference of the Pan-American States, held at Havana (Feb. 1928) was published by Mr. James Brown Scott. The 21 Republics of

Latin America, from Mexico to Chile, were juxtaposed against the 48 States of North America ; and both the groups aspired after the foundation of an Inter-American Union through political, economic, social and intellectual co-operation. Not only did they advocate exchange of professors and students, but also regular Pan-American Conferences of journalists, so that 'False and vicious informations tending to prejudice the good name and the interest of the countries should be prohibited.' The volume of 1929 contains Prof. Paul Monroe's "Observation of present-day Russia", of U.S.A. and other nations with respect to the recognition of the Soviet Government" (1927-29). The most portentous character of future War was brought out by a study on "Chemical Warfare" with a special section on "Poison Gases." During the year 1930-31, amongst other important contributions there appeared the following useful studies :—(i) International competition in the Trade of India, (ii) Changes in the legal structure of the British Commonwealth of Nations (iii) The United States and the Permanent Court of International Justice, (iv) The co-operation of the United States with the League of Nations and with the International Labour Organisations, etc.

Thus the important journal, which appeared under the imprint of the American Association for International Conciliation, for nearly sixteen years (1907-24) is now being managed by the Carnegie Endowment, presenting the views of distinguished leaders of thought of many countries on vital international interests. Journalism conducted on such a plan and animated by such noble spirit of human brotherhood is bound to render great service to the cause of international fellowship. We congratulate the Endowment as much on the publication of this useful journal as on their recent policy of enlisting the sympathy of influential journalists from different parts of the world. In 1928 a group of British journalists were invited to the United States and in 1929 (May-July) a number of journalists from Continental Europe were invited with similar courtesies to visit U.S.A., as the guests of the Endowment which allotted \$ 35,000 to cover the expenses. Another allotment of \$ 15,000 was made, by the Endowment towards the cost of a trip of a group of American journalists to the Orient ; and the N. Y. K. and other Japanese Steamship Companies, as well as the Japanese, Korean, and Manchurian Railways, generously co-operated with the Endowment to facilitate the tour through Japan, Korea, Manchuria and China but British India was not touched.

We hope that, in near future, the Endowment will arrange such cultural exchanges between U. S. A. and India. With her population of 350 millions, India presents to-day economic, social and cultural problems of international significance which as yet remains, as we regret to note, ignored by the Division of Intercourse and Education. Paraphrasing the words of Dr. Butler the director of the Division, we would say that the world is on the march towards that long-expected goal which has inspired philosophers, prophets and poets for generations, and which has now found a path by which to appeal effectively to the public opinion of the world. That public opinion is at this

moment almost everywhere much in advance of the action by governments. So let the peoples unite, if the governments cannot, in building the "invisible institutions of international association, comity and friendship.

India and the World, July, 1932.

Returning from my first lecture—tour (1930-31) in U. S. A., as Visiting Professor of the Institute of International Education, New York, I founded the International Relations Club at the Calcutta University, where we celebrated in 1936. Also the birth Centenary of Andrew Carnegie (1835—1919). We were glad to read out then a personal message of Mrs. Carnegie, on that occasion.

AMERICA AND THE HUMANISATION OF WEALTH

By

KALIDAS NAG

The section of the globe which we know as America to-day was naively called the "New World" by modern geographers and politicians, following in the wake of the 15th century explorers and maritime adventures who realized but vaguely the reason for their calling this Continent "New." It was certainly not new to archeologists and to the children of the soil, now, alas! dwindling into insignificance, whom we call the Red Indians or Amerindians. The massacre of the innocent aborigines and the ruthless destruction of Aztec, Maya and Toltec civilisations, by the Portuguese and the Spanish fanatics, was far from being new in the history of humanity. It was simply the projection of the old European "Inquisition" into the New World, which we found staged, right through the 16-17th centuries. The Elizabethan "sea-dogs" introduced, no doubt, a new chapter in this dismal episode, but the foundation of Virginia, in the epoch of the Virgin Queen, was but a continuation of the old story of nationalistic exploitation which showed its canine teeth too aggressively to convince the world about its humane significance.

As an asylum for the discontented, the persecuted and the religious refugees of the different European nations, together with the problematic importation of "Coloured" cargo from Africa, to benefit the Christian White settlers, America, for the first time, emerged as a laboratory of racial and cultural experimentation of an absolutely new character. In spite of desperate clashes and conflicts, which ever disturbed her social economic, and cultural life, America appeared in the 17th century, as she appears to-day, as the melting-pot and the merging zone of divers nationalities, resulting, in some undefinable manner, in a form of multi-cultural nationalism, altogether new in its character and colouring.

The declaration of Independence and its glorious vindication, towards the end of the 18th century, marked a new epoch in the history of nationalism as well as of internationalism; and the emergence of the Federal Constitution with its noble objective of balancing the human interests and values of desperately conflicting character, is one of the glorious contributions to our new humanity. While shining with rare brilliance, as a marvellous episode of national success in the history of humanity, the unprecedented triumph of America is found, on deeper analysis, to be the result of moral and judicial adjustment of supreme international significance. Just cause triumphing strengthens the conviction of faltering humanity in social justice, and Justice is the great challenging motto write large on the forehead of the statue of American Liberty. The great economic principle derived therefrom has been summarised

in vulgar parlance : Give every dog a chance : which in its moral implication is superior to the competitive *Wealth of Nations* cult of Adam Smith (1723-90) in the scale of human values. While the industrial revolution of 18th century Europe led to nationalistic chauvinism and world wars, the American revolution of the same epoch opened a new chapter of co-operative endeavour in history which is about to lead to the internationalisation of World Government and the inevitable humanization of Wealth,—tendencies which are evident in the inner and public life of the American people.

In the European race of *money-making*, we find only the mobilization of individual greed and accumulation of wealth on a gigantic scale. America is the first of the big nations to transcend her national boundaries and her political frontiers, to share the benefits of her wealth with the rest of mankind. As America has the misfortune to be represented in the European Press and its pale reflection, the Press of India, as a hefty school-boy enjoying perpetual holiday at the expense of some invisible Fairy god-mother, I beg to draw the special attention of the Indians to this unsuspected altruism and seriousness in the inner-life of the American nation, by presenting a few salient facts relating to the unique contribution of America to the cause of human welfare.

During the first quarter of the 20th century we find that America is not only the richest country in the world but she has already left a record in philanthropy which is really phenomenal. Why and how this came to be the American record and not European, might be left to the fastidious analysis of the historians. I shall only support my thesis by quoting, for the benefit of my readers, some of the staggering facts on American philanthropy from the illuminating study on that subject by Mr. Edwin L. Shuman, of the editorial staff of the *Literary Digest*, who places us under deep obligation by patiently getting together some very valuable figures in his article published in the *Current History*, February 1931.

Sums given by the American Charitable Foundations, in the first 30 years of the 20th century, are without parallel in history. Between 1920-30 the total of such benefactions had exceeded 2,000 million dollars annually, of which one-half went to hospitals and churches ; to charity, one quarter ; to education one-sixth : and the rest to other purposes. That philanthropy should not be spasmodic but regular and sustained, was first effectively thought out by the American pioneers of philanthropy like Andrew Carnegie and others. Consequently, we find the transformation of indiscriminate individual charities into great international Trusts which is the distinct American contribution to the technique of Philanthropy. The world to-day is indulging in a cheap booming of the American Steel Magnates and Oil Kings ; but it does not know that they are Princes of Benevolence as well, who have worked out, in a wonderful manner, the co-ordination of individual business out-turn and the altruistic endowments of philanthropy. There are about 150 such Endowments with a total capital of 1000 million dollars ; and together they give away about 60

million dollars annually. The credit, for much of the pioneer thinking that created such endowments, goes to Andrew Carnegie, and for their greatest development, to John D. Rockefeller, father and son. Beginning with the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburg in 1896 and ending with the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust in 1916, within 20 years, 9/10th of the fortunes of Carnegie was distributed in countless gifts made to three thousand libraries, five hundred universities and colleges and to the Peace Palace at the Hague. Two-third of his total distribution of 350 million dollars, went to the creation of eight large permanent funds.

Rockefeller entered the list a little later with the foundation of Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research in 1901; and in course of the last 30 years, 600 million dollars have been distributed, by the father and the son, through their five great foundations which are now merged into two larger ones: the General Education Board of 1903, and the Rockefeller Foundation of 1923, the latter being the longest armed of all these high-power business enterprises, "to promote the well-being of mankind *throughout the world*." It has recently taken over the foreign programme of its sister endowments of the International Education Board; and it has carried on that Board's chosen works to "aid educational institutions and agencies in lands *across the seas*." The International Education Board, created in 1923, under the Rockefeller Foundation, has financed a large number of research centres in the present world, besides contributing to foreign universities. The International Health Section of the Rockefeller Foundation has given fellowships, of one kind or another, to more than 650 men and women from 40 nations, in 1929 alone; and at the expense of 3 million dollars a year, the Rockefeller Foundation is carrying on its Medical Science campaign directed against hook-worm, yellow fever and malaria, all over the world. It has given 70 million dollars for medical education, chiefly in foreign countries; and India has also partially benefited, as the All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health has been built out of that Foundation, which also contributed substantially to the Health Budget of the League of Nations.

To the noble cause of Child Welfare, the Commonwealth Fund established by Mrs. S. V. Harkness has distributed nearly 15 million dollars, in the last 12 years, in Europe and America. The Kellogg Foundation has consecrated 50 million dollars to the same cause, which we hope, will reach beyond Europe and America to the infinitely more tragic cases of child-suffering in India, China and other under-developed non-Christian countries. There is a definite international trend in the philanthropic programme of America, as has been pointed out by Frederic P. Keppel, President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York; and the world famous Carnegie Institution which I had the privilege of visiting in Washington, is a noble monument to the manifestation of this international spirit in science and research. The American Council of Learned Societies appropriated 200 thousand dollars for research in Humanistic sciences; and the General Education Board

has given nearly six thousand research fellowships, at a cost of about 10 million dollars; while the Carnegie Corporation spends 8 million dollars in "human betterment", irrespective of country or denomination. The General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation has distributed about 83 million dollars amongst the universities and colleges of the United States, out of which 14 million dollars were ear-marked for the Negro schools. And if we analyse the data supplied by the Russel Sage Foundation list, of American Endowments for Social Service, we find there are about 186 benevolent Trusts in active operation. So even if we eliminate the Community funds, there still remain 150 Foundations of which one-half is national; less than one quarter, local i. e., confined to one State or city; and more than one quarter international.

This is a record which any nation would be proud of and America is a real pioneer here. She not only preaches but actually practices the basic truth of progressive human society that wealth is not only a privilege but a Sacred Trust as well.

India and the World, March 1932.

N. B. During the last 30 years (1930-1960) the Ford Foundation and other American funds—non-official and official (Fullbright Plan) have distributed to the world millions of Americans dollars, for the general welfare of mankind. Church (Catholic and Protestant) Funds being mainly for proselytizing purposes, have been omitted from my survey, though many of them are doing noble Social Service in the Backward and "under-developed" countries. (*Vide World Council of Churches*)

Neglected Africa has partly benefited by the Carnegie Institute of Race Relations and by the rivalry between Christian and Muslim philanthropy. But dependable facts on the subject are rarely published. Unlike Portugal in Portuguese Africa, Catholic Belgium has done much for the unfortunate natives of the vast Belgian Congo.

TAGORE WORLD FELLOWSHIP
&
TAGORE CENTENARY (1861—1961)

By
KALIDAS NAG

The success of the Tagore Septuagenary Celebration in Calcutta (1931) was really phenomenal. Men and women from every community, irrespective of nationality, creed or denomination flocked to pay homage to the Poet-seer who has done so much to deepen and beautify the course of Life. The *Indian Arts and Crafts*, for the revival of which the Poet-artist has done so much, were splendidly exhibited by Mr. K. N. Chatterji and his colleagues in the Town Hall of Calcutta which was crowded to suffocation every day during the celebration. The invaluable collection of the original papers, correspondence, Tagore manuscripts and the translations of Tagore works, in the various languages of the world, were exhibited, for the first time, in the *Tagoriana* section, arranged by Professor P. C. Mahalanobis, who has made a special study of Tagore texts. It is the duty of every admirer of Tagore, in India or abroad, to help us now in collecting and housing the entire Tagore treasures in a permanent Tagore Archive which should naturally develop into a permanent Tagore Museum. Our friend, Sri Amal Home, the indefatigable Secretary to the Tagore Jayanti Celebrations, issued an earnest appeal to that effect in the admirable special issue of his journal, *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, and we are sure that the appeal will meet with the response it deserves.

Last, though not the least interesting feature in the Celebration, is the preparation and publication of the "*Golden Book of Tagore*". It was presented to the World Poet, on the 27th of December 1931, before an international gathering; and Sri Ramananda Chatterji, the Editor of the *Modern Review* and *Prabasi* and Honorary Editor of the "*Golden Book*", handed over the rich volume to Dr. B. C. Roy, then Mayor of Calcutta who presented the book to the Poet with a feeling speech. The admirers of the Poet from almost every important country responded to the messages (printed below) of the five eminent Sponsors.

Mahatma Gandhi
Romain Rolland
Albert Einstein
Kostas Palamas
and Jagadis Chandra Bose

We print below the Poet's reply which, in its utter sincerity and depth of feeling, touches the heart of every one who, through the "*Golden Book*", has come to unite India and the World in a bond of a unique Fellowship:

"It is hard for me say in a few faltering words how I feel when voices greet me, from my own country and from across the seas, carrying to me the assurance that I have pleased many and have helped some and thus offering me the best reward of my life".

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

GOLDEN BOOK OF TAGORE

MESSAGES

I

In common with thousands of his countrymen I owe much to one who, by his Poetic genius and singular purity of Life, has raised India in the estimation of the World.

But I owe also more.

Did he not harbour in Santiniketan the inmates of my Ashram who had preceded me from South Africa?

The other ties and memories are too sacred to bear mention in a public tribute.

Sabarmati, Ahmedabad

M. K. GANDHI

II

In May 1931 Rabindranath Tagore completes his 70th year. This occasion ought to bring round him his friends, all over the world, friends whose lives have been illumined, broadened and ennobled by his own life. He has been, for us, the living symbol of the Spirit of Light and of Harmony, the great free Bird who soars in the midst of Tempests—of the song of Eternity which Ariel makes to vibrate on his Golden Harp, above the sea of unloosened Passions.

But his sovereign Art has never remained indifferent to human misery and to the heroic struggles of peoples for Freedom. He has been the "Great Sentinel"—as he was named by Gandhi (who would be the *first* among us, to greet him, if he is not separated from us by the prison-walls). In tragic hours, Tagore is the clear-eyed and undaunted watchman of his own people and of the world.

In the name of thousands whom his melodious voice has nourished with Hope Faith and Beauty, we invite his friends—poets, artists, scholars—to come forward and present to him, on his 70th birthday celebration, a bunch of their spiritual fruits and flowers. It need not be a personal homage to the Poet. But as a token of gratitude, everyone might offer him a twig from his own garden, a poem an essay, a chapter of a book, a piece of Scientific research, a drawing, a thought.

For, all that we are and all that we have created, have had their roots or their branches, bathed in the Great Ganges of Poetry and Love.

To the Magic Bird of India, I offer this youthful song (*Niobe*, 1885) of a little black bird of France, who was trying his wings, on leaving the nest.

To Rabindranath Tagore with my affection and respect.

Villeneuve, Switzerland

ROMAIN ROLLAND

III

Thou sawest the fierce strife of creatures, a strife that wells forth from *need* and dark *desire*.

Thou sawest the escape in calm meditation and in creations of Beauty.

Cherishing these, Thou hast served mankind, all through a long and fruitful life, spreading everywhere a gentle and Free Thought, in a manner such as the Seers of thy people have proclaimed as the Ideal.

Berlin, 23rd May, 1931

ALBERT EINSTEIN

IV

In December 1927 at Salonica, where I was invited to celebrate my literary Jubilee, I said :—

A world-famous Poet Rabindranath Tagore, in one of his splendid utterances (transmitted to us by Romain Rolland in his book *Mahatma Gandhi*) tells us what a great thing is the poet's seclusion within his natural precincts and his ever active asceticism. What a great thing indeed is the Poet's Corner, to use his own words ! The poet's song is like the song of a bird,

And the bird—what does it do when the rosy-fingured Dawn puts life into it?

"Its awakening", he tells us, "is not disturbed by the necessity of finding its food. Its wings never fail to respond to the call of Heaven. Songs of joy it sings to the new morning Light". A great lesson from the great Wanderer from India, the Spiritual Ambassador whom Asia has accredited to Europe.

Blessed be the Poet who is satisfied in his own little corner. It is the crib where Poetry made flesh is born" Thus did I speak then.

And I add now : The poet who embraces within his inner being a world of Joy, no matter wherever he stands, diffuses over the whole universe, the charm of his little corner, and his message is like a song. Tagore, whether he sings a lyric or delivers a message, like another apostle of the venerable mother to her far-away daughter—he is always the Gardner who attends to the flowers—which grow in the garden of the Queen ! His words breathe forth the imperious mysticism of prophecy and the cool softness of an idyl ; nay he knows well how to loiter and pick up the best of flowers from the forests of Valmiki and Kalidasa and the flower-gardens of Shakespeare and Shelley.

The dedication to Tagore of a *Golden Book*, on the occasion of his 70th Birthday, is but a very modest token of our gratitude to him. It would only remind us of the Temple of Spirit which we owe to his divine genius.

I humbly offer him my respects, under the canopy of Light poured out upon me, by the sky of Attica. And my soul, in its flight to imprint a kiss of love and homage upon his venerable hand, reminds me of one of those stags which—as he himself depicts, in his *Religion of the Forest*—runs about in the wilds to kiss the hands of Hermits.

V

It is more than a third of a century that the Poet Tagore and I have been drawn together in closest bond of sympathy. His friendship has been unfailing, through years of my ceaseless efforts, during which I gained step by step, a wider and more sympathetic view of continuity of Life and its diverse manifestations.

It was in following this quest that I succeeded in making the dumb plant the most eloquent chronicler of its inner life and experiences, by making it write down its own history. The self-made records, thus made prove that there is no life-reaction in even the highest animal, which has not been foreshadowed in the life of the plant. The barrier which seemed to separate kindred phenomena, was found to have vanished; the plant and the animal appearing as a multi-form unity in a single Ocean of Being.

In this vision of Truth, the final mystery of things will, by no means, be lessened, but greatly deepened. It is no less a miracle, that man, circumscribed on all sides by the imperfection of his senses, should yet build himself a raft of Thought to make daring adventures in the unchartered seas. And in his voyage of discovery, he carries an occasional glimpse of the ineffable wonder that was hidden from his view. That vision crushes out of him all self-sufficiency, all that kept him unconscious of the great pulse that beats through the universe.

The same cosmic Unity has unfolded itself to Tagore's poetic vision and has found expression in his philosophic outlook and in his incomparable poems.

May his vision expand every day and may his message reach every corner of the earth !

Calcutta

J. C. BOSE

The *Golden Book of Tagore* records only a few of the myriad voices speaking to Rabindranath. The silent love and good wishes of the countless admirers of the Poet, all over the world, supply the real and permanent base of this Golden Symphony composed on this solemn occasion. The Inarticulates collaborate, as vigorously as the Articulates, with the spinners of soul-symphonies; else how could we have a Beethoven and a Tagore? So our profound gratitude goes spontaneously to all those lovers of Beauty and Harmony who could not, by chance, enter formally into the list of contributors to this *Golden Book*, yet who combined to give the golden touch of Love to every line of this volume. Those deeper undertones, and subtler *upper partials*, go to enrich and enliven the chance anthology of Greetings and Appreciations, Offerings and Dedications in the *Golden Book of Tagore*.

Love alone can evoke love; and Rabindranath, the supreme Musician has, unconsciously though inevitably, drawn men and women the world over, into this Cosmic orchestra. He sang to the rivers and the hills, to the flowers and the shooting stars; and they sang back to him, enriching his lyrics with their musical echoes. He sang to men and women and they responded, as they must, to the exquisite importunities of a lover. He scented, like a Seer, the epidemic of Greed and Hatred slowly undermining the health of Humanity; and he threw away the flute of Poetry for a while, and struck the warning chords of Prophecy. In an age of Discord, Tagore sang of Harmony—"the august marriage of Love and Hatred",—as sung also by his great musical *confrere* Romain Rolland.

So Tagore's voice is as much of the ageless past as of the limitless future, as should be the voice of all World-poets. After centuries, Rabindranath has sent forth a voice, his voice from India and the nascent East, to every corner of the globe. That voice has touched sympathetic chords in human hearts from Finland to South Africa and from Russia to Oceania, mystic orchestration of Life and Things. This is the augury of a great future, wherein India and the Orient will co-operate, with the rest of the world, to bring out a new Era of Peace, Goodness and Unity, of *Sāntam*, *Sivam* and *Advaitam*, basic melodies in our Poet's Temple of Harmony. That temple is nowhere, and yet it is every where; and Rabindranath's supreme call, to "the humblest, the lowliest and the lost", will carve for him a niche in the eternal pantheon of human Poetry, and will ever shine as a beacon light to that supreme fruition of human destiny.

GOETHE AND TAGORE

By

KALIDAS NAG

In the midst of the strenuous task of preparing the manuscripts of the *Golden Book of Tagore* for the press, I received a letter, from a dear friend in France, which contained, among other things, the following lines : "La sereine vieillesse de Tagore, me reppelle, avec la difference des milieux et des temps, celle d'un Goethe. La rythme de leurs deux vies me parait apparente a celui de quelque grand spectacle de la Nature. Et c'est la meme vaste intelligence nourrie de toutes les cultures du monde"—(The serene old age of Tagore reminds me, with the difference of surrounding and time, of the old age of Goethe. The rhythm of their two lives appears to me to be related to some grand manifestation of Nature. And it is also the same vast intelligence nourished with all the cultures of the world.

Almost simultaneously came the profound tribute to Tagore from Prof. Einstein, which we have reproduced. The analogy was so obvious and the coincidence so striking that I could not resist the temptation of broaching the subject personally to Tagore, while Germany and the rest of the poetry-loving world were getting ready to commemorate the death centenary of Goethe (1932). The poet responded readily to my query, while busy plying his prolific brush over his new creations, in dynamic line and colour, his Pictorial poems, exhibited in Calcutta.

"I love Goethe and I have already sent my homage of love to the World Goethe Honouring Committee People do not know that, years ago, during my early youthful ventures in journalism, I published an appreciative article, in Bengali, on Goethe.....I once took seriously to the study of the German poets in the original and some of the lyrics of Goethe and Heine were my real favourites. Many of my friends will be surprised to know that I could and actually did sing once some of the lyrics of Goethe, accompanied on the piano by my niece, Indira. In those days, classical German music, Beethoven, Schuman Schubert, etc., were not unfamiliar to the musical devotees of our family...Later on, in my mature literary criticisms, I have appreciated and adjudged Goethe as one of the greatest creative critics of literature. That is how he could discover the deathless charm of *Śakuntalā*, the dramatic master-piece of our Kalidasa."

These reminiscences of the poet will, I am sure, touch the heart of the admirers of Goethe all the world over ; and we convey through them our tribute of respects to the memory of the immortal poet of Germany, who was the precursor of internationalism in the tragic days of nationalistic conflicts. When

Europe was convulsed with fratricidal wars, Goethe pronounced, in the language of Olympian irony, his famous counsel ; "Be good Europeans" which staggers us, even to-day, after a century, when Europe is partitioned vertically and horizontally, belieing Pan-European federation.* On the field of international fellowship of culture, Tagore seems to be the Indian incarnation of Goethe : both supreme poets challenging the organized cynicism of their respective epochs ; both harbouring a profound love for the Muses, and, amidst their phenomenal artistic creations, both worshipping at the shrines of Peace and Harmony, amidst baffling discords, and both hungering for

"Licht ! Mehr Licht !"-(Goethe)

"Light more Light"-(Tagore : *Gtīmālya*)

Aro ālo, aro ālo

Mor nayane Prabhu dhālo !

India and the World, March '32

* Remembering these facts, Dr. J. K. Banerjee of the Calcutta University and myself organized in 1949 the Bicentenary (1749-1949) of the birth of Goethe. After paying our homage, we presented to the public, select scenes from Goethe's *Faust* and Shakespeare's *Othello*, admirably interpreted by our talented actor Utpal Dutta and his team.

TAGORE AND PERSIA

By

KALIDAS NAG

Defying the economic chaos and the political disturbances of our days, there came to the door of a Poet of India the invitation of a great Ruler of Young Asia. Reza Shah Pehlevi invited Tagore to visit Persia ; and this incident, so natural and human, forced our normal imagination nevertheless beyond the range of the ordinary and to soar into the regions of wonder. Almost with a quasi-superstitious mood, we were inclined to ask whether there was some inevitability about this invitation ; and strangely enough history came here to deepen our superstition. The antecedents of Tagore as the representative of the cultural life of Bengal, almost foredoomed him to undertake this perilous Air-pilgrimage to Persia. His illustrious grand-father, Prince Dwarkanath Tagore, (1794-1846) lived and moved in a generation which considered and used Persian as the sister language to Sanskrit, indispensable for the education and refinement of the administrators, jurists and the cultural aristocracy of that age.

Dwarkanath's greatest friend and colleague, in the epoch-making struggle for India's regeneration, was Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833) who was also the spiritual preceptor of Tagore's saintly father, Maharshi Debendranath Tagore. Ram Mohan was such a consummate scholar in Persian that, towards the beginning of the 19th century, while he was in the Company's service in Rungpur, he started his grand campaign of reform by publishing tracts in Persian and Sanskrit. He edited and published for a while a Persian Journal *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* which he himself suppressed, by way of protest against the Press Act, and for vindication of the Liberty of Speech. His lost treatise *Munazarat-ul-Adyan* (Views on Religion) which, let us hope, some day will be discovered, as well as his Essay in Persian with an Arabic preface, called *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin*, together with his later contributions to Brahmanical and Christian theology, established his reputation as one of the pioneers of liberal thought in the Orient and the founder of the science of Comparative Religion. The atmosphere created by Ram Mohan and the spirit breathed by his writings, touched Jeremy Bentham so profoundly that he greeted this new herald of the Orient as "the intensely admired and dearly beloved collaborator in the services of mankind".

The mantle of Ram Mohan fell on the father of Tagore, Debendranath, (1817-1905) and he was saturated in the devotional poetry of Persia, especially in the profound mysticism of God-intoxicated Hafiz, whom, as he says in his famous *Auto-biography*, "he used to recite almost the whole day, along with the Upanishads." The editor of this *Auto-biography* has noticed that Debendranath

had quoted Hafiz in the original twelve times and that his style was reminiscent of Hafiz in many ways :—

"Thy mercy will never go out of my life ; Thy mercy has penetrated my being through and through ; and even if my head is chopped off, Thy mercy will cling to me."

- DIVAN 266, I, 2.

"From now Thy light will radiate from my heart and spread over the whole earth ; for I have reached the sphere of the great Sun and darkness is dead".

DIVAN 200, 3

Rabindranath was a mere boy when he used to sing spontaneously to deepen the spiritual ecstasies of his mystic father who called him lovingly the Persian Bul-bul. But the outlandish tongue, from across the Atlantic, was forced upon the young Bul-bul of Bengal who was temporarily imprisoned in the cage of the Normal school to learn English.

With uncanny intuition he broke through the cage, but alas, he could not go completely out of the imported atmosphere of Anglo-Saxon music. We Bengalis came to be proud of our newly acquired English and thought we had grown infinitely wiser than our forefathers. So Hafiz and Rumi were consigned to oblivion and Shelley and Byron engrossed our attention. But heredity must assert itself in some way and we find Tagore drifting, through the mystic *double entendre* of the love-lyrics of the romantic revival, till he reached the shores of the "Song Offering," or *Gītāñjali*, which strangely enough, reminded us of the Sufi poets of Persia :

"What divine drink wouldst thou have, my God, from this over-flowing cup of my life ?

My Poet, is it thy delight to see thy creation through my eyes and to stand at the portals of my ears silently to listen to thine own eternal harmony ?"

This unconscious Sufism of Rabindranath was enriched also by his deep study of our medieval mystics like Kabir and Dadu, as well as by his profound attraction for the *Bauls*, the unlettered creators of our folk-songs surcharged with mysticism (*Vide Tagore : Religion of Man*).

Interrogating the Poet on this subject, on the eve of his departure, I managed to get some clues which might prove interesting to the students of Tagore. In his music, two Persian modes *Kafi* and *Bahar*, recur persistently. The Poet confessed, on further cross-examination, that though innocent of the Persian language, he devoted a good deal of his quieter moments to the study and compilation of the poets of Iran, which he, however, did not publish in his own name, but smuggled them through the *Sankalan* (anthology) Section of the Bengali monthly *Prabasi* years ago. Several poems of his *Kheyā* (Crossing), *Gītāñjali* (Song Offering) and *Balākā* (Swan), in individual lines, seem to offer the

grace and mysticism of Hafiz and Rumi, by simple musical transposition and thus heredity seemed to assert again. But the strangest and the strongest evidence came to me from the Poet when he involuntarily referred to his prose-poem *Khudhita Pāshān* (Hungry Stone) as possibly Persian in spirit. I ran back home to read again, line by line, this marvellous short story which appeared to me then in an altogether new light and significance. I felt how the subconscious memory of the Poet has run back, through this musical *fantasia*, to the enthusiasm of his ancestors for the wonderful literature and life of Persia.

"Sometimes in the evening, while carrying myself carefully as a prince of the blood-royal before a large mirror, with a candle burning on either side, I would see a sudden reflection of the Persian Beauty by the side of my own. A swift turn of her neck, a quick eager glance of intense passion and pain glowing in her large dark eyes, just a suspension of speech on her dainty red lips, her figure, fair and slim, crowned with youth, like a blossoming creeper, quickly uplifted in her graceful tilting gait, a dazzling flash of pain and craving ecstasy, a smile and glance and a glaze of jewels and silk, and she melted away."

Can heredity and pre-destination get a more striking corroboration? Bengal and India of the past, twice invited Hafiz, but to no purpose. Is it the spirit of Hafiz that is calling to Tagore now by way of friendly recompense?

India and the World, April 32.

Mrs. PRATIMA TAGORE IN IRAN

The talented daughter-in-law of Dr. Tagore, Srimati Pratima Devi accompanied the Poet in his last foreign tour. While in Iran, with the keen eye and rare devotion of an *artiste*, she selected and brought back to Santiniketan some rare art objects.

Rich brocades, embroidered silk, home-spun cotton with printed designs, leather goods, wood-works and other specimens of Persian arts and crafts were collected by her with her inborn taste.

She also brought back to Santiniketan, some good specimens of Persian painting: Shah Nameh types of Court scenes and Brush-lyrics. She visited the studio of Mirza Agha Imani, the greatest artist of modern Iran who presented to Pratima Devi a copy of his picture "Pilgrims in meditation".

Dr. Tagore, on his 71st birthday (May 1932) got the gift of a rare Mss of the Poems of *Unwari*—a real treasure of the *Mejlis Library* of Teheran, with the official seal of the Parliament. A *Rumi* mss was dated 1600 A. D. The *Anjuman Adabi-i-Iran* presented him with a rare mss (dated 1650) of the Poems of *Nizami*, together with some undated mss of *Saadi* and *Hafiz* offered by Tagore's admirers of Shiraz and Teheran.

TAGORE AND CALUMNIES OF INDIA

Indians, wakeful of his or her country's interest, has felt, while travelling abroad, that personal as well as impersonal agencies had already been working to undermine the prestige of India as a nation before other nations. One need not speculate very profoundly in order to discover the motive behind such organised calumny, at this crisis of our history, after the Round Table Conference. We are deeply grateful to our national poet Rabindranath Tagore, therefore, for his timely warning to his countrymen and his bold challenge to the responsible publicists of the world, as communicated through the following message on that vital issue.

"I fully agreed with what Mr. V. J. Patel has recently said in London about the need of counteracting anti-Indian propaganda in the West by the sober presentation abroad of facts and figures about the present situation in this country. We must not lose time in fighting the campaign of misrepresentation and wholesale suppression of facts by which India is hopelessly menaced. Mahatma Gandhi's great name is made a target of mud-balls, his life belittled, his influence with millions in India ignored. Attempts are made to prove that I, for one, am utterly at variance with Mahatmaji, and capital is made out of our supposed antagonism !

As examples, let me cite two very recent ones. In *Tribune de Geneve* is published an interview, supposed to have been given by me, to the late Mr. Iondres, trying to injure Mahatmaji's reputation and thus insult my own character, using language utterly incongruous to me. This fictional interview is supposed to have been waiting long years, amongst the posthumous papers of the journalist and published, by his friends, when the writer can no longer be challenged. Next comes a letter from Koenigsberg, from the German Indologist Glasenapp who asks my authority for contradicting the libellous remarks, attributed to Mahatmaji and myself, in a book called "*India*", by the Italian author, Mr. Luciano Magrini. I have been able to contradict these lies because they were brought before me by my friends.

During my visit in South America (1924), I was surprised to find twice within a few weeks, informations startlingly calumnious, exploiting the ignorance of the readers in a well-known Argentinian paper. The authentic fact was given with circumstantial details about a slave-market in Calcutta where Bengal girls are bought and sold ! A few days later a photograph of a Parsee Tower of Silence was printed with a note below explaining that, in these towers, living bodies of heretics are offered by the Hindus to kites and vultures, and that the British Government is trying to suppress this practice ! These news significantly

coincided with my visit to that country where I was welcomed as a Representative of India.

The great English poet referred to the loss of one's reputation as a greater tragedy than that of having one's purse stolen. The minor tragedy has, as it is too late in the day to need special reference, happened abundantly in India. But the greater one must be averted in time. We are apt to forget that all politics to-day in all countries have their common background in World politics. No Government in the world, however powerful, can do without the moral support of wider humanity ; and that is why politicians include it in their diplomatic dealing to cultivate world-opinion, often with the manure of lies. We do not know the forces that are at the back of the propaganda against India, but that it is efficient and has a sound financial power to support it, is evident.

For fighting such a grave menace, some more sporadic oratorical displays or casual visits in foreign lands, by gifted individuals, can never have any lasting effect. What is needed is to establish fully equipped Information Centres in the West, from where the organised Voice of India may have the opportunity to send abroad her judgment and her appeal."

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

TURKEY AND THE NEW ORIENT

By
KALIDAS NAG.

On October 29, 1923 Gazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha was elected first President of the Turkish Republic. So the Turkish nation offered its thanks to the Great Liberator while celebrating the Tenth Anniversary of the event. From India we send our hearty congratulations to the Turkish people while dedicating the October issue of our *India and the World* to Gazi Kemal Pasha who inaugurated a glorious chapter in the history of the New Orient. We beg to convey in this connection our best thanks to the Turkish Ministry of Education, under the enlightened lead of Dr. Reshid Galip Bey, for furnishing us with valuable journals, books and documents, throwing a flood of light on the phenomenal activity of the newborn Republic, to rebuild the national State and vindicate the honour of the Orientals as organisers.

Dr. Reshid Galip Bey, the Minister of Education, was appointed to the high office in September 1932; and yet, within a year, he brought about a veritable revolution in the cultural life of Turkey, as desired by that great creative revolutionary Kemal Pasha. Kemal felt that the old-fashioned academies and the University of Istanbul were not only not helping in the vital works of national reconstruction, but were failing even to respond to the higher aspirations of the rising generation of Turkish men and women. Thus a root-and-branch reform was initiated; the old University of Istanbul (claiming 1805 men and 507 women, as students in 1931) was abolished and reorganized; a National University, on a practical basis, was established in Angora (Ankara); and a special commission was promptly instituted to devise ways and means of a radical re-organisation of National Education touching the Primary, Secondary, Higher and Professional education, as well as the development of Libraries, Museums and of Fine Arts in the whole Turkish Republic.

But what elevates the programme, far above the plane of domestic efficiency, is the truly universal outlook of the reformers who have undertaken to provide, first of all, for translation into their Turkish mother tongue, of the masterpieces of all great nations of East and West: The Vedic literature of the Hindus, the Chinese philosophical texts, specially of Confucius, the books of ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome; above all, the literary creations of the great writers and thinkers of the Orient, before and after Islam: great scholars and philosophers, of Turko-Iranian origin, like Farabi, Ibn Sina, Alberuni, Elkendi and others. The learned Minister of Education is definitely of opinion that, "without a thorough and comparative study of Oriental civilizations, it is impossible to create our national Culture and Science."

But this cultural movement was far from being limited to a group or class of high social and economic standing. On the contrary, the Education Commission was expected by Kemal, the born leader of the common men and women, to attend to their most pressing needs, at the earliest opportunity, ensuring the diffusion of world culture among the masses, through their mother tongue, thus building a machinery of mass-education unparalleled as yet in any other part of Asia outside Japan. An army of teachers were trained in the urban educational centres and, through them, the village teachers, men and women, were also trained by direct method; or through illustrated booklets and texts, distributed in these Adult education schools, sitting in the vacation periods every year, at least for 40 days in all.

Thus, a phenomenal progress would be achieved in the general education of the Turkish nation (20 million) which had only 1,111,496 literates in Arabic, according to the official census of October, 1927. Already, according to the returns of 1930-31 we find that £23,310,300 Turkish pounds were appropriated for over seven thousand Primary Schools, with 320,371 male and 177,059 female students, and with corresponding provision for Secondary, Professional, Higher and Fine Art Schools. From Dec. 1928 the use of Roman-script was made obligatory for all public purposes; and from January, 1929 the publication of books in Arabic characters were forbidden by law. Thus untrammelled by complications of script, the Turkish language and literature would make giant strides for cultural work, as we notice already in the grand Historical Survey, of the Turkish race and culture, published with numerous illustrations, depicting the creative achievements of the "White Wolf", in the domain of politics and heroism, in nation and empire building, in literature and art, over the vast area stretching once from China to Austria and Siberia to India. The neo-Turkish Historians have carefully acknowledged the value of cultural filiation of the Turkish peoples with the more civilized nations of antiquity, with special reference to India of the Buddhistic age when, under the patronage of the Turko-Scythian and Turko-Mongol rulers, a veritable Turko-Indian school of Art developed through centuries: from the earliest Buddhist Central Asian frescoes to the paintings and decorative arts of the Muslim Courts of Mediaeval India.

Thus, through such publications, New Turkey gradually moved away from Arab-Islamic moorings, and was working out a new cultural synthesis based on justice and modern historical realities, and not on dogmatic authority and intolerance denounced by the great Turkish poet Towfik Tikret who published his poetic diatribe *Tarhi Kadim* (Ancient History) in 1927.

But the spiritual dynamic, behind all these progressive movements in politics and economics, law and administration, was Kemal the Liberator: Born at Salonica in 1881, emerging out of the World War, like our Epic hero Karna, the unconquered general of a vanquished race, Kemal refused to accept the overwhelming logic of diplomatic facts as final. He rebuilt the shattered fabric of the national life of his race by divesting the State, of all extrenuous and

irreconcilable elements. Turkey once spread over 1,708,090 sq. miles of territories, in three continents and with a polyglot population of about 40,000,000. Kemal watched the pathetic mutilation of that Turkish Empire to only about 300,000 sq. miles; and thus, while the area was reduced to one-sixth of the original, the population dwindled to one-third or about 14,000,000; but it was solidly organised into a homogeneous nation with a common will, under the magnetic personality of the Gazi. Re-elected unanimously as the President of the Republic in Nov. 1927, Kemal delivered that epoch-making Six-Day Speech which became a classic in the Turkish language and the indispensable guide to national progress. The keynote was sounded by Kemal in his clarion voice, incidentally for Turkey but really for the whole non-Christian East, exploited by the Christian imperialistic Powers of the West: "I want to raise the nation", cried Kemal "to that position to which she is entitled to aspire in the civilized world".

He challenged the organised conspiracy of the Western Powers to enslave Turkey and formed the League for the Defence of National Rights, which convened the historic Congress at Erzurum and met in a humble school-room with Kemal as its first elected Chairman (23rd July 1919). And when he was nearly 38 years, Kemal proclaimed, with the prophetic vision of a true historian, that "History will never fail to recognise the existence and the rights of a nation." This supreme confidence and indomitable optimism made the Turkish Liberator an irresistibly attractive personality, nay the ideal for the passive and fatalistic Orientals, struggling for self-determination. May they read the secret of the success of Kemal in his awe-inspiring revelation, "From the age of ten, I have never ceased to work to uplift my country."

Such sparks of autobiography are stored in the *Turkey To-day* by the eminently fair and sympathetic writer Grace Ellison who had the rare privilege of following, from year to year, the progress of New Turkey, from the romantic championship of Turkish womanhood by Pierre Loti, author of the novel *Disenchanted*, to the epic struggle of Kemal Pasha. Like all great heroes, Kemal is chivalrous in the double sense; and womanhood throughout Turkey and abroad, especially in the East, is indebted to Kemal for the epoch-making fight against age-old tradition and formidable superstitions with regard to woman's rights and responsibilities: "How is it possible to establish Democracy with the women in bondage and the whole social outlook paralysed by the etiquette of the Harem?" Here Kemal probed the fundamental sore-point of Oriental society and politics. So, like a real surgeon he applied his merciful knife not only to cure our society but to bring about a most healthy mobilisation of the latent powers and talents of Oriental womanhood. Here Kemal is the Gazi or Liberator in a larger sense than is understood by his own grateful nation,*

*The greatest living Turkish writer Yecoub Kadri pays the following tribute to Kemal which will speak for itself:

"The Great Chief has given his body and his blood to the nation, exactly as the Messiah at

the Turks. For the whole Orient, the future as shown by Kemal, lies in the active collaboration, in sacrifice and national economy, of the men and women as joint comrades in spirit. This great lesson of Kemal's Turkey, richly coloured by his political triumphs, has been brought out by Halide Edib, thought-leader of Turkish womanhood, in her writings, especially on Woman's part in Turkey's Progress.

Thus we witness, in the renaissance of Kemal's Turkey, a new change of front, since the victorious assertion of national rights by Japan against Russia in 1905. Within 25 years, the Turkey of Kemal Pasha proved to the hilt that an Oriental nation, no matter in however desperate circumstances, might awaken to the actualities of life and history, throw off the dead weights of superstition and century-old ignorance, assimilate the loftiest truths of modern Science and thus vindicate gloriously the inalienable birth-right of Asia to Liberty and Progress.

Indian Islam, largely benighted still, alas, by the mirage of Pan-Islamism, should take lesson from Kemal's Turkey at every point; and Hindu India no less, in breaking the shackles of inhuman social and economic inequalities, enslaving the whole nation. May Kemal live long and shine ever brighter by his beneficent reforms, earning thereby the permanent gratitude not only of his own Turkey but of the whole Orient.

India and the World, Oct. 1933.

N. B. We find to-day—30 years after (1930-1960), Independent Greece an ally and collaborator of Turkey in the Balkans as well as in Cyprus, long disputed by the Turks and the Greeks. Also we are glad to find a useful Bibliography of the Ural-Altaic languages, like Tongus-Manchu and Mongol-Turkish, extending from Manchuria and Chinese Turkestan to Soviet Urals, Turkomania and Hungary. (Vide J. Benzing, *Einführung in das Studium der Altaischen Philologie und der Turkologie* (1953). More than half of the publications cited here are from Soviet writers, in Russian, rarely found elsewhere, even in West European libraries.)

the Last Supper. He who ransomed and saved the Turkish race from final destruction has given to this people, too, in the written history of the Seven years' Struggle, a Political Scripture which has become the symbol of their redeemed national life. This will be their new Koran."

TURKEYS NEW UNIVERSITY

The whole educational system of Turkey was reformed from top to bottom. The moribund University of Istanbul, known as *Dar-ul-funun* was transformed into a modern and functioning university. A Swiss professor was called in to report and he was finally appointed to the task of creating a new university, on modern scientific lines, capable of giving to the Turkish youth all the advantages of an up-to-date education.

The seventy-year-old University of Istanbul, had shown itself out of touch with the Revolution. It had taken no part in the development of the phonetic *new alphabet* and of modern languages, no part in the creation of the *new legal Codes*, no interest in the new tendencies of Turkish *historical studies* under the Ghazi and no initiative in *economic reforms*. All these vital subjects which were matters for experts to tackle, had been worked out by the politicians, themselves in the hustle of State affairs. So the old University could make no contribution. It was clear therefore that it must give place to a new model University which would provide living Scientific interests to the generations of the Revolution.

The New Faculties.

The new University of Istanbul was endowed with four Faculties and eight Institutes. The Faculties consist of literature, science, law and medicine. The Institutes comprise the Institute of the Turkish Revolution, and those of national Economy and Sociology, Geography, Psychology, Chemistry, Electro-mechanics, Turcology and Islamic studies. It is to be noted that the Faculty of Theology vanished and was replaced by the Institute of Islamic Studies which will have a wider range and will reserve for historic Constantinople, the possibility of being an International centre of Islamic culture. The training of theologians will practically cease ; but there will be no danger of Turkey ceasing to maintain a scientific and historical connection with her Islamic heritage.

Besides these institutes a school of Foreign languages has been created at the new University and the undergraduates will be expected to be proficient in at least two foreign tongues in modern use. A number of foreigners, especially Swiss and German professors, have been appointed not merely for this school but in order to impart up-to-date European knowledge of the Sciences to the Turkish youths all over. English and German will be the languages especially stressed ; and this widening of the teaching of foreign languages will be extended also to the Secondary schools. This is an innovation,

as French has so far been chiefly learnt. The object is to enable Turkish youth to keep up-to-date by reading the best and the most recent results of researches in English, German and other tongues.

A Corps of Translators.

Turkish learning has suffered up to now, by having so few works of real erudition in Turkish. The students used to take the skeleton notes of their professors, often summarised out of obsolete European scientific books, and the teachers were unable to supplement them by private reading. The consequence was that the Sciences taught in the University have been sketchy and inadequate. The great numbers of professors, who have been dispossessed of their posts by the present changes, are being employed into a large Translating Board whose duty it will be to translate, into the new Turkish, the works of world culture science and literature, as well as the best text-books of modern Western science learning. They will be set to rendering into Turkish the writings of Confucius, the Indian Vedas, ancient Latin and Greek works, the medieval Arabic and Persian philosophers, and the masterpieces of the modern national literatures. In this way Turkey will be provided with the elements of study in world literature and culture.

The Section on the momentous Turkish Revolution, hopes to give to Turkish youth a complete knowledge of the political, legal, and the socio-economic principles behind the new Turkish State. It will provide the binding element between Learning and the Republican ideals. The fact that Ghazi Kamal Pasha was himself the initiator of the present reform, is shown by the fact that the first step he took in his holiday was to visit the University and the chief secondary schools at Istanbul to examine the students personally, in matters concerning the new Turkey and the rationale of her emergence as a National State of New Asia.

India and the World, Oct. 1933

N. B. In the last 30 years (1930-1960) the educational institutes of Ankara and Istanbul are getting bigger aids from U. S. A. as a member of CENTO; and so we find America becoming more important than Europe, specially in the realm of Economic reorganisation and revival.

Kemal's successor Ismet Inonu could not maintain the primacy of the Republican People's Party supplanted by the Democratic Party, under Premier Menderes the Ghazi of Islam. It strengthens the bonds of Turkey with Iran and Pakistan, to be jointly the firm supporter of the European NATO and of the American sponsored Central Treaty Organization, with Rightist and Conservative tendencies.

INDIA AND GREECE

By
KALIDAS NAG

I

It often happens in history that the political importance of a particular group of human beings is disproportionately big or small as compared with its cultural achievements. The part that Greece and India played in the history of humanity, brings forcibly to our mind the thought of this strange discrepancy between political and cultural achievements. Much pioneer work in the economic and constitutional evolution of mankind is to be seen in the history of these two peninsulas of Asia and Europe : Monarchy and Tyranny, Republic and Democracy, Federalism and Imperialism found some of their earliest manifestations in India and Greece. But the Greeks and the Indians are remembered to-day for their achievements in domains other than that of politics, both excelling in literature and philosophy, mythology and art. There they reigned supreme in the past and will continue to do so in the future, irrespective of the vicissitudes of their national politics. When the immortal Homer greeted the "rosy-fingered Morn", his poetic libation reminded us of the glorious hymn to *Ushas* (Dawn) by our earlier Vedic poets. When the first epic poet of Europe apostrophises his Muse (in the opening lines of his *Iliad*) he seems to have echoed the Tragic muse of the Great Epics of India. The flashes of wit and the touches of pathos, scattered in the great writers of Greece, may be equated to similar brilliant passages in our Sanskrit classics ; and if the European scholars could only get themselves rid of the superiority-complex, while comparing Greece with India, we are sure they will find striking parallelisms in motivation and expression, in the Classics of India and Greece first cousins in the Indo-Aryan family. When Plato observed : "Since God is good we must regard Him as the author of all our blessings", he seemed to have echoed some of the Theistic philosophers of our age of the Upanishads ; and there seems to be no insuperable difficulty now in recognising the possibility of philosophical relations between India of Yājñavalkya and the Greece of Pythagoras. The chequered political history of Greece, with the single exception of the age of Alexander, seems to be the European counter-part of the gloomy political destiny of India. What a glorious similarity there is in the cultural expansion of the two countries into Greater Greece and Greater India ! The Indians seem to have composed their Testament of Faith in the language of the Great Thucydides : "I have composed my history to be a possession for all time, not a mere literary achievement to win temporary renown."

Both India and Greece had to pay a heavy penalty, on the temporal plane, for their obsession with Eternal issues. Degraded to the position of a mere province of Rome (146 B. C.), within 200 years of the death of Alexander the Great, Asiatic Greece and the Byzantine Empire continued, for over 1000 years, after the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the career of chaotic assimilation of the science and culture of East and West, till 1453 when the Turks dealt the death blow to the Eastern Roman Empire by the conquest of Constantinople. Aryan Greece, like Aryan India, had to grapple for centuries with Muhammadanism and Islamic domination (1453-1833).

About a century ago, Byron the poetic child of stern Caledonia lost his heart to a Greek girl and felt, with all his passion, the sufferings and humiliations of enslaved Greece, recording in deathless lines the hope for the Greeks of to-day and tomorrow :—

“Of Greece one true-born patriot still can boast :
Not such as prate of war, but skulk in peace,
The bondman's peace, who sighs for all he lost,
Yet with smooth smile his tyrant can accost
And wield the slavish sickle, not the sword.
Ah Greece ! they love thee least who owe thee most
Their birth, their blood, and that sublime record
Of hero sires, who shame thy now degenerate horde !
When riseth Lacedemon's hardihood,
When Thebe's Epaminondas rears again,
When Athen's children are with hearts endued,
When Grecian mothers shall give birth to Men,
Then may'st thou be restored, . . .”

II

I visited Europe in the eventful years 1930-1931, when two of the smaller nations, Belgium and Greece, were celebrating the Centenary of their Independence.

I was charmed by the grand International exhibition in Antwerp, the unique exposition of the Flemish art of old Netherlands. I then visited the excavations in the strata of pre-historic Greece, yielding the golden harvest of Aegean and Minoan civilisation, the splendid conservation work in Mycenæ and Tyrins, in Argos and Sparta, Corinth and Delphi, partly exhibited *in situ* and partly in the unique gallery of the Greek National Museum of Athens. I examined also the sublime ruins of the Acropolis and of the Parthenon with its newly organised museum, housing the rarest specimens of the art of European and Asiatic Greece ; and all combined to lend to the days of my pilgrimage the fascinating glamour and consecration of a poet's dream.

And a Greek poet, came, miraculously as it were, to bless my passionate voyage of discovery. Kostis Palamas the child of Missolonghi, was nurtured under the shade of Byron whose heart lies buried there. Palamas, the Tagore of modern Greece and the President of the Athenian Academy, welcomed me with open arms in his quiet Poet's corner in Rue Aesclepios, close to the University. I had the privilege of carrying a letter of introduction from Mon. Romain Rolland, on Nausica Palamas, the noble daughter of the poet and a talented musician. While she greeted me first on the steps, she appeared to be one of the Muses incarnate of the poetic pantheon of Palamas who affectionately named her Nausica Miranda. With Athenian directness, she brought me into close touch with the venerable poet, already past seventy, with the far-off vision of a Victor Hugo. There was something more than romanticism about this striking personality whose head and heart was the battleground of the Old and the New. I was almost unnerved when the poet, while exhibiting his wonderful collection of books, suddenly requested me, with a genial smile, to recite some of the poems of Tagore in original Bengali. I had heard before, that in the happy harmonisation of the classical and colloquial styles in the neo-Greek literature, Palamas stood supreme; and recounting to him the similarity of the literary problems which our Tagore had to solve, I recited a few poems, exemplifying the colloquial (Kṣanikā) and the classical (Balākā) movement in Tagore's poetry. Palamas was perceptibly moved while I was intoning the incomparable lines of *Urbast*. By way of return courtesy, and quite spontaneously too, Palamas recited his magnificent Hymn to Athene, adored by his countrymen as one of the greatest poems. I felt that, like Tagore, Palamas is a poet *par excellence*, in this age of prose, grand anachronisms both in this age of motor-buses and machine guns.

Palamas, a man of profound erudition has not only enriched various branches of his national literature but has pioneered some of the big movements of national regeneration; and the nation accorded him the highest honour crowning him with the laurels of immortality, drinking his musical messages pronounced in the historic sites of Missolonghi and Delphi, or in the theatre of Dionysius where the whole nation listened like one soul! Yet such a formidable barrier is language, the inseparable body of the soul of poetry that, what to speak of the great creations of Palamas, his name is known only to a select few outside Greece! His *Life Immovable*, *A Hundred Voices* and other Poems were made available to the English reading public, by the courtesy of the American Harvard University Press, between 1918 to 1921. His selected work, in two volumes, was published in French, only a few years ago. His tragic muse singing through his volume *The Grave* was announced simultaneously in French and English in 1930; and the latest translation of his most remarkable book, the *Dodecalogue of the Gypsy* was rendered into French and eulogised. Thanks to the faithful and mellifluous rendering of M. Clement, we could give a short specimen of that magnificent Byzantine symphony, which strangely symbolises

the joys and sorrows, the hopes and despairs, the triumphs and failures, of new-born Greece, then celebrating the Centenary of her Independence.

A little after that celebration (1933) there came to us the distressing news of a temporary disruption in the Nationalist party, the set back for Venezelos and even of an attempt at the abrogation of Greek constitutionalism through a dictatorship of General Plastiras! Fortunately order was restored but the depression and instability in the political and economic life of the Greek nation continue their pitiless course. Palamas, possessing the soul of a hero, and like a true descendent of Aeschylus, cheers up his nation by his prophetic songs, written nearly a quarter of a century ago :—

"And when, timid and weak that I am,
I find myself in this queer world,
From its hypocrisy I pick up audacity, and
from its lies and shams, my inner strength...
O Thou who art drifting on the Ocean of Life, be not
afraid of the rage of the undercurrents or other
tormenting hallucinations ...
My life opens to the breath of songs which
elevate themselves towards the beauty
of Truth, towards the Beauty of Life !"

That indomitable optimism and that deathless faith in the future come not only as inspiration to his own country but also as a benediction to the other nations like ours, treated as no nations to-day. India, and so many unfortunates, dubbed as *no nations* are reeling under the dead weight of history, gasping for breath, aspiring for light and freedom of the infinite heavens. The prosperous Big nations can afford to do without poets for a while ; but we, of the dispossessed and the down-trodden nations, cannot help loving our singers and seeking the consolation and guidance of our Poet-seers who are ever weaving the rich tapestry out of our past and present joys and sorrows, into the eternal vision of the Future.

I sought and got a noble 'message' from Palamas as a *sponsor* of our *Golden Book of Tagore*.

India and the World, May, 1933.

The Marvellous has not disappeared, it has only been displaced. The Miracle rests eternally in the human soul, even in the humblest.

COSTIS PALAMAS

Greek Independence and the Balkans

Le Messager d' Athenes in its current issues published a series of articles by Mr. Costas Kerofilas, a leading writer and historian of modern Greece, on the Centenary of the foundation of the independent Greek regime with the landing of King Otto of Bavaria on the 25th of January, 1833 in Nauplia. From the year 1821 when, with the Latin American nations, nationalist Greece declared its War of Independence, Greece had to pay a heavy price for her freedom from Turkey, in the form of an awful destruction of life and property. The self-sacrifice of the men and women of New Greece was soul-stirring and poet Byron devoted the last few years of his life to the Greek cause. Gratitude of modern Greece to Byron is profound and the history of that great national upheaval, in the plane of politics as well as in literature, has been recounted with epic grandeur by the national poet of modern Greece, Kostis Palamas on the occasion of the Centenary of Greek Independence. Although past seventy, like Tagore, Palamas is ever creating new forms of joy and beauty, ever inspiring his people during their trials and tribulations. We wish all health and happiness to the Tagore of modern Greece and we hope that, through him, Greece and India will come nearer to each other in life poetry and idealism.

The modern shipping lines *via Suez* land the passengers either in some Italian or French ports: Venice or Genoa, Toulon or Marseilles. Consequently most of them are deprived of the opportunity of coming in direct contact with Eastern Europe which is of special interest to the Oriental nations, presenting, as it does, so many common problems of social, economic and political character. Modest though quite comfortable steamer services have been established by the Egyptian (Khedive Line), the Greek and the Italian Companies, which are touching the historic sites of Alexandria, Piraeus (port of Athens), Patras (Olympia), Salonica, Istanbul etc., whence travellers like me may pass *via* Rumania or Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to Budapest, the terminus of all the Continental lines.

The tourists can easily gather useful informations from the famous paper *La Republique*. Another French Weekly *La Bulgarie*, is championing the cause of inter-Balkan Union, publishing informations on the constructive aspects of Balkan politics embracing Bulgaria Turkey, Greece, Rumania, Albania, Yugoslavia and others. Their universities are sympathetic to India. Author of many books on India, Prof. Mircea Eliade of Bucharest, came to Calcutta to study Sanskrit and Indian Philosophy under our eminent scholar, Dr. Surendranath Das Gupta then Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. A noble daughter of Greece, Eleni Samios wrote in French on the '*Sacred life of Mahatma Gandhi*' and, as she recorded—her book was an 'act of Faith'.

INDIA AND ITALY

By

KALIDAS NAG

I

The Fiftieth Anniversary celebrations of the death of Garibaldi roused in the heart of every cultured Indian, a feeling of undefinable sympathy for and kinship with the Italian people. After centuries of political degradation, when the Indians scented the dawn of a new Freedom, then the names of Mazzini (1808-1872) and of Garibaldi (1807-1882) the immortal pioneers of Italian freedom, were on the lips of educated Indians, public men as well as our University students. Pioneers of Bengali literature like Michael Madhusudan Dutt (1824-1873) and Hemchandra Banerji (inspired by Dante's "Divine Comedy") were so much touched by the spirit and form of Italian literature that they composed several poems inspired by Dante, Virgil and Petrarca. In 1860 when the whole world re-sounded with the glories of Garibaldi, our epic poet, Michael Dutt sailed for Europe, started cultivating Italian literature, and paid (1865) homage to Dante on his 600th Jubilee (1265-1321). This is evident from his undeniable preference for the severe classical style as well as from his importation of the sonnet form, *a la Petrarca*, to whom also he dedicated a special poem quoted below.

In the cultivation of the Italian literature in the original, Madhusudan unfortunately had few successors, thanks to the insularity of the British makers of our Indian Universities where English alone reigned supreme to the exclusion of her linguistic sisters of Europe.

But the political appeal of the Italian patriots were far too strong to be stopped by linguistic barriers. Mazzini's universalisation of the cult of *national* freedom and his foundation of "Young Italy" just a century ago (1832), found its unconscious literary apotheosis in the *santāna* (Son-of-the-Motherland) cult of Bankimchandra Chatterji, the author of "*Bande Mātaram*" (Hail Mother India) in his famous novel *Ananda Math*. The production of that book (1880-1882), with its quasi-mystical and quasi-political appeal, synchronized strangely with the decade since of the unification of Italy. Within three years of the publication of the *Ananda Math* and of the passing away of Garibaldi, India witnessed the foundation of the first Indian National Congress in 1885.

It was 1921. I was handling in the University of Paris Library, a copy of the beautifully printed Sanskrit *Rāmāyana* edited by the Italian Sanskritist Gorresio, who for the first time collated the Bengali recensions. My fellow student, an Italian, informed me that there would be a great national celebra-

tion, all over Italy and particularly in Florence, to commemorate the Six Hundreth Anniversary of Dante. All my pent-up enthusiasm for Italian art and culture came to a head and I ran to the apartment of my dear old Professor. Sylvain Levi ; and he with his usual generosity furnished me with a personal introduction to Professor Carlo Formichi, the renowned Italian Sanskritist of the University of Rome. Reaching Rome, I found a most cordial welcome from Prof. Formichi who introduced me to several distinguished scholars of Italy. I was agreeably surprised to discover that a renowned Italian jurist Prof. G. Mazzarella was working, for a quarter of century, on Hindu Law which he considered to be the very basis of his *Ethnologia Giuridica*. Next to Germany, Italy had reserved the largest number of Chairs for Sanskrit and Indological studies. Prof. Ballini, Prof. Belloni Philippi, Prof. Suali and last, though not the least, our esteemed friend, Prof. Giuseppe Tucci, were collaborating to rear up silently a great causeway of Indo-Italian amity. Āśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa I found naturalised, in the Italian language, through Prof. Formichi's translations showing profound knowledge of and sympathy for Sanskrit. The studies on Buddhism, with its magnificent literary domains of Tibetan and Chinese, Pāli and Prākṛit, were being attended to by Prof. Tucci, the linguistic prodigy of modern Italy. Even modern Bengali came to be welcomed soon in the academic circle, thanks to the enthusiasm of my friends Prof. Belloni Philippi and Prof. Tucci who read with me Tagore and Sarat Chatterjee's *Sri Kānta*. True, I missed the niche of Indian Art in the museums of Italy ; but I found our Italian academic colleagues ready to undertake research in any department of Indian history and culture, provided facilities were created for their direct contact with Indian specialists. Rabindranath Tagore invited to his international University of Santiniketan Italian indologists and Prof. Carlo Formichi came as the first Italian visiting Professor. Soon Prof. Tucci followed and both of them were welcomed with fraternal enthusiasm by our people and they were invited to deliver lectures before the Universities of Calcutta, Dacca, Benares and several other learned organizations of India.

* * *

The presence, in 1921, of a solitary Indian from Bengal, silently offering his homage to the immortal poet of *La Divina Commedia* in the grand Dante Celebration of Florence, was thus not without some significance and sequence. I can never forget that colossal dramatisation of Italian life and culture, when wave after wave of Italian regional units, from Lombardy, Tuscany and Venezia, Ravenna and Perugia, Siena and Turin, Rome and Naples, each group with their distinctive costumes and ancient banners unfurled, marched in a majestic swell. United Italy was before my eyes, as dreamt of by the great prophet-poet Dante who sang of *L' Amor che muove il sole e altre stelle* !

That sublime song of Unity, ridiculed as impossible by the contemporaries of Dante (1265-1321), came to be translated into reality ; and Italy is struggling to be the fulfilment of Dante's dream. For centuries Italy had no political unity

and yet she was the pioneer of spiritual and cultural unity of the Occident ; and Roman Law, Roman Christianity and Italian literature continued to be the greatest legacies of the Western nations. Specially in the domain of Art, Italy baffles all comparison ; and I felt what a vast unexplored field of collaboration between India and Italy lies that way ! Generations of our art-students and creative artists will make pilgrimages to the land of *Giotto* (1266—1336) and *Leonardo* (1452—1519) and, I am sure, will be welcomed by our friends of Italy.

II

Inter-University Relations

It has got to be admitted that the academic world of India has not yet awakened to the importance of Indo-Italian collaboration ; and that is why the 700th anniversary celebration in honour of St. Francis of Assisi and the international celebration in honour of Horace and Virgil, (Bi-millennium) roused but faint echoes in the academic corridors of India. Italy, however, has inaugurated a new chapter of intellectual co-operation by organizing the Italian Inter-University Institute (founded in 1923) with the guidance of the great Italian Philosopher, Giovanni Gentile (who reviewed the life of Gandhi) the then Minister of Education, as its President. Its object is clearly formulated as that of "developing the influence of the higher national culture by spreading the Italian language, literature, history, science, art and thought, especially among foreigners, who either come to Italy for purposes of study or are in any case attracted by Italy and Italian culture". As foreigners visit Italy throughout the year, the Institute (*Istituto interuniversitario Italiano*) has provided for courses of lectures in different cultural centres of Italy, following the natural conveniences of time and place ; there were special courses of lecture, in the historic city of Ravenna, on its illustrious exile Dante ; also a series of illustrated lectures on Mosaic and other subjects, under the auspices of the newly founded Institute of Byzantine Studies. Byzantium was the great cultural bridge between the Orient and the Occident for centuries ; and intensive study of Byzantine arts and crafts will go to add new chapters of Oriental influences on European art. There were systematic courses on the history of ceramic industries at the Royal School of Ceramics in Faenza and to which is attached an experimental laboratory and the International Ceramic Museum.

Florence, the birth place of modern Musical drama and the native city of some of the greatest poets and artists of Italy, arranged for lectures on Italian history, on Tuscan dialects and on Italian music. Intensive courses of lectures on medical subjects by distinguished Italian Doctors are also given. The International Art Exhibitions are held in Venice where artists and art students from all over the world flocked together. Winter being the best month in Siena, the city of the early schooling of Raphael, there are lectures on the Italian history of Art and allied subjects. Last, though not the least, Rome attracts

an international group of students to its Spring Courses in April which coincide with the festival of *Primavera Romana* (The Roman Spring) and the Easter holidays round St. Peter's Cathedral.

There are lectures also on Contemporary history of Italy with special reference to the apostolate of Mazzini and on the Italian national hero Garibaldi. Another course on Italian literature starts from the study of *dolce stil nove* (the new graceful style) of St. Francis of Assisi (1162-1226) and Dante (1265-1321), Boccaccio (1313-75) and Tasso (1544-95) down to Carducci (1825-1907) and Pascoli. Important courses are on Archaeology and history of Art where Italian savants of international reputation personally attend to the students. Prof. Ugo Antonielli of the University of Rome and Curator of the Pre-historic and Ethnographic Museum, delivers special lectures on Pre-Christian as well as on the Christian and Renaissance art evolutions. Indian students aspiring to master the technique of the history of Art (so important now on account of the discovery of the great Proto-historic sites of the Indus Valley) as well as the students of practical archaeology (field-work, exploration, conservation, etc.) may profitably come to Rome for a sound and all-round training in Archaeology.

I felt it the more strongly, after my fourth visit to Rome, when I had the privilege of being introduced by our friend, Prof. Tucci, to His Excellency Count Paribeni, Director of the Academy of Arts, Rome. He is one of the foremost Italian authorities, on Art and Archaeology; and he very generously offered to attend to our promising students from India. I made a strong appeal to that effect, in course of my lectures on "Indian Art and Archaeology" at the University of Rome, under the joint auspices of that University and of the Royal Italian Academy. Indians found, in eminent scholars like Rector Francisci, Prof. Formichi, Prof. Tucci and others, their unfaltering friends, who are deeply interested in the cultural *rapprochement* between India and Italy. They supported my scheme of inter-university relationship between our two countries, as I felt from the generous help which they accorded to the Indian students whom I had the occasion to send to Italy from time to time. In Rome too I had the privilege of meeting Dr. Maria Montessori and her son, the present Director of the Montessori Institute, both of whom I found deeply interested in India. Some Indian lady students were stealing a march on our boys by clustering round this great Italian educationist Dr. Maria Montessori from whom the girls get motherly sympathy and guidance. Deputed by Lady Bose, I requested Dr. Montessori to arrange her programme so as to visit India and she readily agreed as she was a great admirer of Mahatma Gandhi.

Royal Italian University For Foreigners

In recognition of my humble services I was elected the Representative in India of the *Regia Università Italiana per Stranieri*, Perugia, under its able

Rector, H. Astorre Lupatelli. This institution was founded in 1925, with a view to help foreigners of all nationalities, in their studies of Italian language art and culture. The courses are divided into three groups: 1. Preparatory; 2. Intermediate; 3. Advanced. Foreigners are admitted to these courses without any formalities as to previous studies made; and all are entitled to the special privileges in regard to board and lodging, rail-road fares, pass-port visas, besides facilities of visiting galleries, museums, monuments and excavations in Italy. All the students that I sent from India were treated with exemplary courtesy and kindness by the authorities as well by the general public. It is high time that our Indian students and educational institutions wake up to the splendid possibilities of cultural and technical collaboration between India and Italy.

—*India and the World*, Aug., 32

"Italians and Europeans may learn something from the Indian *Mahatma*. His book will no doubt be edifying to those whose hearts are disposed to understand what firmness in the worship of the Truth means, that is to say, what *character* is, and the religious spirit and will-power. These materials for life-building are indispensable for all human beings under whatever sky, in whatever age, in whatever scheme of Life, in whatever political system. And Italians who do not possess any book of such a deep religious inspiration in their literature, will find in Gandhi a great writer".

GIOVANNI GENTILE

MAZZINI AND THE MAHATMA

By
KALIDAS NAG

A disunited and struggling nation aspiring after unity and solidarity often looks back into the corridors of History to discover if possible the statue of some inspiring personality or the bas-reliefs of some dynamical movement. India of 1933 may thus be peeping into the annals of Italy of 1833 showing the plastic projection of the freedom movement of Young Italy, with the figure of Joseph Mazzini dominating the drama of Italian unity. The historic society of *Young Italy* was founded in Genoa (which claims Columbus) April, 1832, with the following announcement :—"Here are we, a few young, very youngmen, illustrious without names, without financial resources ; and we are called upon to overthrow an established order...so let it be then, and may God help us !" Mazzini (1808-72) the soul of the movement was barely twenty-four. Yet people of all classes joined his group : nobles, commoners, lawyers, men employed under Government, merchants, captains, sailors, artisans, priests, and monks. Young Garibaldi (1807-82) says about the wonderful Fraternity :—"There arose in my mind strange glimmerings by the light of which I saw in a ship, no longer a vehicle charged with the exchange of the products of one country for those of another, but a winged messenger bearing the word of the Lord, and the sword of the Archangel." Thus we see how the magnetic personality of Mazzini opened a new chapter in the history of Italy and of modern Europe.

Between 1832-33 he was the editor and soul of the *Yellow-back Review, Giovane Italia*—"Young Italy" His indefatigable young comrades acted as type-setters, proof-readers, printers, packers and posters ; and from the prophetic pen of the Editor Mazzini came the apocalyptic essay on the Brotherhood of the peoples : "We lived together, true equals and brothers in one sole thought, one sole hope, one sole worship, in the extremity of poverty but we are always cheerful". No wonder then that a critical British biographer records enthusiastically : "So did a handful of penniless youths enter into solemn covenant to found a nation and refashion Europe Over against them were the massed forces of inertia, tradition, prejudice, and the organised immobility of Governments. Over against them were all the persecutive resources of Power : spies, informers, police, the dungeons, the galleys, the scaffold. Over against them were the wealth, the prestige, the armies and navies, the diplomacy of the Absolutists. To so grotesque a challenge, History could provide but few parallels". Facing the risk of supression any moment by the Absolutist authorities, the little paper *Young Italy* nevertheless created a

sensation within its short life. Metternich ordered back-numbers of the journal ; young Louis Napoleon offered an essay on Military Honour and Gioberti (1801-52) contributed a hymn : "All hail to you Precursors of the New Law !" It was like the breath of Spring awakening the cemetery into the flowering field of Life, calling the "Italians to hold their *Italianity* as a solemn trust, not for themselves but for humanity". The journal, as a matter of course, was suppressed but the generation triumphed over trials, tortures and deaths. *Young Italy*, the journal is dead. Long live young Italy ! such seems to be the legend inscribed on the history of the Peninsula during the last century (1833-1933).

Born in an age of violence and war, Mazzini advocated a policy of ruling-out war from Europe as it is now ruled out from the American Union. Peace for him never meant simply "no more war", but acting in harmonious co-operation with one sovereign aim : Peace which would come through Union and union through the voluntary autonomous associations of the Free peoples. With these profound observations Mr. Griffith the able biographer concludes : "Mazzini was in a sense the *Mahatma* of nineteenth century Europe, but what of his ethical standard ? He was committed to methods of violent revolutionism. It would have been strange indeed, if in Italy in his day he had escaped that commitment. It may be questioned if even Mr. Gandhi, dealing with the Austrian regime of the nineteenth century, and living beneath the moral firmament of Southern Europe at that time, would have seen so clearly the lode-star whose white radiance has guided his own remarkable career". (G. O. Griffith : *Mazzini : Prophet of Modern Europe* 1932). Such feeling references to Mahatma Gandhi by the modern English biographer of Mazzini, remind us of the striking parallelism between the two Pioneers of Italy and India. Both are precursors of a new national movement and both tending to enlarge the scope of nationalism into internationalism ; both struggling against tremendous odds within and outside their countries ; both born leaders of men, moving the hearts of millions, through their strangely similar philosophies of purifications through perpetual suffering.

Opening his career as a barrister with the prospects of enormous income, Gandhi suddenly realised the humiliation and suffering of thousands of fellow-Indians in Africa ; and consecrated twenty precious years of his youth in defence of their honour and in combating the injustices of Colonial administration. Returning to India in 1915, he inaugurated a new movement and in fact built up a new generation. Very characteristically he named his first vernacular journal *Nava Jivan* (New Life) which soon found its English incarnation in *Young India* a spiritual cousin of Mazzini's *Young Italy*. Starting with the circulation of a few thousands, the two papers of Mahatma Gandhi and Mazzini came to be read by millions. In his first article in *Young India* (8th October, 1919) we read the following lines of Gandhiji. "I am proud to think that I have numerous readers among framers and workers. They make India. Their poverty is India's curse and crime. Their prosperity alone can make India a country fit to live in.

They represent nearly 80 percent of India's population. The English journals touch but the fringe of the ocean of India's population . . . Apart from its duty of drawing attention to injustice to individuals, it will devote its attention to constructive *Satyagraha*, as also, some times, cleaning *Satyāgraha*."

Like Mazzini, the Indian Mahatma did not remain confined to the mere negative programme of fighting injustices but soon laid the foundation of a positive spiritual yet practical programme; "The principles of *Satyagraha*, as I know it to-day, constitute a gradual evolution. *Satyagraha* differs from Passive Resistance as the North Pole from the South. The latter has been conceived as a weapon of the weak, and does not exclude the use of physical force or violence, for the purpose of gaining one's end; whereas the former has been conceived as a weapon of the strongest and exclude the use of violence in any shape or form. The term *Satyagraha* was coined by me in South Africa to express the force that the Indians there used, for full eight years; and it was coined in order to distinguish it from the movement then going on, in the United Kingdom and South Africa, under the name of Passive Resistance. Its root meaning is holding on to Truth, hence Truth-force. I have also called it Love-force or Soul-force. In the application of *Satyagraha*, I discovered in the earliest stages, that pursuit of Truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent but that he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy. For what appears to be Truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. And patience means self-suffering. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of Truth, not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but on one's self."

Young India salutes Young Italy on its Centenary !

India and the World, July, 1933

"The world is seeking not the *material solidarity* which is now assured and which is only the outward form of the nations, but the vivifying spirit that shall guide their life towards its end, the *moral unity* that can only be based on the association of men and nations equal and free."

TO ITALY

By

MICHAEL MADHUSUDAN DUTT

O Italia ! the garden of the Muses, famous far and wide ;
Thy warblers of diverse colours and tones
Pour the nectar of their music, through their honied tunes,
And fill the soil for ever with the joy of Primavera.
In that land was born years ago,
Francesco Petrarca, poet, glorious and sincere par excellence,
Through the benediction of the Goddess of Speech,
A very jewel of the generation of Poets,
His tongue soaked in Ambrosia, and his hand playing the Golden Lyre.
From the mine of poetry he discovered a veritable gem, the Sonnet,
Which he laid at the feet of the Muse installed in the temple of
his mother-tongue ;
And the Mother accepted the gift, conferring adequate boon on
the Master-Poet.
That gem I bring today as an offering, at the worthy feet of our
Muse Bharati
Reigning in the heart of India.

Translated from the original Bengali sonnet composed by the Poet in Versailles in 1865. It is here dedicated to the memory of Dante (1265-1321) on whose 600 anniversary Poet Madhusudan sent his homage on behalf of India. (Vide Prof. R. N. Das Gupta : *Hindusthan Standard*, Calcutta).

K. N.

SEVENTH CENTENARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PADUA

By

KALIDAS NAG

Modern Review, September 1922

Relation between the Italian and the Indian Universities seemed to have been signalled by the graceful invitation sent from Padua to India on the occasion of the Seventh Centenary of the University of Padua (founded 1222) which was celebrated between 14th and 17th of May, 1922. Invitation letters in *Sanskrit* were sent to all the important universities and Oriental Societies of India. The Vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, realised the international significance of the invitation, and promptly delegated three distinguished *alumni* of the Calcutta University to represent their *Alma Mater* in the historic gathering of Padua in which delegates from the Universities and learned bodies, from over forty countries took part. Three eminent gentlemen attended; veteran Mathematician Dr. D. N. Mallik, Dr. Phanindra Nath Ghose, University Professor of applied Physics, Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterjee, University Professor of Indian Linguistics—who were then staying respectively in London, Berlin and Paris. They represented Calcutta and India in this unique assembly of scholars from all over the world.

The function was primarily of a ceremonial nature; but from the point of view of India it was noteworthy that the equal status of India in the Republic of Letters had been freely and formally recognised by one of the oldest Universities of Europe. The principal ceremony, in which the King of Italy was present, took place on the 15th of May. There were a number of speakers, selected from among the delegates, to read addresses of congratulation to Padua. The speakers represented the various countries which were formed into several groups, namely:—

1. Asia (India and China), 2. The Latin nations (France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Rumania and the states of South America), as well as Catholic Ireland and Orthodox Greece, 3. The nations of Northern and Eastern Europe (Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Esthonia, Lettonia, Lithuania, Hungary), 4. The English speaking nations of the British Empire (England with Scotland and Wales, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa), 5. Germany, 6. The United States of America, 7. The Slav nations (Russia, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia, Bulgaria and 8. The Universities of Italy.

Each speaker was to speak in his own language and this was quite in keeping with the international character of the meeting. The order of speakers was determined by lottery; and as Asia came first, *India was privileged to represent Asia*.

This part of the programme was opened with an address from one of our Calcutta delegates. An address suitable to the occasion had been prepared in which Padua was congratulated on her long academic record and in which it was emphasised that the modern Indian Universities symbolised India's age-old quest for Wisdom, in a new form, while they aspire to bring home to the rising generation of India, modern sciences and up-to-date methods of pedagogy. They are equally zealous to conserve the ancient learning of India which, in the days of her illustrious Universities of Takshasilā, Nālandā and Vārānaśi, attracted students from practically the whole of Asia. The address ended with the well known prayers from the *Upaniṣads* : *Saha nav avatu* etc., and the wish was expressed that such a meeting of the members of the various universities of the East and of the West, like brother-pilgrims to the same shrine of Knowledge, might be productive of fruitful results in the domain of Science and Arts that know no frontier, and thereby lay the foundation of true internationalism.

It was thought that an address on behalf of India should be in Sanskrit ; an adaptation of the draft was made in Sanskrit by Professor Parasuram Lakshman Vaidya of the Fergusson College, Poona, an eminent Sanskritist (who is also an M.A. in Pali of the Calcutta University), and who was then studying Buddhist philosophy with Prof. De la Vāle Poussin. This address was written out in the form of a Manuscript, in Devanagari characters and Professor Suniti Chatterjee, first among the foreign delegates, read it before the assembly on behalf of the Indian-Asian Universities. There were speeches in Latin, Italian, French, English and German ; and the intonation of Sanskrit at the assembly did create a great impression.

There was a very great interest in India shown by the scholars from different universities and specially among the students, the more intellectual among whom were profound admirers of Rabindranath Tagore whose very name was the best pass-port for us Indians into the heart of the cultured communities of the Continent. The presence of three Indian professors in such an intellectual gathering was noticed with pleasure by all. Drs. Mallik, Ghose and Chatterjee had occasions to come in touch with the scholars and converse with them about the intellectual awakening of India and the work done by the various educational agencies of Modern India. Professors, pupils and the common people of Padua, proud of their University, entered fully into the spirit of the celebration. The Rector of the University, Dr. Lucatelli and the Secretary of the Centenary Committee Prof. Ballini (occupying the chair of Sanskrit in Padua University) were the very models of courtesy and hospitality. Prof. Ballini is an enthusiastic student of Indology and a true friend of India who appreciates all that is best in Indian culture. Some of the members of the different delegations were honoured with doctorates by the Padua University and Dr. P. N. Ghose got this distinction as a delegate from India.

Very few Indians know what a fascination India exercises on the imagination of Italian savants. From the time of the great Gorresio, who brought out, in the fifties of the last century, the magnificent edition of the *Ramayana* with an Italian translation, to L. P. Tessitori in whose untimely death modern Indian linguistics, specially *Rājasthān* lost a splendid scholar of Indology India has an uninterrupted succession of votaries in *Italia* the India of Europe. Outside Germany it is difficult to find so many chairs of Sanskrit as we find in Italian Universities : Prof. Ballini of Padua, Prof. Belloni Philippi of Pisa, Prof. Suali of Florence, along with Dr. Vallauri and Dr. Tucci* of Rome, are some of the enthusiastic workers in the field of Indology. Prof. Dr. Carlo Formichi with his single hearted devotion to the cause of Indian studies made solid contributions to the science of Indology which won for the crowning recognition of the highest Prize of the Roman Academy of Philology conferred on Formichi Sanskrit Professor of the University Rome. So it is only proper for our Indian Universities and Oriental Societies to establish a relation of closer friendship and co-operation with their fellow-workers and colleagues of Italy.

* Prof. Giuseppe Tucci, my friend of over 30 years, published valuable books and papers in Sanskrit and Pali Chinese and Tibetan. He led several expeditions into Tibet, publishing *Indo-Tibetica* series. Then as founder Director of the Institute of the Middle and the Far East. Dr. Tucci is making important contributions to Orientalology through the splendid journal *East and West*.

"I see the people pass before my eyes in the livery of wretchedness and political subjection, ragged and hungry, painfully gathering the crumbs that wealth tosses insultingly to it, or lost and wandering in riot and the intoxication of brutish, angry, savage joy : and I remember that those brutalized faces bear the finger-print of God, the mark of the same mission as over own. I left myself to the vision of the future and behold the People rising in its majesty, brothers in one faith, one bond of Equality and Love, one ideal of citizen virtue that ever grows in beauty and might, the People of the future, unspoilt by luxury, ungoaded by wretchedness, awed by the consciousness of its rights and duties."

Giuseppe Mazzini

THE VISVABHARATI AND PROF. CARLO FORMICHI

By

KALIDAS NAG.

The Modern Review December, 1925.

To invite representative scholars of the different culture-centres of the modern world became a special future of Rabindranath Tagore's *Visva Bharati*. The large vision of our Poet discerned the basic truth that, however intense may be our present preoccupation with academic or vocational education, we must avoid parochialism and stagnation by breaking through the narrow bounds of our temporal needs and regional habits. We must establish free circulation of the creative spirit of India with the main currents of world culture.

Sure of this veridic intuition, though not quite sure yet of the support of his countrymen, the prophetic soul of the Poet sent invitations, for spiritual and cultural collaboration, to all the peoples of the modern world, on behalf of his motherland India, which sent similar invitations in days of yore to all mankind, addressed as "children of Immortality". India has not yet fully awakened to the significance of this great call. But the work of cultural cooperation is growing steadily and silently. Prof. Sylvain Levi of the Paris University, Dr. Winternitz and Prof. Lesny from the German and the Czech Universities of Czeco-Slovakia, Dr. Sten Konow of Norway, Prof. Germanus of Hungary etc. had come and lived with us. They had profited by as much as they have contributed to this cultural *rapprochement* of India with the modern world.

The Italian Indologist Prof. Carlo Formichi came to India backed by the provision for a lectureship on Italian literature and culture represented by another great Italian scholar Dr. Giuseppe Tucci. They came with a library of Italian books on the Art and Literature of Italy. Thus we received masterly monographs on Italian art like Venturi's *Storia Arte Italia*, the *Biblioteca d' Arte Illustrate* and reproduction of that rare collection of paintings in the Vatican, *Pinacoteca Vaticana*. The gifts of literature are equally valuable, comprising the whole library of the Italian Renaissance, in 50 volumes (*Biblioteca del Risorgimento*) and a complete collection of Italian classics, from Dante and Tasso to Carducci and Pascoli.

Prof. Carlo Formichi, who came at the head of this cultural mission from Italy, was born in Naples on the 14th of February, 1871, the year which witnessed the unification of Italy. Drawn from his very school days to Indian literature and religion, partially introduced to modern Italy by the superb edition of the *Rāmāyana* by Signor Gorresio, our budding Italian Indologist

studied Sanskrit (up to 1895) with all his heart under his master Prof. Kerbaker of the University of Naples. Securing the Siena scholarship, as the result of a competitive examination, Formichi went to Germany to deepen his knowledge of Indology. He studied the Vedic and Buddhist texts under Hermann Oldenburg, and proceeding to Vienna for a while, studied the *Smṛiti* literature and the *Tarkasamgraha* with Prof. George Buhler. But the greater part of his time in Germany Formichi consecrated to the study of Indian Philosophy, especially the Upanishads and the Vedānta, under his beloved master Paul Deussen; the friend of Swami Vivekananda. When I had the privilege of enjoying the hospitality of Prof. Formichi in Rome (1921), he showed me a bust of Prof. Deussen and he recounted to me humorously how his German master one day analysed, with mock solemnity, his name 'Formichi' establishing its equivalence with the Sanskrit "*Vālmiki*," and conferred that hoary poet's name on his enthusiastic pupil. The year 1898 Formichi devoted himself to manuscript work at the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris and in the British Museum and the India Office Library, where he made the acquaintance of Rost, Tawney and Dr. Thomas. Working on the manuscripts of *Brahmopaniṣad* and of Hindu Polity or the *Nīti* literature, Formichi took his doctorate by publishing the thesis on the Indian Science of Politics (1899), making the first systematic analysis of the *Kāmandakya Nīti Sāra* and other literature on the subject available before the discovery of the *Kautilyan Arthaśāstra*. The same year Formichi was appointed *privat docent* in the University of Bologna in 1899. Between 1900-1913, Formichi worked quietly in the university of Pisa, the first five years (1900-1905) as a lecturer and the last eight years (1905-1913) as the senior Professor of Sanskrit. He made his name by publishing a comparative study of the Indian politician *Kāmandaka* on the one hand and of Machiavelli and Hobbes on the other, naming his book *Salus Populi* (1908) after the great principle of Roman jurists: *Salus populi suprema lex est*, "the well-being of the people is the supreme Law." Students used to flock round him; and by his devotion and enthusiasm Prof. Formichi managed to train up quite a generation of Sanskritists who are now filling the chairs of Indology in several universities of Italy.

In 1912 Formichi published his translation of *Aśvaghōṣa's Buddha-charita*, with a critical examination of the text. It was not only a decisive improvement upon the first translation of Cowell in the *Sacred Books of the East* series, but it also showed Formichi's special aptitude for bringing out translations at once faithful to the original and full of literary qualities, a rare thing in philological works, which are generally "perfect and dead."

We accord our hearty welcome to Prof. Formichi and hope, "*rapporti culturali fra la classica terra dell'India culla della civiltà del mondo e l'Italia*", that a cultural relationship be established between Italia and India, the cradle of the civilisation of the world,

CITY OF DANTE AND GREATER ITALY

BY

BERNARD BERETSON

I come to discuss the conquests of the mind and spirit which may follow in the train of military advance, but may equally well accompany peaceful penetration or trade, or the migration of individuals finding no satisfactory employment at home.

Classical examples of civilizations accompanying conquering armies are furnished by the Macedonian invasion of the East, and the successful wars of the Romans in the West and the East, the Hellenization, except in language, of the entire world of antiquity; the oecumene, the subsequent Judaization of the same world known as Christianity; and later the submission of this world again to French culture in the West and to Byzantine in the East, both dominating until the other day; yet from 1400 to 1800 sharing their empire with Italy in general and Florence and Tuscany in particular.

The Florentine and Italian penetration, into the rest of Europe, must rank as one of most heartening triumphs of mind. To write its history will some day, and let us hope soon, engage the energies of Italian scholarship. Its study has one advantage over that of the peaceful penetration of the Greek spirit into nearly the same regions some two thousand years earlier. The course of the latter remains almost as unchronicled and as *anonymous* as pre-history, and like *pre-history* is known by its fruits alone; whereas the Italian penetration (since Marco Polo, 1254-1323) is vivified by the possibility of tracing it in detail through individuals, and of identifying their personal achievements.

Confining ourselves to what concerns the arts of *visual* representation, the effect is well known, of the sojourn of the Sienese Simone Martini and of Matteo da Viterbo in Avignon, on the painters of the regions stretching from Flemish Bruges to Spanish Valencia (from the Netherlands to the Iberian Peninsula producing Master painters).

Florentine art was perhaps as pervasive and probably as early or even earlier than Siena, in spreading its influence. Portable pictures like the *Triptychs* turned out by Bernardo Daddi, were sold at the most frequented fairs of Champagne; and *Trecento frescoes* still remain at Toledo, pictorial embroideries at Manresa, and tournament shields in the Alhambra of Granada. Antonio Florentin was court painter to John I (1385-1433) of Portugal while the gorgeous illuminations limned for the magnificent Duc de Berry were done by Franco-Flemish craftsmen well aware of what was going on in Tuscany.

By the beginning of the *fifteenth century* Siena had exhausted her influence while Florence was only preparing for her widest expansion. She sent Master

Donatello and Castagno, Fra Filippo and Piero della Francesca, Michelozzo and Leonardo (1452-1519), to spread her light over the Lombard plain, from Milan to Padua, to Ferrara, and even to still Byzantine Venice. Some of her less known sons, or sons according to the spirit only, established themselves on *both shores of the Adriatic*. At Rimini and Ancona, at Trau and Sebenico may still be seen more playful, more lovely creations than the severe mother city Florence would condescend to cherish.

Florence dominated Umbria as well as the Marches, and Rome was her suburb. Florentine architects were reaching out to Cracow, to distant Moscow, and to remote Delhi, while Florentine painters or their works penetrated into Hungary. By the sixteenth century, Florentine art had infused or transformed the art of the entire Italian peninsula. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that henceforth *Italian art is Florentine*, with incompetence, bad habits, and obstinacy producing regional variations, some it is true, as well justified as Venetian painting. Before the sixteenth century had run half its course Florentine art, by the agency of Andrea del Sarto, Rosso, Bellini, Primaticcio, and Niccolò dell'Abbate, had planted a colony in France which, until the other day, flourished generously, never denying its parentage. It had sent out Andrea Sansovino, Leone Leoni and the Venetianized Byzantine, El Greco (1541-1614) to convert Spain, and had sent Torrigiano first to Portugal and then to far-away England, whither he was followed by Zucari. If we do not hear of famous Italians going to the Netherlands and to Germany, we know that some of the most gifted painters and sculptors of those countries, Durer and Pacher, Sustris, and Scorel and Heemskerck, Adrian de Vries and Giambologna, Rubens and Van Dyck came to Italy; and some of them spent years there, returning eventually to their homes laden with all the Michelangelo (1475-1564), Titian (1477-1576), and Cillini that they could carry. Nor did Italian influence stop in the *seventeenth century*. Velasquez came twice to Rome for long periods and left it each time clarified and advanced; Rembrandt and Vermeer—the mysteriously Caravaggiesque and so Italianate Vermeer, pored over Italian masterpieces. By the beginning of the *eighteenth century* no artist or man of taste believed he would have his chance if he could not go to Italy for what now-a-days would count as a long sojourn. France had already under Richelieu founded its famous school, later known as the "Villa Medici". Other nations followed and as recently as this century was started the "palatial plant" of an American Academy. Throughout the eighteenth century Italy was sending its geniuses in every direction architects who built or decorated the playfully sumptuous churches of Austria and Catholic Germany, and grand cities like St. Petersburg; painters who like Tiepolo not only adorned Madrid but prepared the way for Goya (1746-1828).

That is what Florence did, a smallish town of money-mongers, not to say usurers, wool-combers, and cloth-weavers with little military force and next to no political authority. Florentinized Italy exerted this diluvial influence

upon the entire white man's world, and beyond it, at a time when Italy was a "mere geographical expression." Armies may or may not prepare the way. In the long run, influence is spread through craftsmen artisans, architects, wood and stone-carvers (jewellers like Cellini) men of letters, school teachers, singers, tumblers, clowns, pedlars, medicine men, hairdressers, fiddlers, as it was spread in late antiquity by Greeks and then, more and more, by Syrians, Jews, and Copts; the same people who at first contributed so much towards the disintegration of the Hellenistic world, and then towards saving Europe from sinking to a dunghill economy and berserker barbarianism.

"Living as I do in Italy, and in Tuscany at that" Berenson confesses in his *Sketch for a Self-Portrait*: "I seldom go out of my villa without encountering young people as lovely as flowers and beauty in classes, among the peasants working in the fields, the soldiers returning to barracks, the small townspeople out for a stroll. And to see the youth of the countryside at harvest-time, makes one wish to be born again as one of them. They can be described only in terms of the Song of Songs which is Solomon's.

* I do not have to look at pictures for I have become my own Painter and can see in Nature more beauty than they can reveal to me in their composition. I require no sculpture because my imagination has become so moulding that, having about me such models as the Tuscan peasantry, I can visualize them as statues in movement.

BERENSON

Bernard Berenson, (1865-1959) the world famous art expert, died in Florence on the 7th of October 1959. He was aged 94. Though American-born, he spent his whole life in Italy, in his famed villa 'I Tatti' in the Florentine countryside. He was one of the greatest authorities on Italian Painting, particularly of the Renaissance period on which he had written a number of works. His precious library and priceless art collections have been bequeathed by him to his Alma Mater, the University of Harvard which is proud of its Fogg Art Museum.

THE MAKER OF MODERN INDIA

By

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Rammohan Roy inaugurated the Modern Age in India. He was born at a time when our country, having lost its link with the inmost truths of its being, struggled under a crushing load of unreason, in abject slavery to circumstance. In social usage, in politics in the realm of religion and art, we had entered the zone of uncreative habit, of decadent tradition, and ceased to exercise our humanity. In this dark gloom of India's degeneration Rammohan rose up, a luminous star in the firmament of India's history, with prophetic purity of vision, and unconquerable heroism of soul. He shed radiance all over the land; he rescued us from the penury of self-oblivion. Through the dynamic power of his personality, his uncompromising freedom of the spirit, he vitalized our national being with the urgency of creative endeavour, and launched it into the arduous adventure of realization. He is the great path-maker of this century who has removed ponderous obstacles that impeded our progress at every step, and initiated us into the present Era of world-wide co-operation of humanity.

Rammohan belongs to the lineage of India's great seers who, age after age, have appeared in the arena of our history with the message of Eternal Man. India's special genius has been to acknowledge the divine in human affairs, to offer hospitality to all that is imperishable in human civilization, regardless of racial and national divergences. From the early dawn of our history it has been India's privilege and also its problem, as a host, to harmonise the diverse elements of humanity, which have inevitably been brought to our midst, to synthesize contrasting cultures in the light of a comprehensive ideal. The stupendous structure of our social system with its intricate arrangement of caste, testifies to the vigorous attempt, made at an early stage of human civilization, to deal with the complexity of our problem, to relegate to every class of our peoples, however wide the cleavage between their levels of culture, a place in a cosmopolitan scheme of society. Rammohan's predecessors, Kabir, Nānak, Dādu, and innumerable saints and seers of medieval India, carried on much further India's great attempt to evolve a human adjustment of peoples and races; they broke through barriers of social and religious exclusiveness and brought together India's different communities on the genuine basis of spiritual reality. Now that our outworn social usages are yielding rapidly to the stress of an urgent call of unity, when rigid enclosures of caste and creed can no more obstruct the freedom of our fellowship, when India's spiritual need of *faith and concord* between her different peoples has become imperative

and seems to have aroused a new stir of consciousness throughout the land, we must not forget that this emancipation of our manhood has been made possible by the indomitable personality of the great Unifier, Rammohan Roy. He paved the path for this reassertion of India's inmost truth of being, her belief in the Equality of Man, in the love of the Supreme Person, who ever dwells in the hearts of all men and unties us in the bond of welfare.

Rammohan was the only person in his time, in the whole world of man to realize completely the significance of the Modern Age. He knew that the ideal of human civilization does not lie in the isolation of independence, but in the *brotherhood of interdependence*, of individuals as well as of nations, in all spheres of thought and activity. He applied this principle of humanity with his extra-ordinary depth of scholarship and natural gift of intuition, to social, literary and religious affairs; never acknowledging limitations of circumstance, never deviating from his purpose, lured by distractions of temporal excitement. His attempt was to establish our peoples on the full consciousness of their own cultural personality, to make them comprehend the reality of all that was unique and indestructible in their civilization, and simultaneously, to make them approach other civilizations in the spirit of sympathetic co-operation. With this view in his mind, he tackled an amazingly wide range of social, cultural, and religious problems of our country; and through a long life, spent in unflagging service to the cause of India's cultural reassertion, brought back the pure stream of India's philosophy to the futility of our immobile and unproductive national existence. In social ethics he was an uncompromising interpreter of the Truths of human relationship, generous in his co-operation with any reformer, both of this country and of outside, who came to our aid in a genuine spirit of comradeship. Unsparingly he devoted himself to the task of rescuing, from the debris of India's decadence, the true products of its civilization, and to make our people build on them, as the basis, the superstructure of an International culture. Deeply versed in Sanscrit, he revived classical studies; and while he imbued the Bengali literature and language with the rich atmosphere of our classical period, he opened its doors wide to the spirit of the Age, offering access to new words from other languages, and to new ideas. To every sphere of our national existence, he brought the sagacity of a comprehensive Vision, the spirit of self-manifestation of the unique in the light of the Universal.

Let me hope that, in celebrating his Centenary, we shall take upon ourselves the task of revealing to our own and contemporaneous civilizations the multi-sided and perfectly balanced Personality of this great man. We in his country, however, owe a special responsibility, not only of bringing to light his varied contributions to the Modern Age, but of proving our right of kinship with him by justifying his life, by maintaining in every realm of our national existence, the high standard of Truth which he set before us. Great men have been claimed by humanity by its persecution of them and wilful neglect.

We evade our responsibility, for those who are immeasurably superior to us, by repudiating them. Rammohan suffered martyrdom in his time, and paid the price of his greatness. But out of his sufferings, his power of transmuting them to carry on for the beneficent activities for the good of Humanity, the Modern Age has gained an undying urge of Life. If we fail him again in this day of our nation-building, if we do not observe perfect equity of human relationship, offering uncompromising fight to all forms and conventions, however ancient they may be in usage, which separate man and man, we shall be pitiful in our failure, and shamed for ever in the history of Man. Our futility will be in the measure of the greatness of Rammohan Roy.

India and the World, March 1933

RAMMOHAN ROY A STUDY IN NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

By
KALIDAS NAG

In dedicating this special number of *India and The World*, to Raja Rammohan Roy on the occasion of his death Centenary, we simply bring the sincere homage of Renascent India. That India, towards the last quarter of the 18th century, when Rammohan appeared, was neither purely Hindu nor Muhammadan or Christian but a composite order slowly evolving out of the weltering chaos of religious and racial, economic and political elements and interests. Amidst that baffling diversity Rammohan for the first time discovered and enunciated the principle of Unity; not the abstract unity of a metaphysician but the faith-inspired conviction of a man who believed in the personality of "One Being" the eternal reconciler of all conflicts. In his introduction to *Tuhfat-ul Muwahhiddin* (1803-4), his earliest recorded thought traced so far, we read: "I travelled in the remotest parts of the world, in plains as well as in hilly lands, and found the inhabitants thereof agreeing generally in believing in the personality of One Being who is the source of all that exists."

A young man of thirty, Rammohan was already pleading with prophetic earnestness for an impartial and just enquiry into the nature and principle of the religious doctrines of different nations, with the hope of distinguishing "Truth from untruth", and of freeing ourselves from the useless restraints of religion which some times became the source of prejudice of one against another; and finally Rammohan was attending to the 'good of Society' (*loka-sreyā*) with the aspiration to realise 'The One Being who is the fountain of the harmonious organisation of the Universe'.

This capacity to go deep to the fundamentals of human society and existence, makes Rammohan not only a precursor of the Modern Age in India and the Orient, but the inaugurator of a new epoch of intellectual and spiritual co-operation. This aspect of Rammohan's life has been emphasised by our Poet-Seer Rabindranath Tagore in his inaugural address before the Centenary Committee: "Rammohan belongs to the lineage of India's great seers, who are age after age have appeared in the arena of our history with the message of Eternal Man. India's special genius has been to acknowledge the divine in human affairs, to offer hospitality to all that is imperishable in human civilisation, regardless of racial and national divergencies."

From the publication of "A present to the Believer in One God, *Tuhfat-ul Muwahhiddin*, (1803), to the day of his passing away in Bristol, 27 September,

1833, Rammohan has shown a rare record of service to the cause of the uplift of the unfortunate men and women of his country, as well as of the sympathetic appreciation of the struggling nations and human groups abroad. His pioneer attempt as a scholar to reconcile the dogmatic contradictions of Hinduism, Islam and Christianity, his endeavour to build a church universal, his noble championing of the cause of Indian womanhood, vindicating their economic and legal rights, over a century ago, his advocacy of intimate intellectual collaboration between the East and the West maintaining the dignity and individuality of the Orientals, his bold initiative in securing the political economic and constitutional progress of his people, princes and peasants alike, to march forward with a liberal education, equitable economic settlement, freedom of the Press, responsible executive and impartial judiciary,—each one of his ideas and activities along the above lines, is significant beyond measure.

But his passion for unity took his nationality beyond the limits of his own country and foreshadowed a new line of research for unity on the international plane. Hebrew culture and the ethics of Christianity reflected in the *Precepts of Jesus*, Persian mystic poetry and Arabic monotheism, Chinese philosophy no less than the future of Turkey, called forth a ready response from his Oriental soul. But with equal force and sympathy he pursued the progressive and liberating movements of the Occident. National aspirations of Ireland, the advocacy of the English liberalism of the Reform Bill age, the ardent sympathy for the cause of Italian Independence, passionate admiration of the Republican tradition of France and of the ordered march of the United States of America and Canada, prove beyond doubt his burning conviction which inspired every page of his writings. This fact has been attested accidentally by an English friend of Rammohan who communicated the following to the *Edinburgh Magazine*, September, 1923 : On the occasion of the South American emancipation the Rajah is reported to have said : "Ought I to be insensible to the suffering of my fellow creatures wherever they are, or however unconnected by interests, religion or language ?" Very naturally therefore the greatest living philosopher of Modern India, Prof. Brojendra Nath Seal has characterised, in his inimitable language, Rammohan Roy as a Prophet of coming humanity : "By the lines of convergence he laid down, as developed in and through his own experiences, he pointed the way to the solution of the larger problem of International culture and civilization in human history, and became a precursor, an archetype, a prophet of coming Humanity. He laid the foundation of the true League of Nations in a League of National Cultures."

Rammohan's sustained activities for the preservation and enlightened interpretation of the eternal truths enshrined in the Hindu scriptures, his advocacy of the cause of Freedom of the Press, of Vernacular studies, his publication of the Bengali grammar, his appeal for the introduction of Scientific education, in intimate collaboration with the European educationists, are landmark in the history of Modern India. Our future generations striving to defend our

rights and liberties, our cultural individuality and national self-respect, will ever meditate with gratitude on the unaided efforts of the great Pioneer.

The rest of the Orient, no less than the progressive sections of the Occident will, we hope, read with increased interest and appreciation the thoughts and activities of the first great leader of Modern India who offered the hand of fellowship to the Occidental people, appealing to them "to encourage and facilitate human intercourse in every manner, by removing as far as possible all impediments to it, in order to promote the reciprocal advantage and enjoyment of the *whole human race*" (*vide* letter to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, London, Dec. 28, 1831). Even when the chances of collaboration between the East and the West were few and far between, and the disadvantages of contact with Occidental nations were aggressively patent, Rammohan Roy, in practically his last communication, "On settlement of India by Europeans" (July 14, 1832) was dreaming of the stable and harmonious collaboration of the East and the West which "would succeed, sooner or later, in enlightening and civilising the surrounding nations of Asia." No wonder then that this great nationalist and convinced internationalist *avant la lettre* was hailed by the prophetic voice of Jeremy Bentham (1748--1832) as his "intensely admired and dearly beloved collaborator in the service of mankind". So Thomas Colebrook (1765-1837), founder of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, appreciated the references made by Rammohan, as the invited guest of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

—*India & The World*, December 1933.

But it may be seen, that the truth of a saying does not depend upon the multitude of sayers, and the non-reliability of a narration cannot result from the small number of its narrators. For, it is admitted by the seekers of truth, that Truth is to be followed although it is against the majority of the people.

Rammohan Roy

O, PIONEER ! O, VOYAGER !
RAJARSI RAMMOHAN ROY

ALMA L. LISSBERGER

New York

A lonely figure treks the Kālā Pāni,
Immortal Wanderer . . . Spirit-bound,
Westward thy course, East thy mission,
Light-Bearer of Hindusthan !

Vaishnava and Shākta in thy blood were wedded ;
Of *Ekamevādwytryaṃ* thou spake, as Moses of old.
Vedanta for thy people stirred the fire within thee,
Burning the Upanishads to purer gold.

Unto ascending altars thy lotus-heart unfolded wide.
Islam The Hebrew Prophets...Seer Jesus,
Each thy Vision glorified.
Kindling the dreams of storm-tossed pilgrims
In the earthen lamp Brotherhood.

Out of the rock of pain universal striving was builded
Brāhma Samāj in roots of Mother Earth.
There came unto the gate a Suttēe unbound woman
Meek, flower-like thing with promise in long-shadowed eyes,
Tear-flowing eyes across the mystic waters where
The Prophet-son lay chanting the word-prayer OM.

Only the strings of a Vinā in heaven answered
As the moon wrapped in silvery shadows his soul.
Suddenly his gaze looked eastward to the Mother :
As Night watched gently the amber eye-lids closed—
His mortal flame of life was lowered—
But over IND glowed dawn in deeper tones.

—*India and The World*, December, 1933

RAMMOHUN ROY AND FRANCE

MADAME LOUISE MORIN

PARIS

The two important dates in the history of Rammohan Roy's relations with France refer to his nomination as a member of the Asiatic Society of Paris (founded 1822) and to his presentation to King Louis Philippe. My researches into the contemporary papers now permit me to bring some precision to these important dates.

In the sitting of the *Société Asiatique* dated the 7th June 1824, there was the question of nominating some Associate-Correspondent; and M. M. Le Comte d' Hauterive and Baron Sylvaster de Sacy (1758-1838) formally proposed the conferring of the title to Pandit Rammohan Roy, and that proposal was referred to a commission composed of MM. Lanjuinais, Burnouf and Klaproth.

On the 5th of July, 1824 "M. Klaproth, in the name of the commission, made a report on the literary titles of Pandit Ram Mohan Roy proposed as an Associate-Correspondent. The conclusions of that report were submitted to the deliberation of the Council; and the title of Associate-Correspondent was conferred on Ram Mohan Ray." (*Procès Verbaux des seances*; the same text was printed in the *Journal Asiatique*, Tome 5. Page 62, July, 1824.)

Miss Mary Carpenter, in the appendix to her book the "*Last Days of Rammohan Roy*," (pp. 23-24, Calcutta ed. 1915) communicates a letter of a retired English officer Mr. Laghlan who is reported to have been charged, by the Asiatic Society of Paris, to hand over to Rammohan Roy the diploma of an Honorary Member. From the proceedings of the Society, dated 3rd January, 1825, we know that MM. Abbé Dubois,* retired missionary and Captain Laghlan were proposed and accepted as members of the Society. Is it possible that Captain Laghlan was charged at that moment to transmit the diploma to Rammohan Roy?

Presentation of Rammohan Roy to King Louis Philippe.

I found also the following entries of interest in *Journal des Débats*: "Prince Talleyrand arrives to-day in Paris" (30th September, 1832) "Prince

* Rammohan Roy quotes approvingly Rev. Abbé Dubois in his letter dated February 8, 1824, on the "Prospects of Christianity", addressed to Prof. Henry Ware of Harvard, Cambridge, Mass, U.S.A. On the 5th April, 1825 the *Société Asiatique* elects Prince Talleyrand as its member and to him Rammohan was thinking to applying for a passport of France, as we find from his letter dated London, 22nd December, 1831.—K. N.

Talleyrand departs for London next Tuesday" (Saturday 6th October, 1832), Talleyrand leaves for London" (10th October, 1832); "Prince Talleyrand was still in London on the 27th October, 1832". On the 22nd December 1831, from Number 48, Bedford Square, London, Rammohan Roy thought of "applying to Prince Talleyrand for a passport". On the 27th September, 1832, he was writing from England a letter to his son, in Bengali, which has been reproduced in facsimile in Miss Carpenter's "Last Days". In December, 1832, Mon. Pauthier published a long article on the works of Rammohan Roy, referring, at the end to Rammohan Roy's staying in Paris, retrospectively. Hence his stay in Paris may be placed between September and December, 1832.

From two contemporary papers, *Journal des Debats* (15th to 19th October, 1832) and *Le Constitutional* (15th October, 1832) we find definitely that the *Rajah*, Indian Brahmin, had the honour of being presented to the King by Mr. de Saint-Maurice, *usher* of the Ambassadors (Neuilly, 14 October). Prince Talleyrand was therefore not present, being away in London, while Rammohan was presented to the King. It is interesting to note four days after, *Journal des Debats* (19th October, 1832) printing the following note on Rammohan Roy: "This is what Mon. Victor Jacquemont wrote, from Simla in the Himalayas, on the frontiers of Tibet, on 25th October, 1831, on the Hindu *Rajah* who had recently the honour of being presented to the French King; 'The journals (Gazettes) of Calcutta bring to my notice that Rammohan Roy has embarked for London. He is a Bengalee Brahmin, the most learned among Orientals. He knows perfectly Greek, Latin, Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit. He writes English admirably. Although high above the superstitions of his country, he never took to Christianity as has been alleged. On the contrary he seemed to have converted to *unitarianism* some clever priests of the English Episcopal Church. I used to meet him often in Calcutta, where he enjoyed the highest esteem for the extent and diversity of his knowledge. It is probable that he will not leave Europe without having visited France and I shall be very happy indeed to meet him again in Paris on my return.' Before visiting France, Rammohan wrote a letter, in *Persian* to his friend Garcin de Tassy, Professor of Persian in the famous Paris School of Living Oriental Languages (*Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes*).

LATIN AMERICA JEREMY BENTHAM AND RAMMOHAN ROY

By

KALIDAS NAG

I draw the attention of the public to a very important letter addressed to Rammohan, by the great British philosopher-jurist Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832). The letter was originally published by Dr. J. Bowring, Editor of the Collected works of J. Bentham, in Vol. 10, pp 589-92. For a copy of this valuable letter I thank Dr. Jatindra Kumar Majumdar, M.A., Ph. D. (London) who, with his collaborator Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda, has opened a new chapter in the study of Rammohan literature, by his and Mr. Chanda's "*Selections from Official Letters and Documents, 1938*", and also the by important volumes on "*Rammohan Roy and the Last Mughals*," and "*Progressive movements in India* "

Bentham's letter to Rammohan bears no date ; but the year of the correspondence may be accepted as 1828, for Bentham writes : "If I live seven days longer, I shall be four score," and Bentham was born in 1748. Before addressing this his first letter to Rammohan, Bentham admits that his character was made known to him "by our excellent friends Colonel Young, Colonel Stanhope and Mr. Buckingham." Of the three, Mr. James Silk Buckingham, Editor of the *Calcutta Journal* (founded 2nd. October, 1818), as we know, was introduced to Rammohan as early as June, 1818, when Buckingham was "surprised at the unparalleled accuracy of his language." In 1823 Buckingham's *Journal* was suppressed and he was ordered to leave India for England. That provoked Rammohan to draft that famous memorial against the Press Ordinance which was characterised by Miss Collet as "the Areopagitica of Indian history." During this period of his activities the Raja was taking keen interest in the freedom movements of the world. In a letter to Mr. Buckingham, dated August 11, 1821, the Raja wrote :

"From the late unhappy news I am obliged to conclude that I shall not live to see liberty universally restored to the nations of Europe and Asiatic nations, specially those that are European colonies, possessed of a greater degree of the same blessing than what they now enjoy. Under these circumstances, I consider the cause of the Neapolitans as my own and their enemies as ours. Enemies of liberty and friends of despotism have never been and never will be ultimately successful."

In 1823, as reported in the *Edinburgh Magazine*, the Raja gave a public dinner at the Town Hall of Calcutta, on receipt of the news of the successful rising of the Spanish Colonies in South America against the despotic authority of Spain. My Latin American friends cheered, when I lectured, on Rammohan and Latin America, at the Buenos Aires University, after the P.E.N. Congress (1936).

In the light of these facts, we may seek new meanings in some parts of the letter of Bentham as well as in the recently discovered *presentation copy*, to Rammohan, of the original Spanish edition of the *Constitution of Cadiz*, which is now deposited in the Rammohan Library of Calcutta.

With regard to Bentham-Rammohan relationship I find it significant that in 1831 on his arrival in London, Rammohan wrote a letter to Bentham (Works p 121) ; and in 1828 Bentham, while drawing the attention of Rammohan to his Codification Proposal, institutes 'a significant comparison between Rammohan and Del Valle, the renowned Spanish leader of Guatemala, in Central Latin America :

"I hear him spoken of, from various quarters, as by far the most estimable man that late Spanish America has produced. If there be anything that you could like to transmit to him, it would be a sincere pleasure to me to receive it and transmit it to him accordingly. Yours and his are kindred souls."

This proves beyond doubt that Rammohan was not only sympathetic, in a general sense, to the freedom movement of Latin America, but that he was possibly carrying on correspondence with some of its patriots and thought-leaders like Del Valle of Guatemala. The future alone may reveal more relevant facts ; but in the meantime we understand why a special copy of the Constitution of Cadiz was presented to '*Al Liberalismo del Noble, Sabio y Virtuoso Brama Rammohan Roy*'

The above dedication which I examined was written, in beautiful *hand-script*, on behalf of *La Compania de Filipinas* or the Company of the Philippines ; a Spanish group which, in some unknown date, presented Rammohan with a copy of the printed text of the *Constitution of Cadiz*, promulgated on the 19th of March, 1812. The date of presentation of the book to Rammohan must be later than 19th March, 1812. I have inspected carefully the printed text (badly damaged, alas !), and the dedicatory page written and decorated by hand. I examined also carefully the list of the various members of the deputation who presented to the Spanish King, the Reform Decrees, emerging finally as the *Constitution of Cadiz*.^{*} Guatemala was represented there not by Del Valle but by Deputy Antonio Larranzabal, who may belong to the earlier generations of patriots ; for we get a clear interval of 16 years between the historic Constitution of Cadiz and the letter of Bentham to Rammohan. (*Vide Modern Review*, 1939).

Bentham was one of the pioneers of Penal Law Reforms ; and he was barely 27 years of age when he published his "*Rationale of Punishment and Reward*" (1775). Ten years after, in 1785, while staying for a while with his brother, an officer in White Russia, Bentham developed his idea of *Panopticon*

^{*} On the 18th of March, 1812, with Vicente Pasqual as President, a deputation of Spaniards presented to the King the Reform Decrees with a view to circulating them to all the official authorities and nations under the Spanish Monarchy *todas las autoridades y pueblos de la Monarquia*. The very next day (19 March, 1812) the Constitution of Cadiz was formally accepted.

or inspection house, about which he writes in detail to Rammohan seeking his co-operation. After the fall of the Bastille (4th July, 1789) we find Bentham honoured with the status of a "French citizen"; and as such he wrote a memorable appeal, to the French people, urging them to "emancipate the Colonies". With the opening of the 19th century we find Bentham establishing intimate relations with Mr. James Mill, the famous historian of British India and the father of John Stuart Mill. After the fall of Napoleon we find Bentham corresponding with Washington, Quincy Adams and Simon Bolivar (1783-1830), the liberator of Latin America.

In 1823, Bentham helped substantially the cause of radicalism by establishing the *Westminster Review* with Sir John Bowring as the Editor (vide Rammohan's letter to him; *English Works* pp. 113-14). In 1828, when he was addressing his first letter to Rammohan, Bentham was also writing a letter in *French*, to Mehomat Ali, the Khedive of Egypt, urging him to give a Constitution to Egypt and to declare independence from Turkey. When the Raja landed in England in April, 1831, the first man to call on him at the Adelphi Hotel, London, was the venerable British Philosopher Jeremy Bentham, 83 years of age. In June, 1831, Sir John Bowring, in welcoming the Raja at the reception of the British Unitarian Association, made that memorable speech in which he classed Rammohan with "a Plato or a Socrates, a Milton or a Newton".* Within a few months of his arrival, we find Bentham establishing the Parliamentary Candidate Society, to help returning to Parliament, among others, "Rammohan Roy a Hindoo." We hope that these facts would stimulate further researches into the career of this great son of India and champion of human freedom.

† "I am sure that it is impossible to give expression to those sentiments of interest and anticipation with which his advent here is associated in all our minds. I recollect some writers have indulged themselves with enquiring what they should feel, if any of those time-honoured men, whose names have lived through the vicissitudes of ages, should appear among them. They have endeavoured to imagine what would be their sensations if a Plato or a Socrates, a Milton or a Newton, were unexpectedly to honour them with their presence. I recollect that a Poet, who has well been called divine, has drawn a beautiful picture of the feelings of those who first visited the Southern Hemisphere, and saw for the first time, that beautiful constellation, the Golden Cross. It was with feelings such as they underwent, that I was overwhelmed when I stretched out, in your name, the hand of welcome to the Raja Ram Mohan Roy".

BOWRING

TO RAMMOHAN ROY : A LETTER

By

JEREMY BENTHAM

1828

Intensely Admired and Dearly Beloved Collaborator in the Service of Mankind ! Your character is made known to me by our excellent friends, Col. Young, Col. Stanhope and Mr. Buckingham. Your works, by a book in which I read, a style which, but for the name of an Hindoo, I should have ascribed to the pen of a superiorly well-educated and instructed Englishman. A just now published work of mine, which I send by favour of Mrs. Young, exhibits my view of the foundations of human belief, specially applied to the practice of this country in matters of law.

Now at the brink of the grave, (for I want but a month or two of fourscore) among the most delightful of my reflections, is the hope, I am notwithstanding feeding myself with, of rendering my labours of some considerable use to the hundred millions, or thereabouts, of whom I understand that part of your population, which is under English governance or influence is composed.

With Mr. Mill's work of British India you can scarcely fail to be more or less acquainted. For these three or four and twenty years he has numbered himself among my disciples ; for upwards of twenty years he has been my guest. If not adequately known already, his situation in the East India Company's service can be explained to you by Col. Young. My papers on Evidence, those papers which you now see in print, were in his hands, and read through by him, while occupied in his above-noticed great work ; a work from which more practically applicable information on the subject of government and policy may be derived (I think I can venture to say) than from any other as yet extant ; though, as to style, I wish I could, with truth and sincerity, pronounce it equal to yours.

For these many years a grand object of his ambition has been to provide for British India, in the room of the abominable existing system, a good system of judicial procedure, with a judicial establishment adequate to the administration of it ; and for the composition of it, his reliance has all along been, and continues to be, on me. What I have written on these subjects wants little of being complete ; so little that, were I to die to-morrow, there are those that would be able to put it in order and carry it through the press.

What he aims at above all things is, the giving stability and security to landed property in the hands of the greatest number throughout British India ; and for this purpose, to ascertain by judicial inquiry, the state of the customs

of the people in that respect. For this same purpose, a great increase in the number of judicatories, together with the oral examination of all parties concerned, and recordation of the result will be absolutely necessary; the mode of proceeding as simple as possible, unexpensive and prompt, forming in these respects as complete contrast as possible with the abominable system of the great Calcutta Judicatory nations, of unmixed blood and half-caste, both of whom could serve on moderate salaries, being, on my system, as much as possible.

Though but very lately known to your new Governor-General (Bentinck) Mr. Mill is in high favour with him; and (I have reason to believe) will have a good deal of influence, which in that case, he will employ for the purpose above-mentioned.

He has assured his lordship that there can be no good penal judicature without an apt prison and prison-management; and no apt prison or prison-management, without the plan which we call the *Panopticon* plan, an account of which is in a work of mine, a copy of which, if I can find one, will accompany this letter. At any rate, Col. Young can explain it to you, with the cause why it was not five-and-thirty years ago (1793) established here; and all the paupers of England, put under my care: all the persons being, at all times, under the eye of the keepers; and the keepers as well as they, under the eyes of as many people as do not grudge the trouble of walking up a few steps for the purpose.

For I know not how many years, a dozen or fifteen, perhaps I have never paid a single visit to anybody, except during about three months, when a complaint I was troubled with forced me to bathing places, and at length to Paris. Thus it is that Lord William and I have never come together; and now there is not time enough. Half jest, half earnest, Mr. Mill promised him a meeting with me on his return from India; for, old as I am, I am in good health and spirits, and have as yet lost but little strength I had in my youth; though the influence of my writings is said to be something, of anything that can be called power I have not had any the least atom. I have some reason for expecting that, more or less use will be made of my work on Judicial Procedure by Government here. But from the influence possessed by Mr. Mill, and the intense anxiety he has been manifesting for some years past for the completion of it, my hopes have in relation to your country been rather sanguine. Of the characters of it I cannot find time to say anything except that, by the regard shown in it to the interests of the subject by many, and by its simplicity, which I have endeavoured to maximize, I have little fear of its not recommending itself to your affections.

What regards the Judiciary Establishment, will form about half of the second of two volumes, a copy of the first of which (with the exception of six introductory parts) being already in print, is designed to form of the contents of this packet.

While writing, it has occurred to me to add a copy of a work called Panopticon ; the rather because, at the desire of Mr. Mill, it is in the hands of your new Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, to whom Mr. Mill has been recommending ; and, as he flattens himself, not altogether without success, the erection of a place of confinement, upon the principles therein displayed. More than thirty years ago, but for a personal pique taken against me by the late King, George the Third, all the prisoners in the kingdom, and all the paupers, would, under my care, have been provided for by me upon the same principle. To the Prime Minister of the time, (from 1792 to 1804), with his colleagues, it was an object of enthusiastic and preserving admiration ; and not only was an act of the Legislature, which (you know) could not have been enacted without the King's consent, obtained for the purpose, but so much as related to the experimental prison, carried into effect as the purchase of a large spot of ground for the purpose, and the greatest part put into my possession ; but when the last step came to be taken, George the Third could not be prevailed upon to take it ; and so the affair ended.

In my codification Proposal you will see a letter for Del Valle of Gautemala, in late Spanish America. He is the instructor of his country ; such an one as you of yours. I thus mention him to you. I shall mention you to him. Several papers he has sent me have made known to me his history, his occupations, and his designs. I hear him spoken of, from various quarters, as by far the most estimable man that late Spanish America has produced. If there be anything that you could like to transmit to him, it would be a sincere pleasure to me to receive it, and transmit it to him accordingly. Yours and his are kindred souls. Though in his country highest in estimation it is still uncertain whether he is so in power, there being another man whose party is at war with that to which Del Valle wishes best ; but, as far as I can learn that of Del Valle, it is most likely to be ultimately prevailing.

Bowring, with whom you have corresponded, is now living with me. He is the most intimate friend I have : the most influential, as well as ardent man I know, in the endeavour at everything that is most serviceable to mankind.

Farewell, illustrious friend ! You may imagine from what is above, with what pleasure I should hear from you. Information from you might perhaps be made of use with reference to the above objects. But you should, in that case, send me two letters, one confidential, another ostensible. If I live seven days longer, I shall be fourscore. To make provision for the event of my death, you should do by your letters to me, as Col. Young has done by his : send it open, enclosed in one to Bowring.

We have high hopes of Lord William's good intentions : so much better than from so high an aristocratical family as his could have been expected.

I have been asking our common friends here, over and over again, for

their assurance that there is some chance of your paying a visit to this strange country. I can get little better from them, then a shake of the head.

P. S. *Panopticon*. Should this plan, and the reasoning, meet your approbation, you will see that none of the business as to which it is applicable, could be carried on well otherwise than by contract. What say you to the making singly, or in conjunction with other enlightened philanthropists, an offer to Government for that purpose? Professors of all religions might join in the contract; and appropriate classification and separation for the persons under management: provision correspondent to their several religions, and their respective castes; or other allocations under their respective religions. How it would delight me see you and Col. Young engaged in a partnership for a purpose of that sort!

(J. Bowring: *Works of J. Bentham*. Vol. X, pp. 589-92)

—*The Modern Review*, September, 1939.

It was his supreme moral and spiritual genius that made Rammohan Roy one of the heroes of humanity, who more than any other living soul shaped the course of human history at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Indeed it may be said with truth that his character and personality changed the face of Asia and profoundly influenced Europe and European thought also.*

C. F. Andrews, 1938

* Vide Adrienne Moore: *Rammohan Bibliography*: a valuable research-study on the works of Rammohan in France, Germany, England and America. Brahm Mission Press, Calcutta.

ASIA AND HER AWAKENING WOMANHOOD

By

KALIDAS NAG

It is not an accident that the harbinger of the renaissance of Modern India, Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), made woman's cause, along with the spiritual unity of India, the key-stone of the arch of national reconstruction. To him the woman's cause was man's not merely from any consideration of national utility, noble as it was ; but because according to the universal revelations of the Upanishads and the Vedanta, woman was the perfect equal of man both in the fulfilment of human responsibilities as well as in the attainment of the superhuman prerogative of Immortality. Ram Mohan's epoch-making fight, for the amelioration of the conditions of India's womanhood, not only forms one of the noblest legacies to the subsequent generation of Indian national workers, but marks an era in the history of Modern Asiatic Renaissance. The programme of Ram Mohan was pushed forward, in diverse fields of woman's emancipation, by our great national leaders like Maharshi Debendranath Tagore (1817-1905), Pundit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891), Kashab Chandra Sen (1838-1884), Mr. Justice Madhab Govind Ranade (1845-1901) and others, till at last the equality of men and women was promulgated in unequivocal terms in the constitution of the Brahmo Samaj of India. Creative artists of modern India through their writings, invariably championed the cause of the progress of our womenfolk ; and the passionate love for our mothers found its grand literary apotheosis in *Bande Mātaram* (Hail Mother India) by our literary pioneer, Bankimchandra Chatterjee (1838-94). The first women's college in India, the Bethune College, was founded in 1849 at least 12 years before the establishment of our first University in Calcutta in 1858 ; and the first woman Graduate of the University was acclaimed with an ode of appreciation from the leading poet of that period, Hemchandra Banerjee. Two timid daughters of Bengal, Aru Dutt and Toru Dutt, visiting (1870) Europe, gained reputation as writers, both in English and French, and one of them Toru has left an impressive novel in French. Women doctors, educationists, editors of newspapers and social reformers have already proved their worth as perfect equals of men, even before the first Indian National Congress assembled in Bombay in 1885, with Mr. W. C. Bonnerji as the President, when there was large gathering of the fair sex.

The case for social reform in modern India was mainly the case for the reform of women's status ; and the Congress Presidents, from the very beginning, had to take full account of the "mature opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing social questions of the day".

(First Congress, 1885, object C.). In the 8th Congress in Allahabad in 1892, Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, President for the second time, had to offer an explanation for not making *social reform* the chief plank in the Congress platform. At the same time, he had to admit its vital importance by recounting the history of the first conference on the subject, during the first Congress where, distinguished social reformers like Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao of Madras, Justice M. G. Ranade of Poona, Mr. Narendranath Sen of Calcutta and others exchanged their ideas freely. Towards the end of that century, President A. M. Bose, the wrangler of Cambridge, in the Madras Session of the Congress (1898) paid the most glowing tribute to India's womanhood by adding a veritable Mother Cult to politics through his presidential peroration on the Motherland: "After centuries of darkness, the dawn of a better day has now opened for her fair face. It depends on us, on our own sense of duty, on our spirit of loving sacrifice and earnest effort, whether the streak of that light shall broaden and grow unto the lovely day. The land where, after ages, the sundered streams of Aryan life unite once again in the present day, that land, Brother-Delegates! deserves all our love. Love her the more, cling to her the closer for her misfortunes of the past, for the shadows and the clouds that have hung over her in the times that have gone."

Thus, the equality between men and women before God, preached by Ram Mohan Roy towards the beginning of the 19th century, led naturally to their equality before the Mother-land, proudly recognized by the Indian National Congress, towards the end of that century when Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902) brought Sister Nivedita (1866-1911) to start real education for our neglected womanhood championed also by Ramabai Saraswati (1858-1922).

Indian women had already started to enquire about their sisters in other parts of the Orient, as well as of the women movements throughout the world. For, a few noble representatives of Occidental womanhood have already come forward to champion the cause of their Oriental sisters: Mary Carpenter, Madame Blavatsky and Mrs. Annie Besant of the Theosophical Society, Sister Nivedita and Sister Christine of the Ramkrishna—Vivekananda Mission and Mrs. Foster of Honolulu, a loyal friend of Rev. Dhammapala of the Maha Bodhi Society, amongst others, have found their permanent place in the heart of the Indian people.

No wonder therefore, that while England and several other Occidental countries were ridiculing and often actively opposing the cause of the women's progress with most reactionary measures, a daughter of the nation of Mrs. Pankhurst, our Mrs. Annie Besant was unanimously elected the first woman-President of the Indian National Congress of 1917 in Calcutta. That it was not a mere spectacular move but a genuine and inevitable culmination of a century-old evolution, was proved again by the election in 1926 of another noble and Muse-inspired daughter of India, Poetess Sarojini Naidu, as the second woman-President of the Congress, in one of the very critical phases of our national history.

And it is in the fitness of things that Mrs. Naidu came to be elected President of the first All Asian Women's Conference, held in Lahore, in January, 1931. The All Asian Educational Conference which, by a happy coincidence held its session in Benaras just a month before, in December 1930, already proved conclusively that the teachers and educationists of India were thinking intensively in terms of *All Asia*. Now the womanhood of India came to justify its noble tradition by inviting their first All Asian Conference. The organizing Secretary, Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade, with real foresight uttered the following words in welcoming sister-delegates from Palestine, Syria, Persia, Afghanistan, Ceylon, Burma, Java, China, Siam, Nepal etc., and visiting sisters from New Zealand and America: "The common ideal and aspirations of Oriental womanhood is an essential factor in the growth of international understanding, World Peace and regeneration of Humanity. We have limited ourselves in this initial experience to women of Asia only; but in future we hope to extend our scope, so as to include amongst our members, women of other continents who have shown, by their understanding, sympathy, and service of the Orient, their complete unity with our common ideals".

That there is no conflict, on the contrary perfect comradeship, between the women groups of the Asian and the non-Asian countries on this issue, was amply demonstrated by the enthusiastic support accorded to the Indian organizers of this conference by their non-Asian sisters like Mrs. Margaret Cousins. She helped her Indian sisters ungrudgingly in their endeavours and finally added the golden touch of humour by thanking them for the "Freedom of the World" that they have conferred upon her and thanking her poet-husband on the sly, for giving her the name that makes her *Cousins* to everybody! Renowned woman-workers like Madame Hamida, President of the Eastern Women's Conference, Beyrouth Lebanon, Dr. Rosa Straus of the Jewish Women's Committee for International relations, (Palestine), Dame Rachel E. Crowdy of the League of Nations, Madame Mastooree-Afsear, President of the Society of the Patriotic Women of Persia, Delegates of the Women Organizations of Soviet Russia, as well as the British and American section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, amongst others, conveyed their enthusiastic greetings. The Poet Laureate of Asia, Rabindranath Tagore, blessed the Conference with the following profound message: "The consolidation of the cultural consciousness of the Orient is the preliminary step for the enrichment of world culture; and as women are the fundamental custodians of the cultural life, it will be most valuable for them to meet and strengthen their understanding of the *gifts that Asia has to offer to the world*".

Some of the outstanding Indian figures, amongst the organizers of the All Asian Women Conference are, as a matter of course, prominent workers, also of the All-India Women, Conference on Educational and Social Reforms which came into being in 1927 through the initiative of our sister-colleagues in the work of national reconstruction. This permanent All India Women's

Organization has, in the course of the last few years, shown remarkable capacities for constructive thinking and practical work towards nation-building and the amelioration of the condition of Indian Womanhood. This would be evident to anyone who would go through the Report of the special committee of the All India Women's Conference, known as the All India Women's Education Fund Association, embracing Hindus, Mohammadans, Christians, Parsees, Jews, officials and non-officials in one fraternity of Service. The organization has already raised a decent sum of money, with Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji, (Hyderabad, Deccan), as the Honorary Secretary. They aspire after building of a Fund of about £100,000 and the organization of a Central Women's Institute of Education and Research, the training ground of India's women workers. The syllabus of Home Science, included Child Welfare, Mother Craft, First Aid, Nursing; as well as the programme of practical application of national education, in the department of rural reconstruction, arts and crafts etc., so strongly recommended by Mahatma Gandhi. We wish every success to our noble sisters, working simultaneously in the field of Indian and Asian, national as well as International interests.

Gaining full recognition of the equal civic rights from the Indian National Congress, Indian Women are naturally leading to triumphant consummation the various lines of national endeavours in these days of "trial of faith." They are perfectly equal, and often superior to their brothers in patience and sacrifice, suffering and hope, in our historic fight for Freedom. As a matter of course they received this telling message from the world famous organization of Jane Addams, the American Nobel Laureate for Peace: "Women's International League for Peace and Freedom send greeting to the Congress of Indian women now assembled. We unite with you in spirit and in deep conviction that we women can forward world-wide movement for Freedom based on Justice and to be attained by non-violent methods."

—*India and the World*, June 1932.

SLAVERY ANCIENT AND MODERN

The announcement of the Wilberforce Centenary in Hull England, on the 29th of July, 1933 brought back to the mind of the general public that just a hundred years ago, *slavery* was considered to be a legitimate profession ; and that, only through years of heroic fight by Wilberforce and his colleagues that the statutory abolition of slavery in the British Empire was effected. Between 1680-1786, over two million of slaves were imported from Africa into the English Colonies alone, what to speak of the brisk slave-trade, for over two centuries—by the Spanish and the Portuguese mariners. This Atlantic slavery of Christian Europe was so dark and degrading that, compared with it, the Mediterranean slavery of the Pagan (Egyptian or Græco-Roman) epoch seems to be quite humane.

The merchants of Liverpool, towards the end of the 18th century, carried over 800,000 slaves from Africa to the West Indies in about ten years and sold them for £15,000,000. In England alone at that epoch there were about 15,000 slaves and they were offered for sale by advertisement in news papers : "A well-made good tempered Black Boy for sale !" (1769). That roused the attention of the great champion of the slaves, Granville Sharp who, by dragging the matter to the court, secured the first emancipating judgment from Lord Mansfield (22nd June, 1772) ; but alas, there was a century of incessant fight still ahead of the emancipators.

In the second stage of the crusade, we find Mr. Thomas Clarkson, carrying the Latin Essay-prize, at the University of Cambridge, on Slavery (1785). So in 1787 Wilberforce gave up his project of Evangelical work in order to be the champion of Slavery in Parliament. He was drawn into this noble fight by his Cambridge friend William Pitt and was strongly supported by great orators and champions of human liberty like Burke and Fox. A Parliamentary ruling against slavery was extorted by Fox in 1806-7 ; and, thanks to that ruling, in the Peace Conference of Vienna (1814), England appeared as the only emancipating nation in that Conference of "Slave-dealers !" In 1815 both the Houses of Parliament voted for an address to the Crown to ask Colonial assemblies "to promote the physical, moral and religious improvement of the slaves". But the Colonial Legislatures postponed all reform by dilatory tactics which was nothing wonderful, when we remember that, even the Bishop of London could assure those cultured and influential Slave Dealers to the effect that Christianity, and the embracing of the Gospel, did not make the least alteration in public *property* of human beings ! Wilberforce was getting old and therefore selected Thomas F. Buxton (Elephant Buxton) to act as the leader of the campaign, at the third and the last phase of the crusade ; and in

May, 1833, the Government introduced a bill for the simple abolition of Slavery. In July the Parliament voted £20,000,000 to compensate the *planters* liberating the Plantation slaves; and in August the Bill became Law "while Wilberforce lay dying, the happiest and most widely honoured man in all the World".

We are grateful to Dr. Tagore and to Mahatma Gandhi for their ready and spontaneous response to our invitation to convey, on behalf of India, their profound messages on this memorable occasion.

Tagore on the Abolition of Slavery

"A century has passed since Wilberforce showed a noble courage to condemn the thriving business of slave hunting. It is right that we should remember it with proper ceremony and bring our homage to the memory of the great man. But at the same time, it should be the occasion for us to acknowledge with shame that the evil has not died with his own death, that in the dark corners of civilisation, slavery still lurks, hiding its name and nourishing its spirit. It is there in our plantations, in factories, in business offices, in the punitive departments of government, where the primitive vindictiveness of man claims special privilege to indulge in fierce barbarism. A considerable section of men still seems to have an innate sympathy for the strong seeking victims in its chase of profit and power; and what is worse there are terrible movements of benevolent idealism relentlessly smothering freedom in its path of ruthless recruitment. Humanity ever waits for the voice of judgment against uncontrolled cultivation of slavery which invades all parts of the civilised world, offering enormous bribes to the conscience of man, spreading a callousness of heart that is unshamed of its hooliganism".

Mahatma Gandhi on Slavery

"India has much to learn from the heroes of the Abolition of Slavery, for we (Indians) have slavery based upon supposed religious sanction and more poisonous than its Western fellow."

William Wilberforce (1759—1833) was buried in the Westminster Abbey, close to his eminent colleagues Pitt and Fox and Canning. India of Tagore and Gandhi, while offering her homage to the great Emancipator of slaves, sighs back to that golden age of British liberalism when every patriot in exile found his home in England and every case of unredressed wrong, of trampled rights, of smothered liberty of speech, found its sonorous expression and unfaltering champion in Great Britain. That is why our first Great Emancipator, Raja Rammohan Roy, entered freely in big controversies with the Britishers, lay

or ecclesiastical, administrators or missionaries. Rammohan worked with full hope and perfect confidence, that a just cause even when championed by a single individual, will ultimately convince the majority of the British race. That is why Rammohan had so many ardent friends not only amongst the progressive sections of England, but in the Parliament of the Reform Bill period. It piloted the Great Bill of Emancipation of Slaves which the Raja had the satisfaction to see finally passed (August, 1833) before his death in Bristol (Sep. 1833).

Rammohan lived on terms of the closest intimacy with Lord Brougham the great advocate of Popular Education and of the Abolition of Slavery. Then Abraham Lincoln (1809-65) was a youngman of 24 who was a martyr to the cause in 1865.

So in this centenary year of the death of Rammohan Roy, India offers a spontaneous and wholehearted homage to Wilberforce, on his coming Bicentenary, hoping for a resurrection of that noble spirit of Humanism and Philanthropy.

—*India and the World*, Aug., 1933

PENANCE AND POLITICS

By

KALIDAS NAG

Self-sacrifice is an expression so common to-day that we have forgotten to be aware of its real implication. We are so much conscious of our self that its least inconveniences are glibly characterised as sacrifices ! Thousands are starving or living on the verge of starvation, material and moral, through unforeseen calamities, natural, political or economic, and we heave a sigh of relief after having "done our bit", thus making the word "self-sacrifice" appear ridiculously cheap. Lives of millions, born or unborn, at stake in the fateful discussions of the Disarmament Conference which, even in the light of recent experiences of the awful world war, could not come to a solution. Yet the representatives of the nations were almost satisfied that they have done the utmost sacrifice they are capable of. As a result of their failure, the whole of Europe may be deluged in blood once more, and millions of mothers and wives would lose their sons and husbands. Yet, who could dream to-day to see Mr. Arthur Henderson, the Chairman of the Conference, resolving to "fast unto death", like Mahatma Gandhi, to eradicate one of the curses of civilisation ? Penance has become an anachronism in the Western mind, at least in Occidental politics. No wonder that professional politicians greeted Gandhi with lofty sarcasm, while some were sincerely sympathetic. Western souls were puzzled beyond measure ; but the Mahatma did not swerve from his original positions. He replied that politics was but an outcome of his religion and that the majority of the common men and women of India would realise the significance of his fast. Witnessing a veritable social revolution within a week, Miss Muriel Lester in a meeting at Whitefield's Tabernacle London, asked the significant question : "Could not the principle underlying Mr. Gandhi's fast be applied successfully to the elucidation of such terrible problems as Disarmament and the appalling waste of present world economics ?"

Thus what was apparently the outcome of a protest against the British Prime Minister's *Communal Award*, what again by subtle political logic was condemned as Gandhi's narrow communal attitude, has been proved, by no less a tribunal than the open forum of facts, to be the noblest vindication of an universal cause by an individual's burning conviction. The statutory segregation of fifty millions of the "backward community", would have meant the permanent branding of India as the Land of Untouchables and Mr. Macdonald would have earned the reputation of adding a new continent of Untouchables to the anthropo geography of this little planet of ours.

Gandhi who, with the tragic irony that he alone commands, has often confessed to have committed 'Himalayan blunders', for once at least saved the British rulers from inflicting the Himalayan insult to Humanity. The utter sincerity of the Mahatma went direct to the heart of men and women all over the world. Fraternal messages reached this soul in prison who, as he himself, said, "though born as a high caste, has become an outcaste by adoption, for the last half a century". That sincerity roused some of the noblest spirits of Great Britain, layman and divines, to raise their voice of sympathy and co-operation. A few of the political descendants of Edmund Burke, like Bertrand Russell, Harold Laski and Fenner Brockway, felt the fast of Gandhi to be more than a queer phenomenon of Indian politics, nay a veritable challenge to the British conscience: "What Mr. Gandhi had stood for, what by his sacrifice he has gained was the principle of complete equality of man, with no distinction of colour, race or caste. There is untouchability in England, permeating three million and their relations with their own race. The last thing that was permissible would be the adoption, by the British people, of the air of superiority which prides itself on aiding the removal of that mote of untouchability from Indian life, while ignoring the beam of the same iniquity in its own society".

Ten Nobel Peace Prizes would not suffice to do justice and honour to this great Peace Maker of modern history who, through the last half a century, had not spent a day of his life without doing something for the better understanding and peace between the government and the governed, the employers and the employed, the privileged and the unprivileged. Gandhi brought a sincerity and a charity which form nevertheless the germinal principle of life and progress in human history. The entire fabric of civilisation is threatened by the burrowing of the disintegrating instincts of selfishness, greed and hatred leading to iniquity, exploitation and group-murder. The fountain-head of human relationship is poisoned by deadly decomposition of the vital organs of mankind. With the instinct of a prophet, no less than with the scientific charity of a physician, Gandhi felt that blood-transfusion alone can restore health to the diseased body-politic of humanity; and he offered his rich blood, to bring in New Life, with a mystic passion of self-immolation, so different from our comfortable self-sacrifice. A great European harmonist, Mon. Romain Rolland, could listen, ten years ago, to the ineffable melody of Love and Peace, in the soul of this Hindu Messiah and Pagan champion of Christian charity. To-day the wholeworld is listening with rapt attention to the Heroic Symphony of Suffering which, let us hope, some future Beethoven would weave into an immortal creation of Art. No wonder then that the "Sentinel of the East", as Gandhi affectionately called Tagore, scented a new health in the historic fast of the Mahatma: "The atmosphere has been purified by Mahatmaji's penance which was undertaken not merely for the sake of any particular group of people, but for the suffering of Man".

—*India and the World*, November, 1932

GANDHI THE GREAT RECONCILER

BY

KALIDAS NAG

"My faith is not less to-day but more" whispered the Mahatma through a voice almost choked by twenty-one days fast, and yet the feeble voice reverberated throughout the entire civilised world. What was the issue at that Epic Fast and trial of faith, in that "tussel with God", as Mahatma Gandhi himself phrased it? The most precious life in India has been saved by a miracle; and any miracle, real or apparent, is catching, especially in this age of precision and calculation. Gandhi, in his own way, is precise and calculating but he never posed as a miracle-worker. The monster of Untouchability and the degradation of about Fifty million sons and daughters of India, faced him with all its cruelty and ugliness, too deadly to be susceptible to miracle-cure. It was but the beginning of the fight, the future *Kuruksetra* of India in which Nārāyana alone was by the side of the Hero facing the grim battallions of darkness and death. Not one but innumerable precious lives would have to be sacrificed to vindicate the rights of the depressed and the honour of India as a civilised nation. The incredible humiliation and suffering of God's Children (*Harijans*) led to the unmaking of the political leader Gandhi and made a world-figure of the Mahatma, literally fulfilling his title—"The Great Soul".

It was on the universal character of the self immolation of Gandhi that his brother spirit of the Occident, Romain Rolland, has laid a special emphasis. Incidentally Gandhi was fighting for the uplift of the depressed classes of India but fundamentally he was fighting for a human principle and method unique in this age of violence. Not only outsiders, but our own kith and kin are believers in violence for fresh plunder or for the maintenance of the *status quo*, material or otherwise. The miracle of miracles of this age is the discovery and affirmation of the technique of *non-violence* and its application in the face of tremendous odds, as we see through the entire career of Gandhi. Years ago, as a young barrister in South Africa, he started the movement of non-violence to face the tragic degradation of his Indian brethren treated as *helots* of the Empire; and this year he celebrated the 40th Anniversary of that incident, as it were, by opposing the heartless pharisaism, of his reactionary conservative colleagues, with almost superhuman patience and sacrifice. At that instant the political leader Gandhi was translated into the region of world souls who toiled and bled for the elevation of submerged humanity.

This aspect of Gandhi's *Tapasyā* (penance) captivated the heart of greatest poet of our age, Rabindranath Tagore, who with his prophetic voice saluted Mahatma's audacious plunge into the Unknown with his poetic cry of

'Victory' ! Two of the greatest sons of India stand united here on the supernal heights of Indian history ; and quite irrespective of the immediated success or failure of their noble programme, we may say that humanity would breathe thereby in the higher and purer atmosphere of *Ahimsha* (Non-violence).

The full implication and potentiality of Gandhi's forty years experiments with Truth was brought out by his profound commentator Romain Rolland, General Smuts also hailed Gandhi's penance as "the greatest reform of our time". The pitiable breakdown in the Disarmament Conference, the sordid back-stair intrigues of arms-trade and militarism, the ominous brandishing of the lethal weapons of sinister imperialism, like the use of the air-craft for "peaceful police purposes in the Colonies" and of the "poison gas" in less peaceful days, all go to demonstrate, that humanity is entangled in a conflagration of violence which no amount of intellectual sophistry or economic persuasion could arrest. It is an age of deformation of everything human and sacred in our centuries old civilisation. Such deformation will lead inevitably to death. But is there no way of prolonging life ? That is the question which is asked by a few illumined souls : Gandhi and Tagore, Rolland and Einstein are all unanimous on this life-and-death question. The terrific flames of destruction through impending wars, are already enveloping with awful rapidity the beautiful green belts of civilisation. The deadly poison of hatred is slowly sapping the vitality of mankind ; yet God be thanked, that a soul like Gandhi is still in our midst, to inspire courage in sinking hearts and administer health-restoring medicine to the poisoned body of nations. The earliest Hymn to life and joy, to *Prāṇa* and *Ananda*, came out of the heart of India in remote Vedic antiquity and ever since, India upheld the sanctity of Life. World to-day, and not merely India, is in need of that principle ; and its special Indian technique of application was demonstrated with scientific precision through the Gandhi-method and the Gandhi-effect, no less stirring and invigorating than the Einstein-method or the Raman Effect.

In this so called civilised age when even an Einstein had to be saved from being mobbed and a Gandhi had to stake his very life, we need some thing like a Gandhi Foundation, international organisation which would concentrate the moral efforts, and right endeavours, (*Satyagraha*) of the struggling band of men and women, ready to devote the entire resources of their head and heart to the salvaging of sinking humanity. Immediate success or failure matters little in this spiritual adventure, started by this queer "Salt raider" of India marching to the seas, possibly whispering lovingly to the countless millions immediately following him and to those beyond in the realm of Futurity : 'Ye are the salt of the earth.' ! May that prayer and the great penance of Gandhi revitalise humanity and re-establish "Peace on earth and goodwill to men".

MAHATMA GANDHI

By

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

A shadow is darkening to-day over India like the shadow cast by an eclipsed sun. The people of a whole country is suffering from a poignant anxiety which seldom appeared so all-spreading ; and that is the only consolation amidst this great suffering of modern Indian history. The pulsation of this supreme suffering has reached from the highest to the lowest of our society. Mahatmaji, who through his life of dedication has made India his own in Truth, has commenced his vow of extreme self-sacrifice for us all. Each country has its inner geography where her spirit dwells and where no physical force can enter. Times without number outsiders have conquered India by violence ; but directly they are signalled to retire behind the curtain by the great Dramaturge Time stupendous wreckage of their material possession and glory vanishes in the void. But the Great Soul who achieves victory through the power of Truth continues his dominion even when he is no longer present physically. Such an achievement belongs to Mahatmaji ; and the fact that he has offered such a price, staking his very life for the cause, fills us with awe and makes us think about the baffling obstacle in the path of its realisation.

Nothing can be more disastrous for us than the utter lessening of the value of a heroic expression of truth by paying it the homage of a mere ceremonial expression of feeling by a people emotionally inclined. The penance which Mahatmaji has taken upon himself is not a ritual but a message to all India and to the world. If we must make that message our own, we should accept it in the right spirit. The truth of sacrifice could only be grasped by our genuine sacrifice. Let us try to understand the meaning of his message.

From the dawn of human history, there has continued the assertion of superiority of one section of mankind at the expense of another, building the stronghold of pride and superiority upon the slavish humiliation of others. Though man has practised this for ages yet we must assert that it is inhuman. Human prosperity can never be stable on the foundation of slavery which not only harms the slaves but ruins their masters. Their heavy burden drags us inevitably down and obstructs us at every step of our forward march. Those whom we humiliate gradually pushes us down the precipice of degradation. Man-eating civilisation will decompose by disease and death, such is the law of the Lord of Man. The brand of ignominy by which we have deprived from elemental human rights a section of our fellowmen has brought dishonour to the whole of India.

The fact of relative inequality between individuals and races cannot be ignored ; but to accept it as absolute and exploit it so as to deprive men permanently of their human rights, is a social crime that multiplies fast in its heinousness, pouring the poison of humiliation and hatred into the life of the entire nation. We, who imagine ourselves superior to those whom we have tied down to their degradation, are punished by progressive alienation and weakness. The feebleness engendered by such alienation has been one of the principal causes of defeat in all our historical struggles. The divisions, that might have been removed with time, we have tried to make eternal by constant appeal to social conservation. The curse of the social division has ever spelt ruin to all our projects of political emancipation. Social equilibrium is bound to be upset where the honour of a section is based on the dishonour of another ; whence we deduce that the basic *Dharma* of mankind is equality. The signs of such division are not lacking in Western society ; the chasm between wealth and want is ever widening dangerously, nourishing earthquakes in its depth. There is no escape from destruction except through the natural restoration of equality.

Mahatmaji has repeatedly pointed out the danger of those *divisions* in our country that are permanent insults to Humanity ; but our attention has not yet been drawn to the urgency of social reformation with the same force as it has been the importance of Khaddar and economic recovery. The social iniquities, from which all our enemies get their principal support, claim our time-honoured loyalty, making it difficult for us to uproot them.

Against the deep seated moral weakness in our society, Mahatmaji has pronounced his ultimatum ; and lest it may be our misfortune to lose him in this battle, the proud privilege of the fight will be passed on every one of us to be carried to the finish. It is the supreme charge of this fight which he is offering to us ; if we can accept that wholeheartedly, then this day would be glorified. If we do not know how to accept this great challenge, if we dismiss it with ceremonial fastings for a day, followed by indifference tomorrow and allow the noble life to be wasted and its great meaning lost, then our people will roll down the slope of degradation from sorrows and starvation to utter futility.

Great persons appeared from age to age all of a sudden. We do not find them whenever we want and it is a great good fortune to find them in our midst. To-day there is no end to our suffering ; degradation and persecution, disease and sorrow are being piled up from day to day ; yet, transcending all, there is this sublime joy that an incomparable being is born in this land of ours and that we are breathing within the same atmosphere. In Mahatmaji's life there is no distinction between the high and the low, the learned and the unlettered, the rich and the poor, amongst whom equally he has lavished his love and has proclaimed : " May happiness and well-being come to one and all." That proclamation was not a mere word, it came out of the depth of his suffering and how much he has suffered, what torture, what humiliation ! His external life is

a history of uninterrupted suffering not only in India but outside. How many a time he had to face death itself. That suffering however, was not for the fulfilment of his self interest but for the good of all. After so much of insult and injury, he never retreated in anger but took all the sufferings on his own head. His penance, his greatness, has staggered even his opponents. He achieves his purpose but never through violence. He triumphs through sacrifice, through suffering, through supreme penance.

What an intolerable agony must there be behind his decision to fast himself to death ! If we do not understand him and recognise the sanctity of that penance, should we not be responsible for his martyrdom ? He has courted death with the determination of equalising the high and the low. May that strength and that divine audacity inspire our spirit and our action.

Where man insults man, God himself turn his face. The poison of human degradation have been injected into the veins of mother India through centuries. The crushing humiliation have we set upon the heads of countless millions and the whole country to-day is weak and staggering under that dead weight. It was impossible for the Mahatma to tolerate this sin. That is why the great *Tapasvi* is starving from day to day. A great curse was weighing on the nation for a long while and he came forward to expiate for our sins. Let us all unite with him in that supreme purification. May this union inaugurate the age of new Unity for ever. He is holding out the generous cup of Death as a sacramental vessel for our purification. He has triumphed over our fear, even over the fear of death. The world is looking on us and the unsympathetic are scoffing. If we fail to respond, then even this great event would look like a cruel joke. If, on the contrary, the fire of his spiritual strength kindled our soul, the whole world would gaze with wonder. May we all cry with one voice : " Victory to thee, Oh *Tapasvi* ! May thy penance be fulfilled". May that hymn of victory resound from shore to shore. May the whole world realise the inevitability of the triumph of Truth.

—*India & The World*, June, 1933.

PRESIDENT MASARYK & CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By

KALIDAS NAG

On October, 28th, 1918, the Czechoslovak nation dispelled the gloom of world war with the solemn Declaration of Independence in Prague; and Professor Masaryk who was collaborating with President Wilson in that great task, was notified on November 14 that he was elected the first President of the Czechoslovak Republic by the National Assembly. With hearty congratulations from President Wilson, as the representative of the American people, and with rousing receptions, on his way back home, in London, Paris and Padua, enjoying the hospitality of President Poincare and the King of Italy, Masaryk reached Prague on December 21st, made his pledge to the Revolutionary National Assembly and proclaimed his soul-stirring message to the new-born or reborn nation: "Hus began the Reformation and Hussitism became a revolution. It could not be otherwise, for every attempt at the introduction of new morality, if it is meant and carried out honestly, always leads and must lead to revolution". These feeling reference to the great pioneer John Hus by President Masaryk, brings back to our mind that, years ago, on the eve of the world war, he had the courage to break completely away from the past by pronouncing that memorable speech, on John Hus Day in Switzerland, and to herald the dawn of Czechoslovak Independence, exactly 500 years after the martyrdom of Hus.

In 1928 the Republic celebrated its tenth anniversary; and by a striking coincidence, it synchronized with the Tricentenary of the exile of Jan Amos Komensky or Comenius who was driven, by the many grievous ills which throttled his race, to leave his enslaved country, only to become a citizen of the world by his new methods of education synthesizing all human knowledge. Very appropriately, therefore, the illustrious Professor-President Masaryk offered the homage of the nation to the Great Exile through a sublime *penygeric* which we quote below in parts:

"Comenius realised that the Czech nation was the first, as a nation to effect a religious reformation and to fight and suffer for centuries for that reformation. Before Hus there had been many reformers but our national history from the death of Hus (1370-1415) to the death of Comenius (1592-1670) period of two centuries and a half, was one long effort for the attainment and defence of Reformation. If we regard Christianity, in the sense of its Founder, as a religion of love, we are faced with the problem how to understand that Christians, Churches and States, have for centuries *preached* the love and charity enjoined by Christ but have little *observed* them in practical life.

Thus the violence done to Hus and his martyr's death became the starting point of the religious wars (1450-1648) of Europe. This terrible experience soon roused amongst us a campaign against war. The most consistent champion of no-war was Chelcicky*, the founder of the Bhurch of the Czech Brethern (Moravian Church). Comenius adopted, in a modified form, Chelcicky's idea of absolute non-resistance to Evil. He therefore proclaimed the ideal of ever-enduring Peace, of love and religious tolerance, then little known in the disputes of Churches. Comenius himself provides a splendid example of how it is possible to harmonise nationality and internationalism.

"Comenius was concerned for practical Christianity, for Christian love but active effective love. Therein one may see not only Comenius' personal but also his racial and national character. We are, and must be, a nation of conscious and convinced workers. This I learnt from Comenius and realised it from him. In my political journeyings in all parts of the world, during the war, I carried with me not only the Bible of the Czech Brethren—the Kralice Bible—but also the Testament of Comenius."

Thus born (7th March, 1850) within two centuries from the death of Comenius, Professor Masaryk opened a new chapter in the history of his nation, in 1890-92, when that nation celebrated the Tricentenary of the birth of the great Pacifist Philosopher. The entire policy of the Hapsburg Empire, with regard to the Slav and Czech nations, came to be re-examined by the mature mind of Masaryk already past forty. He had twice visited Russia (1887-88) and returned more convinced than ever in the cause of righteous defence of the National Cause in the face of the evils of Austrian Imperialism, even after interviewing the champion of the cult of "Resist not Evil", Leo Tolstoy, then at the height of his fame. "Masaryk felt the need of working for the internal regeneration of politics, like our own Mahatma Gandhi, then just opening his career of *Satyagraha* in South Africa. Masaryk started then the movement of "Realism", simultaneously political and cultural in character. In 1891 Masaryk with Kaizal, was elected to the Austrian Parliament *Reichsrat* representing the whole of Bohemia. The same year he was appointed Professor at the University of Prague. On the one hand he was rousing, by his parliamentary activities, the attention of the progressive elements, so as to bring about radical reform of University studies and school education; on the other, Masaryk was welding the parties of Realists and Young Czechs into a solid whole. He was running two journals: *Cas*, the political organ of the party, and *Nase Doba* (Our Age). Masaryk was the soul of the movement, and he brought round him a group of specialists fighting from day to day the selfishness, indifference and above all untruth, evolving thereby a new technique of Methodical Realism for the realisation of national freedom and ideals. Masaryk understood, by the "Czech Question", the problem of dispossessed and down-

* Chelcicky (1390-1460) in his great work: *The Net of true Faith*, anticipated by centuries the teachings of Tolstoy who considered Chelcicky as one of the greatest philosophers of the world.

trodden nationalities which must, through "defensive revolution", realise and overcome their weakness and humiliations in order to take their rightful places in the world, not by brute force but by developing the inner spiritual forces, in accordance with humanitarian principles. That is how Masaryk (as his devoted personal Secretary Mr. Vasil K. Skrach has brilliantly shown) attempted to rebuild the entire shattered fabric of his nation's life, through patient and conscientious studies on: Proportional Representation, the Need for a National University, Teachers' Salaries, the Intelligentsia and the Working Classes, Liberalism, Anarchism and Suicide, etc. In his Sociological and philosophical bases of Marxism (1898) and Modern Man and Religion, Masaryk demonstrated the insufficiency of Marxism which ignores the fundamental fact attested by history, that Humanity is not a mere cockpit for warring economic factors, but is the outcome of a moral order based on religious and spiritual foundations. A born teacher in a nation of great Teachers of Humanity, Professor Masaryk naturally turned to the task of building from within the very soul of the young boys and girls of his beloved nation owing a debt of endless gratitude to Masaryk. Half a century ago, while inaugurating the great national movements of political and social reform, Masaryk could yet find time to think about the amelioration of the poor teachers' economic status and development of a healthy childrens' literature.

Thus the ascendancy of Masaryk and his nation, out of the chaos of world-war, was the result of the summation of historical and moral progress and not a mere jugglery of international politics.* That conveys a new meaning to the struggling Indian nation which would follow the career of Masaryk and his beloved Czechoslovakia with the deepest interest and admiration. We remember in this connection that on 15th October, the anniversary of their Independence, they felicitated the Father of their Republic Masaryk on the 50th anniversary of the publication of his Inaugural lecture as a Professor in the University of Prague: "The Calculation of Probability and Humes' Scepticism: a Historical Introduction to the theory of Induction." It was published in 1883, just half a century ago, when Masaryk refuted Hume's scepticism and laid the foundation of a Positivist Philosophy, more scientific and broad based than that of August Comte. National egotism and the orgy of violence greed and hatred are bursting into a conflagration of international war and atavistic relapse to primitive savagery. What a relief and what an inspiring lesson do we find now in the vindication of John Hus and Comenius in the Czechoslovakia new born under its spiritual leader Masaryk and his noble colleagues.

—*India and the World*, November, 1933

* The most convincing document on this subject is the book *Making of the State*, published by the learned President when he was approaching 80.

RE-BIRTH OF NATIONS

By

KALIDAS NAG

The doctrine of individual re-incarnation is held at discount to-day but even in this sceptical age we witnessed the rebirth of nations. The last refuge of the cult of reactionary imperialism and legitimacy was the vast and decrepit Hapsburg Empire. Its dismemberment, through the elementary urge for freedom, started as early as 1860, lead gradually to the liberation of the peoples of modern Germany and of modern Italy which gained, after centuries, their autonomy and unification in 1870.

Another great human block of the Slav family had to wait for a few decades more till circumstances turned out to be propitious. With the termination of the World War, terminated the political slavery of Bohemia. In 1620, at the battle of the White Mountain, the Bohemians were defeated and lost their independence; and on October 18th, 1918, the declaration of independence of the Czechoslovakian Republic was issued, not from the old European world but from Washington, the capital city of the new World of the United States. Three doctors attended at the birth, or re-birth (strange confirmation of a Hindu superstition !), of the nation; the Moravian, Professor Dr. Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, signing as prime minister and minister of finance, the Slovak General, Dr. Milan Rostislav Stefanik, signing as minister of national defence, and the Bohemian, Dr. Eduard Benes, signing as minister of foreign affairs. From July, 1915, when Prof. Masaryk delivered his challenging speech at Geneva, in commemoration of the anniversary of his compatriot, Martyr Hus, to May 1918, when he landed in America via Soviet Russia and the Far East, in a boat named "Empress of Asia", Dr. Masaryk and his noble colleagues have been striving to win independence for their people, risking their very lives. He was elected President in November 14th, 1918 and the very next day, he paid his last visit to President Wilson, assuring him of the gratitude of the whole nation.

Rarely, however, the sacrifices and sufferings of the leaders of a trampled nation are crowned with the success that smiled on President Masaryk. Three centuries of inhuman torture and degradation lay to the credit of legitimacy and imperialism; and just fourteen years of freedom in speech, in action, in self realisation were sufficient to out-weigh the dead weight of the past and to vindicate the cause of self-determination. About the Father of this great Republic one of the most distinguished biographers of to-day, Emil Ludwig, has said: "No statesman in the whole world to-day has so great a moral right to live in his palace, as the wise and brave old man in the Hardshin at Prague".

—India and the World October, 1932

THE PROPHET OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By

J. ZAK. PRAGUE

To the Czechoslovaks "Jan Hus is more than a religious reformer : he is the national hero, the Great Prophet" whose life, rich in idealism and courage, is even to-day a source of inspiration to them. The anniversary of this martyr's death (July 6th) is a national holiday in Czechoslovakia.

Jan Hus or Huss was born of peasant parentage about the year 1369 in the town of Hussinec. He studied in Prague where he received the degree of Arts and became lecturer, later Dean of the philosophical faculty and twice Rector of the University of Prague. He was the first to stabilize the literary Czech language and introduce the diacritical signes, used still to-day by Czechs and Croats. In 1402 he was appointed rector and preacher of the Bethlehem chapel which had been erected in 1391 by zealous citizens of Prague so that the word of God be preached there in Czech language exclusively. Here he began to expound the ideas of the British reformer Wycliffe with whose writings he had become acquainted at the University ; here he exposed licentiousness, gambling, darkness and simony of the Czech national life. The previous kings of Bohemia, being, through their Court, very closely connected with the German princes, brought into the country German colonists, and filled the bishops see in Prague with German prelates, handed over the monasteries to German monks and called German clerks to their offices. Against the continuation of this policy, Hus raised his voice preaching : "The Czechs are worse than the dogs" and he thundered on one occasion at the old chapel—"because the dog defends the bed he is resting on ; and if another dog would attempt to drive him away, he would fight with him, and so would the snake ; but the Germans are oppressing us and also seizing all the offices in Bohemia and we are silent ! According to law, even according to the law of God and from natural instinct, the Czechs should be the first in all the offices of their own country, the same as the Germans in their lands."

In 1408 the clergy laid before the arch-bishop of Prague a formal complaint against the strong expressions used by Hus with regard to the clerical abuses. This resulted in his being forbidden the exercise of priestly functions. Hus retired for a time to the country, where he composed *De Ecclesia*, which subsequently furnished most of the material for the charges against him.

In 1414 Hus was ordered to appear before the Council which met in Constance in Germany, and to answer for heresy. He received the famous imperial "safe conduct", the promise of which had been one of his inducements to quit the comparative safety he had enjoyed in Bohemia. Nevertheless, three

weeks after his arrival he was seized and imprisoned. The treachery of King Sigismund is undeniable and was even admitted by the king himself. The safe conduct was indeed given by him to entice Hus to Constance ! This sealed the fate of Hus. Not permitting Hus to explain his doctrines, the Council demanded that he should declare that he erred and that he should publicly recant them and submit himself unconditionally to the authority of the Council. Hus declined and was condemned to the stake, and forthwith (July 6, 1415) was led out and burned. His ashes and even the soil on which they lay were carefully removed and thrown into the Rhine, to prevent the Czechs from taking his remains to Bohemia.

The bold and strong character of Jan Hus is shown by his last letter, which he wrote from Constance addressing his people :

Letter From Constance.

10 June, 1415.

"Master Jan Hus, a servant of God in hope, unto all faithful Czechs who love and will love the Lord God. He uttereth his desire that the Lord God may vouchsafe it unto them to prevail in His Grace until their end, and to prevail in heavenly joy for ever and ever, Amen. Ye faithful and Ye In God's grace, rich and poor, I entreat and admonish you : hearken unto the Lord, to extol His word, and gladly to hear and to fulfil it. I entreat you as touching the Truth of God, the which I did write from the law of God, and did preach and write from the utterances of the saints, that ye cleave fast to it. I likewise entreat any whosoever heard from me in my preaching or privily, aught against the truth of God, or if I did anywhere write any such thing—the which, in God's name, I trust it not—that he keep not to it. I likewise entreat any who beheld in me wanton usage in talking or in deeds, that he keep not to them, but for my sake he ask God to vouchsafe me forgiveness. I entreat you to beware of the crafty, concerning whom the Saviour saith, that they are in sheep's clothing but within are ravening wolves. I entreat the lords to show mercy unto the poor, and to be righteous towards them. I entreat citizens to conduct their trade righteously. I entreat artizans to perform their labour and enjoy it righteously. I entreat servants to serve their masters and mistress faithfully, entreat teachers that, leading godly lives, they may instruct their pupils faithfully : foremost in order that they may love God, that they may study for his raise and for the weal of the community and for their own salvation : but not for covetousness or for worldly glorification. I entreat students and other pupils to hearken unto their masters and to follow them in what is good, and to learn diligently for God's praise and for the salvation of themselves and others. I likewise entreat you to pray the Lord God, on behalf of his Royal Grace, King of Rome and Bohemia, and on behalf of his Queen, and on behalf of the Lords,

that the merciful Lord God may continue with them and with you in his mercy, now and hereafter in eternal joy. Amen.

"I have written this letter to you in prison in chains, awaiting on the morrow to be condemned to death, having full hope in God ; and that I may not disavow what the false witness have witnessed against me as errors. In what gracious manner the Lord God acteth unto me, and is with me, amid sore temptations, ye shall know when we meet God's presence in joy with His good help. Concerning Master Jerome, my beloved comrade, I do hear naught save that he is in heavy duress, awaiting death even as I, and this for his faith, the which he staunchly displayed unto the Czechs. And the Czechs, those who were our most cruel enemies, delivered us unto other enemies, unto their powers and duress. I entreat you, more especially the men of Prague, to show your favour unto Bethlehem, as long as the Lord God may vouchsafe them to preach the word of God therein. I hope in the Lord God that He keeps this place after His will, and accomplish therein greater profit through others than he did accomplish through me with my shortcomings. I likewise entreat you to love one another, to suffer not the good to be oppressed by violence, and to grant Truth unto all.

"Written at night on the Monday before St. Vitus' day,"

Masaryk would have struggled and died a *serf*, if the fetish of legitimacy and the sacrosanctity of imperialism were allowed to have their own way ; because the father of Dr. Masaryk was practically a slave under the Austrian Empire. "You have heard, of course, of the serfs in Austria and Serfdom abolished about 1848. 'It didn't mean anything ; it was only a word. Nothing really happened, nothing was changed. All the baseness, smallness, cruelty, remained. I was born about that time, 1850, and in that atmosphere came into realization of things. The treatment of my father and others awakened in me a hatred of arbitrary authority that has never died." What a burning commentary on the consequence of autocracy and what a challenge to the undying spirit of freedom in the human soul !

—*India and the World*, Dec. 1933

FRANCE AND INDIA

By

KALIDAS NAG

The relation between France and India is generally, though very unfortunately, supposed to have been confined to a few years of French political adventure in India during the 18th century. But France is much greater than her colonial policy ; and to remind our countrymen of that larger issue, we record a few facts which, we hope, will act as corrective to the fundamentally wrong idea of the Indians about the French nation and culture.

It will be news to many that the great writer Montaigne (1533-52), was one of the severest critics of the policy of exploitation of the "backward races" by the more fortunate European nations. Those who have read carefully his severe strictures upon the bloody adventures in Mexico and Peru, of the Spanish and the Portuguese explorers of the New World, will understand why Montaigne, with the supreme spirit of tolerance, characteristic of Renaissance culture, wrote that inimitable Essay on the *Cannibals* which inspired no less a genius than Shakespeare, in his *Tempest*, to take passages from that essay of Montaigne and to cherish a copy of the English translation by Florio which still bears the signature of the immortal dramatist. Born (1533) within 40 years of the discovery of the New World, Montaigne already received, how we do not know, information about the Hindu Sati rites, and a few other Oriental customs referring to China and Persia. A century after, we find a very able French Doctor, Francois Bernier, (a class-fellow of Moliere) in the Court of the illustrious Moghul Emperor Shah Jehan. He was followed by another French Jeweller, Tavernier, in the Court of Aurungzeb ; and the travel-diary of these two French visitors are valuable objective records during the dismemberment of the Moghul Empire.

As early as 1687, a Frenchman Laloubere carried, from Siam to Europe, a set of Hindu astronomical tables which passed, from hand to hand, as a sort of astrological curiosity, until they were explained by Sig Cassini, the most eminent astronomer of his age. In 1769, M. le Gentil visited India for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus. He communicated an account of the Astronomy of the Hindus, to the French Academy in 1773 ; and he sent (1776) to Du Perron the manuscript of the *Upanishads*. In 1775 was published that memorable book on the "History of Astronomy from its origin to the establishment of the Alexandrine school", in which the author M. Bailly, a contemporary of Laplace, Lagrange and D'Alembert, stoutly championed the science of Hindu astronomy. In 1787, just two years before the out-break of the great French Revolution and a year before the publication of the first number of the *Asiatic Researches* of Sir William Jones, M. Bailly published

a systematic history of Hindu Astronomy and Mathematics, reviewed thoroughly by Dr. G. Thibaut a century after.

Several years before the discovery of the Sanskrit language by Wilkins and Sir William Jones, an intrepid French explorer, Anquetil du Perron (1731-1805) was busy collecting and carrying to Europe some of earliest scriptures of the Hindus and the Iranians : authentic texts of the Vedas and the Avesta. He published in 1803, the Latin translation of the Persian Upanishads (*Opnekhat*) made under the supervision of Prince Dara Shikho (1656), the great-grand son of Akbar. France was the first of the European nations to establish Chairs on Sanskrit, Chinese and Oriental languages and culture : Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838), an authority on Sassanid inscriptions and Graeco-Pehlevi texts, was the chief of orientalism in France who lived to see the foundation of the chair of Sanskrit under Chezy (1814-32) and Chinese under Remusat (1814-32) and the Chair of Egyptology and Oriental archaeology under the immortal Champollion (1790-1832) in the College de France. The 400th anniversary of the College was worthily celebrated and Prof. Sylvain Levi has recounted in detail the history of this cultural contact between India and France, in his brilliant communication : *L'Entree du Sanskrit au College de France*.

Thus generations of brilliant orientalists and indologists produced memorable works from College de France, the University of Paris, from the School of the Living Oriental Languages and from the Musee Guinet of Paris. So, the new Institute of Indian Civilisation, Paris University, and several other Publishing houses and organisations have been building up in France, through centuries, a grand causeway of cultural understanding which, we are sure, will help to bring the East and the West closer together for the benefit of Humanity.

LA FAYETTE CENTENARY

To the great Frenchman Marquis de La Fayette (1757-1834), on the occasion of his bi-centenary, we bring our homage to the spirit of Chivalry and Liberty incarnate in the French hero.

A boy of nineteen, La Fayette felt instinctively the justice of the cause of the Americans, declaring the War of Independence against England. So, defying formidable opposition from the Court and from his family, La Fayette crossed over to America to help the American people in their gloomiest days. As a Royalish liberal La Fayette took active part in American Wars as a friend of George Washington and also in the two French Revolutions of 1789 and 1830.

A true child of the "French Illumination", La Fayette was penetrated through and through with the lofty idealism of the precursors of the French Revolution. In 1789 he took the initiative, with Mirabeau (1749-91), in the drafting of the famous, "*Declaration of the Rights of Man*," which was placed at the head of the French constitution of 1791. We quote below some of the salient passages from this world-famous document which echoes also some vital phrases of the earlier U. S. A. Constitution :

All men are born free and live *free and equal* before law. The social distinction could only exist on the foundation of common utility.

The object of all political associations is the conservation of the natural and inalienable Rights of Man. Those rights are : Liberty, Property, Security, and Resistance to oppression.

The principle of all *sovereignty* resides fundamentally in the Nation. No other body or individual can exercise authority which is not derived from the nation.

No person should be accused, arrested or detained except in the cases determined by Law and following the prescribed forms.

Society has the right to demand every public servant to render account for his administrative measures.

Freedom of thought and opinion is one of the most precious rights of man. All citizens can therefore speak write and print freely, guarding only against the abuses of that Liberty as determined by Law.

* Marquis de La Fayette and other French leaders were known to Rammohan Roy whose letters we quote partly :—

I am informed that for the purpose of visiting France it is necessary to be provided with a passport and that before granting it, the French Ambassador must be furnished with an account of the applicant.

Such restrictions, against foreigners, are not observed even among the Nations of Asia (China excepted).

In the event of my applying to Prince Talleyrand for passport, I beg to know whether I shall be justified in referring to you, in your official capacity, as to my character. I am a traveller and my heart is with the French people in their endeavour to support the cause of liberal principles.

Sir Francis Burdett, at Mr. Byng's, offered to give me a letter of introduction to General Lafayette ; but this will not, I think, serve my purpose on my first landing on France. R. R.

48 Bedford Square, London

December 22, 1831

Endorsed 28 December, 1831

Rammohan Roy's Persian letter (dated 1 August 1831) to Prof. Garcin de Tassy (vide English Works of Rammohan Roy, Edited by Dr. Kalidat Nag, Brahmio Mission Press, Calcutta, 1958) :

(English Translation)

Learned Monsieu (may whose fame and lustre increase more and more.)

Your blessed letter has reached me ; it fills your servant with joy and honour. May the Omnipotent condescend to keep you in good health. I shall wait for the day of meeting you in accordance with the wish expressed in this letter.

For more than three months, * your servant is in England. If God wishes, he shall soon have the honour to be present at Paris and, through your introduction, he wishes to see M. Chery.

Your humble servant is very grateful for the attentions you have promised him, and he wishes to thank you from the bottom of his heart. A longer letter will exceed the bounds of politeness.

Your grateful servant
Rammohan Roy

* April to July 1831

Letter to T. Hyde Villiers, Secretary to the Indian Board (Dec. 22, 1831)

UNIVERSITY OF PARIS AND C. V. RAMAN

By

KALIDAS NAG

Paris, as it is well-known, was the centre of pioneer research in some of the most important branches not only of occidental science and education but of Oriental studies as well. The names of Champollion (1790-1832) in Egyptology, Eugene Burnouf (1801-52) in Sanskrit and Indology, of Abel Remusat (1788-1832) in Sinology, are of international significance. From its very origin a city of cosmopolitan character, Paris has throughout maintained its universal outlook and internationalism. Long before the jarring ethnic atoms of mediaeval Europe could dream of political unity and cultural solidarity, great French teachers like Pierre Abelard (1079-1142), educational administrators like Robert de Sorbon (founder in 1257 of *La Sorbonne*, the present University of Paris), amongst others, have toiled to provide for the Faculty of Humanism which, like Science, knows no frontiers. Painfully extricating itself from the ecclesiastical tutelage and temporarily eclipsed by the foundation of the great rival research institute College de France (established in 1530 by Francis the First), the University of Paris continued its beneficial activities, till French literature came to be recognized as "the literature of the civilized world". Paris was, what it remains down to this day, one of the greatest centres of literary, artistic and scientific research. About the time when the *French Academy* (1635), was glorified by the great Cardinal Richelieu, we read in native records of those bygone days, that "many came to France to study, to think, to get known and to be heard, to win glory". The cradle, as it is, of Descartes (1596-1650) of Pascal (1625-62), of Voltaire (1694-1778) and Pasteur, (1822-1895), Paris is ever the first to greet and encourage new luminaries in arts and sciences, irrespective of country, colour or creed. It is quite in keeping, therefore, with this grand tradition that the University of Paris spontaneously decided to honour Professor C. V. Raman of the University of Calcutta, the first Nobel Laureate of Physics from Asia.

Through the courtesies of the learned Rector of the University of Paris, Mon. S. Charlety, we have the privilege to present to our Indian readers, the first authentic and systematic report of honouring of the Indian scientist by the illustrious French savants. On the 11th February, 1932, the Faculty of Science of the University of Paris, in accordance with the decree of 26th June, 1918, resolved to confer the proud Degree of *Docteur honoris causa* on Sir C. V. Raman. That resolution was enthusiastically seconded, by the Council of the University on the 15th April, 1932. It was approved by the Minister of Public Instruction on the 13th May, 1932, and a warm letter of

invitation was sent to the illustrious Indian physicist. We bring to the notice of our readers how cordial had been the reception accorded to scholars and scientists from India by the learned world of France. One of the most important communications of our pioneer of scientific research, Professor J. C. Bose (1858-1938), was made before the *Academie des Sciences* of Paris, over 30 years ago. It was in Paris again, as we have shown, that our pioneer chemist, Dr. P. C. Ray, (1861-1944) got the most enthusiastic reception and encouragement from a Chemist of the eminence of Prof. Berthelot. Some years ago, the French Society of Physics invited Sir C. V. Raman to deliver a special lecture on his epoch-making discovery of the Raman Effect ; and on the 5th November, 1932, Prof. Raman was given by France the highest honour before a galaxy of scientists and savants of International reputation.

The ceremony was one of an imposing kind. In the great Amphitheatre of Paris, decorated by the immortal brush of Puvis de Chavannes, overlooking the Assembly, the illustrious philosopher-rector, M. Charlety, welcomed the guest of honour : (i) Sir C. V. Raman of the University of Calcutta ; (ii) Prof. Sugiyama of the law Faculty of the University of Tokyo ; (iii) Prof. Guthrie of the University of Columbia and Yale ; (iv) Prof. Staaff of the Faculty of Arts, University of Upsala, Sweden ; (v) Prof. Sanarelli of the Medical Faculty, University of Rome ; and (vi) Dr. Maramon of the University of Madrid. The President of the Republic, being unavoidably absent, to attend some special celebration at the University of Nancy, he was represented by General Gouroud who was accompanied by Marshal Petain, by the President of the Senate, Director of the College de France, the Director of the Pasteur Institute and several high functionaries of the State. The Deans of the four special faculties introduced the guests of honours with suitable addresses : M. Berthelmy Dean of the Faculty of Law, Dr. Balthazard of the Faculty of Medicine and M. Deberioia of the Faculty of Jurisprudence. M. Maurain, Dean of the Faculty of Science introduced Prof. C. V. Raman and delivered a learned speech. Quite in keeping with the French tradition, the ceremony was never allowed to sink into mere academic ceremonialism, for the authorities made ample provision for good music ; the 24th Infantry playing *La Marseilles* while the procession was entering, and in the interval of the functions, the superb music of Bach and Gabriel Faure were played. The *Amicitia* chorus played with psychological appropriateness, the *Ruisseau*, of the great modern French composer Faure. When Prof. Raman received his degree and decorations, the music of the rivulets probably evoked rich memories in the mind of the Indian scientist nurtured by three mighty rivers, Cauveri, Godavari and Ganga. The Diploma was a fine parchment and the medal designed by J. C. Chaplain carried the legend of a sailing vessel exploring the limitless ocean, with the inscription :—*Fluctuat Nec Mergitur* : Universite de Paris, 1215-1895. It was conferred solemnly on "Sir C. V. Raman, Professeur a l' Universite de Calcutta, Prix Nobel de Physique, 5th November, 1932.

The discourse of Rector Charlety* on the occasion was marked by a deep erudition combined with French lucidity of expression and a rare vision of the function of an University. It would be appreciated by everyone as a high water-mark of rectorial address: "Human sciences and Natural sciences are represented to-day with rare brilliance by persons coming from the farthest horizons. To-day by the side of our illustrious neighbours, from America and Spain, from Italy and Sweden, stand India and Japan coming to affirm, here in Paris, their individual genius as well as the identity of the scientific methods of research and a common faith in Reason. Thus we are strengthened in our feeling of one solid human community. The Universities of this Planet develop, from day to day, the sum total of our knowledge as well as of the authority of men on things. Life is changing and its wings are spread like Hope over the infinite space. Research is one of the justifications of our existence."

With his fine visage tormented like that of the Humanists of the Renaissance, M. Charlety defended Reason against repeated assaults of mediaeval reaction and obscurantism: "The duel between Light and Night, between clear reason and dark incertitude, continues right through the history of human evolution, like the duel of Oromuz and Ahriman, in the heart of Oriental Mythology." A condemnation of Philosophy was no less premature than the apotheosis of Science, especially 19th century dogmatic science; and the inevitable reaction followed, producing a chaos of scepticism and faith-cure—both equally grotesque and futile." Rising above these tumults of premature hopes and despairs, M. Charlety announced: "We shall have to pass through the alternation of despair and enthusiasm; but the Universities of the world will continue the gigantic task which they have started; and the human life also will continue in peace not unmarked by acts of Love and fruitful Creation against the threatening conjuration of things. It is probably human science and very justly science which will assure our liberty to the best advantage, as has been so well expressed by the profound French thinker, Paul Valéry: "It is possibly in seeking Liberty that we create it"

The whole ceremony aroused so much enthusiasm that influential journals of Paris e.g., *Le Journal*, *Le Matin* etc., published long reports while two special reports were published in *Le Quotidien* and *Figaro*. On the 8th November a special dinner was arranged in honour of Sir C. V. Raman who sat next to Madame Curie, while other eminent scientists and brother Nobel Laureates like Ch. Fabry, Duke Louis de Brogley, amongst others, attended the function to honour the great Indian scientist. Before leaving Paris for India, Prof. Raman was invited to a special lunch by M. Eduard Dableans, Secretary of Commerce, Paris.

It is a happy augury, that the leading figures of the academic as well as the industrial life of France are cultivating direct contact with the rising generation of India. We hope that the great cultural and technological resources of France will with French catholicity be made available to us Indians through

a more regular and systematic *rapprochement* between the cultural, scientific and economic institutions of France and India.

—*India and the World*, January, 1933.

Rector Charlety sent us on the occasion, the following message :—

The University of Paris congratulates itself to find one of its old students Kalidas Nag, engaged in propagating in his native country the spirit of large Humanity, inspiring all education and teaching in France. It is this inspiration of expanding humanism which reigned, in particular, over the vigorous development of Oriental researches in France. The names of Anquetil du Perron, of Champollion, of Eugene Burnouf summarize, as it were, in an expressive symbol, the researches accomplished, for rendering to humanity a clearer understanding of its past destinies which contain in germ the secret of its future. I have no doubt that the study of the Orient, rich in the tradition of millenniums and in the inexhaustible spirituality, will be called to play a brilliant role in the great future which is unfolding itself from day to day.

The initiatives, of persons like you, merit the warmest encouragements, because they tend to group into a fruitful collaboration, the scattered good-wills, groping in the vast expanse of this world.

SEBASTIAN CHARLETY,

Membre de l'Institut,

Rector of the University of Paris.

Life is perpetual creation ; it has its truth when it outgrows itself in the infinite. But when it stops and accumulates and turns back to itself, when it has lost its outlook upon the beyond, then it must die. Then it is dismissed from the world of growth and with all its heaps of belongings crumbles into the dust of dissolution.

—*Rabindranath Tagore*

SCIENTIFIC REMINISCENCES : C. V. RAMAN

By

Prof. MEGHNAD SAHA D. Sc., F. R. S.

In the year 1913, the writer of this article, who was then a student in the Presidency College, Calcutta, went to attend a lecture at the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science at 210, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. He does not remember the name of the lecturer or the subject of the lecture. But he remembers that he noticed there for the first time, a tall stalwart turbaned figure ; apparently a South Indian, moving with the vivacity of Natarāja Siva, so familiar in South Indian Iconography, and making the lecturer rather uneasy by his penetrating questions. This figure was no other than Sir C. V. Raman, then an officer in the Finance department, who was destined to be the first Indian to win (from Asia) the much-coveted Nobel prize in Science.

The ancestors of Sir C. V. Raman came from the Tanjore district ; and as he once informed the writer of this article, that his grandfather took a trip on foot to Nuddeah in Bengal to learn the Nyāya Philosophy. His father was a Professor of Vizianagram in the Andhra Desa, where Sir C. V. Raman saw the light of day, nearly forty five years ago. So he is claimed both by Tamils and Telugus to be belonging to them. But in reality he belongs to none of these people, but properly to Bengal, which was the first to discover his genius, and provide him with a Laboratory where he could give free play to his creative talents.

He distinguished himself in his early School and College days, carrying away prizes and scholarships. While a student of the M. Sc. class, at the Madras Presidency College, he carried out several improvements on Melde's experiments on the *vibration of strings* ; and his originality of mind attracted the notice of Mr. Jones, the Professor of Physics, for whom Sir C. V. Raman cherishes the highest regard. Mr. Jones offered him a job in the educational department ; but as during those times, all the higher posts in the educational service were exclusively reserved for Europeans, young Raman did not find a job sufficiently tempting ; and instead of accepting it, went for the Finance Competitive Examination. He was successful and, when barely 19, found himself in the service of the Government of India with a starting salary of Rs 500, and with prospects of going up to Rs. 3,000 per month, and adding rupees, annas and pies for the benefit of the bureaucracy.

But neither the depressing atmosphere of the Finance service, nor the security of an easy life, could dry up Raman's super-abundance of energy. He astonished the department, particularly his official chief, by retaining his interest in Physics, and continuing to publish original papers in European

journals. In 1919, when he was transferred to Calcutta, he found a place for work in the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, a private organisation, for the spread of scientific knowledge, founded (1876) by Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, M. D. a leading medical practitioner of Calcutta. Like Count Rumford who founded the Royal Institution of Great Britain, with the object of devising a method for the cheap feeding of the poor by scientific methods, Dr. Sircar had founded (1876) the Science Association in the hope that Science would solve the problems of poverty, disease and superstition in his country. The Royal Institution was the nursing ground of the geniuses of Davy and Faraday, and the Indian Science Association became the nursing ground of the genius of Raman, and will probably continue to produce more scientific worthies in future times. (*Vide Modern Review*, January, 1960).

In 1912, the Calcutta University was fortunate to get two princely gifts from Sir T. N. Palit and Sir R. B. Ghosh, two eminent Calcutta lawyers, for the foundation of a number of chairs for the Calcutta University. But they found great difficulty in the choice of suitable Indians who could fill up worthily these chairs. At last Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, then Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and a keen 'fisher of men', pitched his choice on Raman, and was able to induce him to forsake the easy pastures of the Finance department for perilous explorations in the unknown land of Science, under the Indian flag of a disguised Swaraj regime. To his colleagues in the finance service, the adventure appeared to be not only imprudent, but destined to failure; and while granting him leave for joining his new post, his official chief wished him success in his new venture as 'Experimental' Professor of Physics (The official designation, as announced, was Professor of Experimental Physics).

Raman joined his post in 1917; and from that time, he had devoted all his time and energy to original research in Physics, in the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. He attracted students from all parts of India; and many of his students achieved great distinction in original work. His laboratory is permeated with his dynamic personality; and work was going on incessantly from morning till night. He seems to have taken as his adage the saying of the great Frenchman Louis Pasteur: "*Travaillez, mes enfants, toujours travaillez*" (work, my boys, always work).

The crowning achievement of his life came in 1928, when he discovered 'Combination Scattering', now called fittingly after him "Raman Effect". This was not due to a mere stroke of good fortune but was the culmination of years of hard and continuous work. The blue colour of the sky and the sea has always impressed poets and authors; but a Scientific explanation of it was first given by Lord Raleigh, and was supported by the experiments of Tyndall. Lord Raleigh showed that the phenomena was due to the breaking up of light waves by the molecules which compose our atmosphere. The sky appears blue because more blue light is thrown sideways than red light.

Raman's interest in the subject seems to have been roused by experiments which were carried out, about 12 years ago, by the Hon'ble T. Strutt, the present Lord Raleigh (and son of the first Lord Raleigh) for experimentally demonstrating the validity of his father's theories. He devised very delicate apparatus for experimentally investigating the scattering by molecules of different types; and in co-operation with his numerous students, carried out hundreds of experiments on these lines. In course of these investigations, he was troubled by experiences of a new kind. He found that light seems to be modified in its colour when scattered by matter. What happens is this:—When light falls on matter, which is itself excited by heat or any other agency, the electro-magnetic vibrations which constitute light become locked up with the vibrations of matter, and is profoundly modified when it comes out. But this modification cannot be detected if white light be used; because *white* light is a jumble of many lights and the modified lights gets lost in the medley crowd. So, light of one single colour has to be used, and the modified light has to be analysed by a spectroscope. This crucial experiment was carried out by Raman and Krishnan in 1928, and was immediately successful.

The effect of this discovery on the Scientific world was immense; for it not only brought to light new phenomena, but it opened a new way for investigating the properties of Matter. The importance of the result was first recognised by P. Pringsheim, Professor at Berlin, who in an article, in the German *Naturwissenschaft*, gave an account of the discovery, and called attention to its great importance in molecular physics. From this time onwards, the interest in the work has remained unabated; and investigations on Raman Spectrum (Spectrum of combination scattering due to molecules) have become common features in journals of Physics and Chemistry. A great amount of these contributions has come from Prof. Raman's own Laboratory. His great services to Science were recognised by the award of the Nobel Prize in 1930; and, strange to say, even that prosaic body, the Government of India, seemed to signify its appreciation by conferring on him a *knighthood* in 1929, a distinction usually reserved for bureaucrats and politicians of a class whose activities are of an approved type.

As is usual in those days, controversies regarding precedence immediately arose after the announcement of the discovery; for two Russian workers, Landsberg and Mendelstam had been working on similar lines, and had been forestalled by Raman by only two months! An Austrian Professor, Dr. Smekal, had predicted the effect from thermo-dynamical reasoning; and also Kramers and Heisenberg, two pupils of the famous Niels Bohr, had worked out a theory of refraction on these bases. Experiments to verify the theory were carried out at Bohr's laboratory, in Denmark, but without success. It was reserved for an Indian to achieve the first success in these lines.

This is rather strange, because European writers had never tired of describing the Indians as given over completely to metaphysical speculations,

and possessed of little practical abilities. Here were the roles reversed ; an Indian giving the first *practical* effect to the theoretical speculation of European savants, which they themselves have been unable to verify !

The prediction, of this effect by other savants, does not take away from Raman the great credit which is rightly due to him. As analogy will do ; the fact that the Earth is round was first said to be clearly enunciated by the Pythagoreans, particularly by Anaxogoras who flourished in the 6th century B. C. The radius of the earth was actually measured by Eratosthenes of Alexandria, in the 3rd century B. C., by using the same methods which are now used in trigonometric surveys all over the world. But these predictions do not certainly take away from the great credit which is due to Columbus and other great navigators who undertook perilous voyages in unknown seas, in moral support of these theories. Credit is always due to the man who can actually turn a speculation into a practical reality.

After twenty-five years' stay at Calcutta, Professor Raman is called away to his native South, for shouldering the responsibility of the Indian Institute of Bangalore. He leaves with the best wishes from the people of the land of his adoption, who sincerely hope that his new mission will be as much crowned with success as his labours at Calcutta had been. Though he may be gradually passing into the afternoon of life, his store of dynamic energy shows no sign of deterioration, and it is hoped that they will be more fruitful in his new land of venture.

India and The World, January, 1933

A PROPHETIC LETTER

I certify that Baboo Jagadish Chandra Bose B. A. was my pupil in Physical Science for a period of four years, and gave me Proof of very great proficiency in that branch of study. I consider him to be one of the best students we had in our College Department.

St. Xavier's College, Calcutta
12 April 1880

E. LAFONT S. J.

* Father Eugene Lafont (1837-1908) was the pioneer of scientific studies in the early days of the Calcutta University and was the guru of Dr. J. C. Bose. We remember both on the occasion of the Centenary of Sir Jagadish (1938) and of his St. Xavier's College this year.

K. N.

A PIONEER INDIAN CHEMIST

By

KALIDAS NAG

Prof. Prafulla Chandra Ray, more commonly known as P. C. Ray, was born in August 1861, and was therefore just four months junior to Rabindranath Tagore. Prafulla Chandra was condemned to be educated under a system—if it deserves to be called a system—sponsored by mid-Victorian English educationists who were generous enough to promote the training of a few Anglicised university graduates to act as 'interpreters' and 'clerks'; but they had neither the vision nor the inclination to provide for an adequate and all round scientific training for Indian youths. Almost a quarter of a century before the foundation of our first University, Rammohan Roy, the Father of Modern India, himself a great orientalist, fought passionately for the introduction of science and occidental method of education with special provision for the positive sciences. But his appeal met with poor response from the authorities. After seventy-five years of university education in India, the conservative Government showed timid interest in the scientific and industrial training of our rising generation. Our people had to wait for the appearance of a master-mind and a born educator, Sir Asutosh Mookerji, who inaugurated a new era by evolving a systematic national policy in education, supported on the solid basis of Science and Industry; and that was about the time of the Fiftieth Jubilee of the University of Calcutta in 1908. Before that, whatever attempt had been made by individuals or institutions, meant unaided effort and heroic struggle of a few pioneers, most of them, alas, now no more with us. (*Vide Dr. B. N. Seal, Hindu Positive Sciences*).

Privileged to listen, from the very lips of Sir P. C. Ray, the history of this age of glorious groping in the dark, I cannot help wondering what prompted his earlier contemporaries, Dr. Aghorenath Chatterjee (father of our great Poetess Sarojini Naidu) and Dr. P. K. Ray to compete successfully for the doctorate in science of the University of Edinburgh, in the early seventies of the last century. The only pre-Mutiny veterans who were spared to us to recount the stories of that heroic epoch were P. N. Bose geologist, and Principal G. C. Bose of the Bangabasi College. Prof. G. C. Bose went abroad to specialise in Botany and his friend, Mr. Bhupal Bose, made Agriculture his special study. They were followed, in the early eighties, by two Titans in the domain of Indian Scientific Research, Prof. J. C. Bose and Prof. P. C. Ray, real pioneers in physical and chemical investigations of Modern India. Born scientists in an age of "no science" of our academic history, they not only opened a new chapter in scientific study but they were also the first to take Indian science triumphantly across its frontiers, out into the republic of world science. Lord Raleigh and

Lord Kelvin predicted the glorious career of Mr. J. C. Bose while Mr. P. C. Ray was greeted, even in his younger days, by authorities no less eminent, than Roscoe and Berthelot.

As early as 1897-98 the Father of Synthetic Chemistry and President of the French Academy of Sciences, M. Berthelot, noticed in *Journal des Savants*, the researches of Dr. P. C. Ray and encouraged him to push further afield into the domain of the *History of Hindu Chemistry*. That monumental work was published in 1902 and elicited a long and erudite review in *Journal des Savants* (January, 1903), from which we only quote the concluding lines: "Je ne puis terminer mon article sans le remercier encore une fois d'avoir exécuté ce long et pénible travail et d'avoir signalé et analysé les ouvrages nouveaux dont il nous révèle l'existence. C'est un chapitre particulièrement utile pour la connaissance des relations orientales et occidentales".* When the second volume of the *History of Hindu Chemistry* was published in 1907, M. Berthelot was no more; but it was reviewed by no less an authority on Indology than Prof. Sylvain Lévi who remarked with prophetic insight: "His laboratory is the nursery from which issue forth the young chemists of New India"—(*Journal Asiatique*, 1907, Vol II).

But P. C. Ray was more than a scientist; for his science transcended the limits of his laboratory. The ignorance, the poverty and the degradation of his people were scientific realities which challenged, at every step, the attention of this great lover of Man. He consecrated his whole earning and scientific genius, no less than his rich humanitarian impulses, towards the solution of some of the desperate problems of our material, moral and social life. The whole nation was, as it were, his laboratory, where the jarring atoms of conflicting interest were waiting for a supreme synthesis. Hence his endless vigil and ceaseless sacrifice. Eight years senior to Mahatma Gandhi whom he met in Calcutta as early as 1901, Prof. Ray dreamt the dream of a renovated Rural India, worked for the poor and the down-trodden, the backward and the depressed sections of humanity, long before this modern movement of uplift. That his why his role is that of John the Baptist to the Mahatma. It is an unique relationship of love and respect between these two great sons of Mother India, the Scientist and the Saint (brother nurses and strange bed fellows!) working day and night to nurse a half-dying nation back to new life. Acharya Ray, along with Mahatma Gandhi slowly manufactured the new Elixir of Life for which not only India with her 350 millions but, let us hope, the rest of humanity would be thankful in future.

* "I cannot close my article without thanking him (Prof. Ray) once more for having achieved this long and painful research and for signalling and analysing the new documents whose existence was revealed to us by him. It is an interesting chapter added to the history of sciences and of the human spirit, a chapter specially useful for the understanding of the reciprocal intellectual relations which existed between the oriental and occidental civilisations".

—BERTHELOT

—India and the World, December 1932

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY IN THE FAR EAST

French Contribution

By

KALIDAS NAG

The study of Indian art and archaeology is undergoing a rapid and remarkable orientation. While it was possible for Mr. Havell and Mr. V. A. Smith to write elaborate histories of Indian Art, with only desultory allusions to Java or Cambodia, Coomaraswamy and his co-workers, on the same field, found it difficult not to devote a considerable part of their works to the detailed and intensive study of the Far Eastern families of art and their Indian origins or affinities. It is no longer possible also to discuss adequately the problems of Indian architecture, sculpture or iconography without reference to their vast Asiatic context. For nearly half a century, the archaeological finds from Central Asia, (Serindia), Indo-China and Indonesia have been collected, compared and studied by European scholars, predominantly from the French, German and Dutch schools. The cumulative effect of their researches have been felt in a gradual development of taste for the new art-forms; and a new canon of art-criticism transcending the narrow limits of the Hellenistic or Graeco Roman norms. Goethe and Hegel would have been surprised, nay shocked to find their modern descendants going into ecstasy over a Chinese landscape, a Japanese wood carving, a Cambodian temple or a Javanese decorative motif. The Christian Gothic cathedral was sufficient irritation to those nineteenth century *aesthetes*, what to speak of their feelings before a Khmer Angkor Vat or an Indonesian *Prajñāpāramitā*! Yet we must admit that a vast change, nay a veritable revolution has taken place in course of the last fifty years, when Orient and Orientalism have come to deliver aesthetic and cultural values, undreamt of by Hegel and his contemporaries. To Hegel, Classicism was the model and Orientalism was a deviation synonymous with the *Grotesque*.

India, what to speak of the general mass, even her academic representatives, was not then fully alive to the significance of this change in the angle of vision. That is why we shall attempt to give some idea about one or two centres of study from which has emanated not only a wealth of fresh cultural data but a new vision of India's role in the history of mankind. In a valuable publication of the famous French School of Archaeology, *Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient* we read the following significant passage :—

"We feel here (in the appreciation of Oriental art) without doubt, something more than a passing fad, a development of taste beyond the habits created by the canons of Occidental classicism. These new tendencies go hand in hand with a truer vision, dawning gradually, about the place occupied by the

Far East, in the general history of Indian civilization. For a long time India believed herself to be bounded by the coast lines of the Peninsula. To-day she has started casting her glance on the world culturally colonized by her, beyond her frontiers, on her Golden Chersonese (*Suvarna-bhumi*) and the Islands (Indonesia) where so many and so beautiful works were born under her inspiration. And the time is not very far when the elites of New India will come to adore in Angkor, one of the noblest flowers of their national culture." (*Memoirs Archeologiques* ; Tome 1p. vi)

In the progress of the *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient* of Hanoi (Tonkin) we read the history of this progressive orientation. Ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century, France took the lead in Oriental studies. The chance adventure of Napoleon in Egypt was the indirect cause of the epoch-making discovery of the Rosetta Stone, deciphered by Champollion. Thus Egyptology at the beginning, was a French science. Keenly interested in Graeco-Roman culture as she was, France also founded her schools of Athens and of Rome ; but not stopping there, she founded that excellent centre of Egyptian antiquities, the Archaeological Institute of Cairo, with one the finest Oriental museums in Asia and Africa.

So in two other important branches of Oriental studies, France had the honour of founding, simultaneously in 1815, a chair of Indology under A. Chezy and a chair of Sinology under Abel Remusat, in the *College de France*. With the consolidation of French Power in Indo-China, France began her systematic examination of its antiquities by starting an *Archeological Commission* (*La Commission Archeologique de l' Indo-Chine*), as early as the middle of the nineteenth century. Amidst the heaps of antiquities Captain Etienne Aymonier discovered the most valuable links between India and Indo-China, the Sanskrit inscriptions read by Abel Bergaigne, and his friend Mon. A. Barth. Prof. Sylvain Levi, and Barth helped Bergaigne in his work. As the result of this happy collaboration two important *corpus* of the Inscriptions of *Champa* and of *Cambodge* were published between 1887 and 1893. Interest in Indology, especially in its epigraphic branch, was already intensified by the monumental study of Emile Senart, on the Inscriptions of *Piyadasi* (1880-1886) ; and the name of Senart came to be associated with the foundation of the famous *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient*. M. Paul Doumer, Governor-General of Indo-China, conceived in 1898 the founding of a regular French school of Archaeology for the Far East. He sought the advice and collaboration of Mon. Senart and two of his friends Mon. Auguste Barth, the famous author of the '*Religions of India*', and of Mon. Michel Breal, the great philologist of the University of Paris. There was once a talk of locating this research centre in Bengal's French city of Chandernagor ! But financial arrangements proved unsatisfactory ; and the generous offer of Governor Doumer settled the question of the seat of the school. India lost and Indo-China gained by that decision ; while the research

centre was organized in the far away French colony, its scientific control was vested in the renowned *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* of the French Institute in Paris. The Academy recommended and the Governor General ratified the appointment of M. Louis Finot as the first Director of the new School of Archaeology and gave him as assistants M. Antoine Cabaton as secretary and librarian, and Captain Lunet de Lajonquier as the archaeologist. The party arrived in Saigon January 1899 and started the work of preliminary survey. That being over, the party got the sanction of the authorities to make a tour through the Isles of Java and Bali with a view to study the Dutch ways and means of organizing the conservation work, consulting the expert Dutch workers of the renowned Society of Arts and Sciences of Batavia (1776), the oldest Asiatic Society in the East. On their return journey from Indonesia Mr. Finot surveyed the monuments of the Hindu colony of Champā, visiting the temples of Pānduranga (Phanrang) and Po-Nagara (Nhattrang), the Buddhist monasteries of Dong-Duong and Mi-Son and the grottoes of Phongwha. On the 20th of January 1900 the temporary Archaeological Commission was given the permanent status and the *Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* began, in right earnest, its career of signal success in the domain of Far Eastern Art and Archaeology. An Act for the preservation of monuments was passed to stop further pillaging of antiquities and the *Ecole* penetrated Laos to collect Laotian manuscripts and to study the relationship of the Art of Laos and Siam with that of Cambodia.

Meanwhile M. Paul Pelliot (1876-1944), a brilliant scholar from the French School of Oriental Languages (*Ecole des Langues Orientales*) arrived in Hanoi (Tonkin) January 1900; and with all the audacity of a genius Pelliot gave a new turn to the growth of the School. In May, the Boxer Rebellion took an ominous turn, and Pelliot, the versatile Sinologist, offered his services to the French Legation in Peking. With the passing away of the political storm, Pelliot brought a rich harvest of Chinese manuscripts, paintings and other art objects which have become the cherished treasures of the museum of Hanoi and of the French National Museum, the Louvre (Paris).

The tropical climate told upon the health of Mon. Cabaton and he returned to France, working thenceforward to publish several volumes on Indo-Chinese languages and antiquities. He was succeeded by Jean Commaille, who latter on published the excellent *Guide* to the Ruins of Angkor (1912). M. Henri Parmentier's contributions to Indo-Chinese art and archaeology made the name of the School famous all over the world.

In July 1900 appeared the first publication of the School, a study in numismatics, the *Coins and Medals of Annam and Cochin China*, by M. Lacroix. In 1901, before M. Finot could procure for himself a little holiday in Paris after his strenuous work, he had the satisfaction of establishing the Museum and the Library and of publishing the first volume of the *Bulletin* of the School, which has, since then become an indispensable guide to all students

of Far Eastern art and antiquities. In the very first volume which printed the letters from Barth, Breal and Senart, we find articles that are of abiding interest to us. M. Finot wrote on the "Religion of Champā according to the monuments." M. Parmentier discussed the "General character of Cham architecture" and Prof. Alfred Foucher, who came from Paris to act in the place of M. Finot on leave, wrote his illuminating "Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhara," proving systematically Afghanistan (Arachosia) to be a great Hindu-Buddhistic cultural centre and the pilgrim-path of ancient India.

During the year that M. Foucher acted as Director, (1901-1902), M. Pelliot brought from China the second collection of Tibetan, Mongal and Chinese manuscripts, paintings, porcelains and jades ; and thus the museum was enriched beyond expectation. The same year M. M. Dufour and Carpeux started surveying and photographing the grand temples of Cambodge like Angkor Thom or Bayon ; and the documents were published in Paris in two volumes (1910-13) Mon Foucher, on his way back to Paris, visited Bangkok and published notes on the temples, museums and libraries of that city, in the second volume of the *Bulletin* (1902) which also published the first of the series of masterly articles by Prof. Sylvain Levi on *Chinese notes on India*.

In Nov. 1902 there was the Colonial Exhibition at Hanoi ; and M. Pelliot who was busy arranging the Tibetan Tanjur and Kanjur, the Mangolian Kanjur and the Chinese Encyclopedia, was appointed Secretary of the Orientalist Exhibition. The most remarkable result of this Exhibition was the meeting of the first Congress of Far Eastern Studies, held in Dec. 1902, in which six Governments and numerous representatives of learned societies participated. The Dutch East Indies was represented by Dr. Brandes, Siam by Col. Gerini and Japan by Dr. Takakusu, who later on contributed, in the *Bulletin* (1904) of the School, his valuable study on the Chinese Buddhist Texts. The Congress worked in four primary sections : India, Japan, China, and Indo China. Thus the School had the privilege of inaugurating the first Pan Asiatic Congress of academic and Scientific collaboration.

In March 1907 a new Franco-Siamese treaty modified the map of Cambodge, so that the marvellous monuments of Angkor were placed under the expert care of the French archaeologists. Elaborate preparations were made for a thorough exploration of the sites ; and for the last decades the School have been publishing monographs and memoirs on those marvels of Indo-Khmer art. We are glad to handle now, thanks to the loving care of Mon. Finot, Parmentier and Victor Goloubew, the sumptuously illustrated volumes on the bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat, showing what a phenomenal activity in art-creation resulted from the rapprochement of Indian and Khmer cultures in Indo-China.

Similarly the grand history of the cultural and artistic efflorescence, as the result of the collaboration of India and China for over one thousand years, was studied, amongst others by Prof. Sylvain Levi, Paul Pelliot, and above all,

by Edouard Chavannes. In the beginning of 1907, Chavannes started on his memorable archaeological voyages, through Trans-Siberia, Kai-fong, Honan-fu, Lungmen etc., famous for the relics of Buddhist religion and art of the Wei and the Tang Dynasties. Pure Sinological studies apart, the value of Chavannes' works to Indologists, has been eloquently appreciated by Sylvain Levi in his article "La part de l'Indianism dans l'Oeuvres de Chavannes" (Bulletin Archeologique du Musee's Guimet, Fascicule i. 1921.)

In 1908 Indo-Chinese history and philology found its honoured place in the foundation of a special chair at the College de France, and the experienced savant-director of the School, M. Finot, was invited to occupy the same. The relation between the scholarly group of France and of Indo-China became more and more intimate; and brilliant young scholars like Mon. Huber, translator of the Chinese Sutrāṅkara of Aśvaghōṣa, Jules Bloch, author of the first historical grammar of Marathi, and Maitre and Peri, copious contributors on Japanese subjects; Henri Maspero and L. Aurousseau, Sinologists and Georges Coedes, the renowned scholar of Sri Vijaya fame, Ch. Duroiselle of the Archaeological Survey of Burma, Henri Marchal, the architect, and Victor Goloubew the famous editor of the *Arts Asiatica* series have, amongst a host of silent and sound workers, helped in the rearing of the superb institute of Far Eastern Art and Archaeology, with India as the golden thread running through and connecting all.

In Serindian or Central Asian studies, Master Pelliot, through his successive missions and excursions, contributed as much to the Museums as to the scholarly journals like *Toung Pao* and the *Bulletin* of the School. The documents of Mission Pelliot (1900-1906) are not as yet completely edited. Mon. S. Levi and Prof. Meillet had edited and commented upon a few texts and M. Pelliot has published a few volumes of his *album* on the paintings of *Touen Huang* or the Central Asian Grotto of the Thousand Buddhas. His researches and discoveries were of so great an importance that a special chair of Central Asian history, archaeology and languages was created in College de France in 1911; and ever since that date, M. Pelliot was lecturing on that most fascinating branch of Asiatic history.

From 1911-12 the Ecole was reinforced by the services of an indefatigable worker, Mon. Georges Coedes. As early as 1908 he published the excellent "Inventory of the Inscriptions of Champa and of Cambodge"; and ever since, he continued to publish solid studies on the art, archaeology and folklore of Indo-China. In 1918 he managed to identify the long-forgotten Hindu empire of Sri Vijaya (Sumatra-Java) and earned the gratitude of the whole world of Indologists.

The first Sanskrit inscription of Indo-China was edited by the Dutch scholar H. Kern, before the Ecole was properly organized. M. Coedes returned the courtesy by adding a new chapter to the history of Insulinidia, which the Dutch scholars like Krom, Bosch, Vogel and others had developed

in right earnest. The *Bulletin* and its rich monographs apart, the *Ecole* has published, in course of the last quarter of a century, works of paramount importance. The entire problem of Graeco-Buddhist art has been dealt with by M. Foucher in his own masterly style, in three volumes (*L' Art Greco-Bouddhique du Gandhara*, Tome I 1905, II (i) 1918 and III (ii) 1922) So M. Chavannes' precious discoveries were published in "*Mission archeologique dans la China Septentrionale*" (1913-1915). The monumental bibliographical dictionary of M. Henri Cordier was published in four volumes as *Bibliotheca Indo-Sinica* between 1912-1914.

The war naturally interrupted for a while, these fruitful activities ; still the sympathy for and solidarity of the *Ecole* was amply testified by the publication of two valuable collections of monographs named *Etudes Asiatiques*, in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the School. To this volume, old masters like Senart and Sylvain Levi sent their contributions as well as the newer generation of scholars like M. Aurousseau, Demieville, Przyluski, Marchal ; and, connecting the two generations stood the veteran Director M. Louis Finot whose modesty is as deep as his spirit is large and who has given his whole life to the organization, and to the stabilization and development of the *Ecole*. Privileged to watch him working in his cultural laboratory at Hanoi, during my visit in 1924, I can say that I have rarely seen an institution so modest in its external paraphernalia and yet so far-reaching in its beneficial and creative activities, with regard to the elucidation of the intricate problems of Asiatic culture and its relation with India and Indology. The library that M. Finot has built up is a veritable symbol of the protean face of mother Asia ! The museum is a glory to Asiatic genius in art, plastic as well as decorative. The newly-founded museum of Pnom Penh ; and the enthusiastic collaboration of M. Groslier had combined to make the special contributions of Cambodge, past as well as present, live before our eyes. M. Groslier, Directeur des Arts Cambodgiens, not only tried to revive the arts and crafts of Cambodge, through an excellent school at Pnom Penh but he has published remarkable books like *Recherches sur les Cambodgiens* (Paris 1921) *Art et Archeologie Khmere* etc., to focuss new light on the history and technique of that great family of Asiatic art. Khmer art definitely established its claim upon the attention of experts and connoisseurs of Paris, thanks to the excellent presentation of the documents in the *Musee Guimet* of Paris which, in its *Bibliothèque du Vulgarisation*, has published an original and bold study of rising art critics like M. Philippe Stern and Miss Colani : *Le Bayon d'Angkor et l'évolution de l' Art Khmer* (1927) forced us to reconsider the chronology of the Indo-Khmer monuments. M. G. Coedes lent his valuable services to the Archaeological Department of the Siam Government and thus, having worked as the Librarian of the Vajirajñana Library of Bangkok, occupied the honoured position of the Secretary of the Royal Institute of Siam and Cambodge. He is still contributing valuable articles to the *Bulletin*.

His presence in Siam is responsible for a series of valuable papers on the art and archaeology of the only modern Asian nation that considers Buddhism as its national religion.

The Chief of the Archaeological service, M. Parmentier who, by his industry and insight, is the architect, in the real sense of the term, of his department, is as active and brilliant as ever. He has opened quite a new vista of research into the comparative evolution of the Hindu and Far Eastern architecture by his monograph, *Origine Commune des architectures Hindous dans l'Inde et en Extrême Orient* (1925) and also by his *L'Ars Khmer Primitifs* (1927).

As art critic and photographer of rare taste, M. Victor Goloubew, whose passion for Indian art brought him to photograph the frescoes of Ajanta, years ago, is also a great asset to the *Ecole*. As the editor of the famous *Ars Asiatica* series, he had already rendered a signal service to the study of Oriental art, by publishing splendid photogravure reproductions of the masterpieces of the different families of Asiatic art. In collaboration with Mon. Parmentier and Finot, he published the superb monograph on the Temple of *Isvarapura* (Paris 1926) and volumes on the Bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat, the veritable marvel of Asiatic Art creation.

While concluding this brief tribute, on behalf of Indian scholarship, to the noble scholars of the French School of Archaeology, I read in the latest instalment of its *Bulletin*, the valuable notes of M. Finot on some new Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodge, a study which he has made his own, by his profound knowledge of the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages and epigraphy, scrupulously scientific in method. How, after over thirty years of strenuous service under the trying climate of Indo-China, Finot continued, with unabated enthusiasm, the decipherment of these positive documents of Indian cultural expansion in the Far East and such unknown *Raghu-vamsas* written by some Indo-colonial Kalidasa!

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GREATER INDIA REVISITED

By

KALIDAS NAG

I

EASTWARD HO !

It was August, 1924. The Eastern Ocean between Saigon (Indo-China) and Singapore, normally trying for tourists, became abnormally exasperating. All the passengers in the small, old-fashioned French mail-boat *S. S. Donai* were keeping pace as it were with the wild dance of the waves. How every one of us got sick of the sea and dreamed, with a pathetic longing, of Land,—we the children of the soil ! I was trying to get relief by dipping occasionally into the pages of the Provencal poet, Frederic Mistral, weaving his grand Earth epic :

“Dans le sol, jusqu'au tuf, a creuse ma charrure”.

Our ‘earth-hunger’ grew in an inordinate measure. Three days and four nights continuous voyage brought us finally to the grand harbour of inter-oceanic commerce, Singapore.

Singha-pura, the city of the Lions ; what a magic in the name evoking the memories of millenniums ! How Indian “Sea Wolves” and “Sea Lions” have roared here, while passing through this gate to the Eastern ocean and have left permanently, in Malaya and its harbours, the legacy of their names in the native dialects. The son of king *Singhabāha* of India, becomes sick of land ; he leaves India and plunges into the unknown waters. He lands in an island which he conquers and colonises and becomes famous as King Vijaya of *Sinhala* (Ceylon). The first Poet of India, the author of the Indian epic *Rāmāyaṇa*, sings of the curbing of the ocean by Prince Rāma and his conquest of Ceylon. Vālmiki betrays another preoccupation of the Indians of yore with the *Suvarṇa-dvīpa* or their youthful dream of the Golden Islands and of *Suvarṇabhūmi*, the Indian Chersonese

Be it Ceylon (Lanka) or Malay or Sumatra or Java, according to various scholars and schools of antiquarians, the fact remains undisputed that *Singha-pura*-Singapore, is a symbol of that early movement of India towards South-East Asia and the South seas, and of that hunger for the Unknown, that made the marvellous history of ancient Indian colonisation. This epic of the Indian Vikings, this golden legend of the Indian Eastward Ho—would it remain unsung and unwritten for ever ? Should we never enquire why the legends of the reign of the Emperor of Peace, Dharmasoka, tend towards Ceylon

and Burma as early as the 3rd century B. C. ? How the *Periplus* of the Erythraean Sea (64 A. D.) and the *Geography* of Ptolemy (2nd century A. D.) contain indisputable evidences of Hindu commercial and colonial activities ; how the *Yavadvipa* of the Rāmāyana is equated with *Ibadiu* of the Geographer of Alexandria and *Ye-tiao* (Yap-div) sending tributes to the Chinese court in 132 A. D. (Vide Dr. P. C. Bagchi. "India and China", Greater India Society Bulletin No. 2, pp. 57) ; how the chapter of commercial expansion was balanced by that unique chapter of cultural colonisation, inaugurated by Dharmāsoka and continued magnificently by the Prince-Monk Gunavarman, the painter missionary of Kashmir, passing through Ceylon to Sho-p'o (Java or Sumatra) which was thoroughly converted to the faith of Fraternity (Maitri) ; and how the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien touched Ye-po'ti' (Yava-dvipa) on his way to and from India in the 5th century A. D. ; how the great naval empire of Śrīvijaya (the *She-ri-fo-she* of Chinese writers) with Sumatra as its base, wove India, Indo-China and Java into a grand complex of cultural co-operation, connecting the Imperial architects of Borobudur with the Palas of Magadha and Bengal and with the Pallava—Cholas of South India ; lastly, how the Hinduised Majapahit empire of Java continued to shape the vast Malay Archipelago, down to the very end of the 15th century (1476), claiming the vast expanse from Malay the fringe of the Polynesian world. This Indo-Pacific zone was the cultural domain of India. It was named as Island-India or Insulindia.

All these questions, together with the dim visions of the far-off empires of *Champā* and *Kamboj* which I had just left behind on my way to Java, and the shades of the cultural pioneers like Agastya, Kaundinya and Paramārtha, Amoghavajra and Dipamkara, haunted me while I landed in Singhapura, the gateway to Indonesia.

Singapore, The Great Eastern Gate

But other lions are roaring here now, while the Hindu lions are almost forgotten, save and except in the names which still clings to the Island State of Indonesia and of the Philippines. My claiming descent from the Hindu ancestors Sakya Nagasena, Agastya, Gunavarman, etc. did not spare me the pugatory of the Passport Office. I had the British visa all right ; but I was informed by my friend Dr. Parimal Sen of the Tan Tok Shen Hospital, who was all attention to me during my stay in Singapore, that I had better shown my face before the Dutch Consul, who was the final arbiter of my destiny. Entering the dingy office, in the stuffy steaming atmosphere, I felt all my pride as a descendent of the great Hindu pioneers, dissipated into vapour. I had to offer all sorts of explanations as to why I was proceeding to Java, how long I was going to stay there, etc. Thanks to my credentials and my previous visits to Holland, which, earned me some friends amongst the Dutch Orientalists, I managed to satisfy the passport officers, who duly sanctioned my visit to the "Queen of the East", without paying the 200 guilders or so

as *toelatings kart* or admission fee or deposit money generally exacted as a security against incorrect behaviour. I heaved a sigh of relief when my passport was regularised, although I was a bit crest-fallen, thinking how history, with relentless justice, has written "barred by limitation" on the title-deeds of my Hindu ancestors who were really the first to reclaim this part of the world from barbarism to civilisation. But they slept for nearly half a millennium (modest when compared with the sleep of their Gods who sleep through aeons), and I, their humble descendant must pay the penalty for that luxury.

The penalty was not very heavy. I had to pay five Singapore dollars for the Dutch visa. Then, enquiring about the ticket to Batavia, I came to know that return passages from Singapore to Batavia and back would cost me 90 Singapore dollars. The steamers plying in that region, belong to *Koninklyke Paketwoort Maatschappij*, a Dutch shipping agency enjoying practical monopoly in Indonesian waters. To the credit of this company it must be said that the steamers, berth arrangements, and other comforts are the very best (as I saw also on my return journey from the Philippines), that one can get during one's tour though the Far East. Neither the British Indian Steam Navigation Co. (Calcutta Singapore lines), nor the shipping lines of French Indo-China, both of which meet here in Singapore, can stand comparison in any way with the beautiful, clean, well-ventilated steamers of the Dutch Company. This contrast appealed to me the more sharply, because I had just then had the bitter experience of travelling in an ante-deluvian French boat coming from neighbouring Indo-China.

Before leaving Singapore I visited the nice little museum built in memory of Sir Stamford Raffles, who, during the Napoleonic wars, occupied Java for five years (1810-1815), lest that island might fall into the hands of the French. Our Asiatic Society of Calcutta then, under Lord Minto's patronage held its only overseas session in Malaya. With the fall of Napoleon that fear was dissipated and Java was restored to the Dutch (1815). The British were thinking of establishing a commercial emporium in Achin, north of Sumatra; but Raffles recommended Singapore as the better site and he, like Job Charnock of Calcutta, turned out to be a good prophet. For, thanks to Raffles, Singapore is now the very key to the South Seas and the Eastern ocean, commanding its extensive trade relations. Here the Ceylonese are jostling with the Chinese, and the Tamil bullock-cart drivers are bravely blocking the way of the up-to-date automobiles of the Westerners. Passing through the streets, looking at the huge commercial buildings and banks, I felt that slow yet mighty undercurrent of American Dollars, rushing under this superficial civilisation of Eurasia. The wealth of the East, vaster than what the epic imagination of Milton could have visualised, is passing to the Occident through this gigantic Mammon's mart of Malaya and Singapore.

The Raffles Museum

The only cultural oasis in this golden desert, strewn with American Mexican and Chinese dollars, is the Raffles Museum. The collection is made with a view to give a general idea of the fauna and flora, the geology and ethnography of the vast Malay Archipelago. I found specimens of dwelling houses and domestic things, weapons and implements, dress and decorations, from Malaysia and the various islands of the Dutch Indies. A Javanese theatre in miniature, with the Puppet heroes and heroines, the special musical instruments, the variegated types of masks, rich in suggestion and decoration, all gave me a foretaste of Java and Bali that was drawing me with an irresistible fascination.

In a corner I found a few things which seemed to me of great interest to the students of Indian culture-history. A series of terracotta plaques with Buddhist figures in low relief and some quoting religious texts in clear old *nāgari* character (as we find on some later Javanese sculptures), testify to the migration of North Indian (possibly Magadha-Bengal) Buddhism along this land-bridge of Malaya to Indonesia. Most of these things have been discovered in a cave of north Malaya touching Siam. The great Dutch Indologist Prof. H. Kern deciphered some of these documents and ascribed them to the 9th and 10th century A. D. Another important relic is a mutilated pillar, containing fragments of an inscription in old-Javanese (*kavi*) language. It stood there as a forlorn monument of a submerged civilisation, the once glorious Hindu culture, overwhelmed by the later Islamic and Occidental inundations.

Sailing for Java

I sailed for Java on the Dutch steamer *S S Plancius* in the afternoon, and Singapore slowly melted away in the distance. The dull grey sky and waters of the harbour were suddenly transformed with the crimson glow of the setting sun. In that mystic blending of colours I lapsed into an uncanny mood. I seemed to witness the sunset of the Gods, *Le crepuscule des dieux*, with its Wagnerian grandeur, the slow sinking of millions of Gods and heroes of the Australasian and Malay-Polynesian peoples, of the Brahmanical and Buddhist pantheons and congregations, all disappearing behind the curtain of the Unknown. The ship sailed in the night and innumerable dreams kept rhythm with the palpitation of the stars.

The island of Banka and Sumatra, the theatre of the Sri Vijaya empire

The next morning we were passing through the straits of Banka with the great island of Sumatra on one side and the island of Bangka (Vanga ?) or Banka, on the other. Banka with Sumatra is rich in minerals. Gold silver, iron ore, lead and amber are found, while tin is its chief product. Sumatra

Banca, Borneo (*varhṇa-dvīpa*) and other islands must have been explored by the early Indian adventurers, for we find accurate descriptions of the islands, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and other early texts, "Islands strewn with gold and silver" These were the halting stages in the onward march of the Hindus towards Java, Madura, Bali, Celebes and Borneo. When Fortune smiled on the adventures of those intrepid Hindu colonists and victory crowned them with her laurels, they founded here the great Sumatran empire of *Srivijaya*, which, for nearly a thousand years, maintained its proud title as the sentinel of the Southern Seas, sweeping these waters of pirates and enforcing peace and fairplay. It was the Hindu kings of the *Śailendra* Dynasty or Sumatra-Java that reared up that architectural epic Borobudur in central Java (8th-9th century). The Sanskrit inscription discovered in Kota Kapur in the island of Banca, informs us that in 686 A. D., *Srivijaya* sent an expedition to Java. It was exactly then when the learned Chinese pilgrim Yi-tsing (following in the foot-steps of Hiuen Tsang) was studying Indian texts in the Sumatran centres of learning (685-689), later visited in the eleventh century by the Bengali monk-savant *Dīpaṃkara*-*Sri Jñāna* I saw a manuscript illustration with the caption : *Sri Vijaya-dvīpe Dīpaṃkarā*.

The Kings of Sri Vijaya had relations with the Palas of Bengal, the Cholas of South India and the Khmer kings of Kamboj. As late as the 11th century A. D., the great Buddhist reformer of Bengal *Dīpaṃkara* *Srijñāna* (Atiśa) went to meet Achārya Chandrakīrti in the *Suvarṇadvīpa* (Sumatra); the Sumatran schools of study were in close touch with the great Indian University of Nālandā. The power of Sri Vijaya was eclipsed by the great Javanese empire of Majapahit founded in 1294 by Sri Kṛtarājasa, which in its turn collapsed (1476) before the onrush of Islam in the 15th century (vide Dr. Bijanraj Chatterjee's "Java and Sumatra," Greater India Society Bulletin No. 3).

Now this area, haunted by great historic memories looks savage and deserted. The 100,000 population of Banca, shows over 50,000 Chinese who are now dominating the whole of the Southern Ocean, right up to the Malay states. And Sumatra, the proud throne of the *Śailendras*, is covered with dense jungle. The whole day I listened to the sonorous music of desolation from the dark green forests of Sumatra, lamenting her past glories under the Hindu emperors of Sri Vijaya. How much of history is entombed within this sepulchre of greenery! How Nature tries to hide (as in the Hindu colony of Kamboj) under the cover of her smiling forests, the ravages of Time and how Man with an uncanny instinct digs up the skeletons of his ancestral glories!

From Singapore to Batavia

The fine boat *Plancius* (600 tons) floated from Singapore with a splendid weather. The sea was calm and placid like a pond. Our *Plancius*

crossed the Equator, gave us a superb view of Sumatra and Banca and brought us to Tandjong Priok, the harbour of Batavia (now Jakarta) in the morning, covering a distance of 532 nautical miles in 40 hours. From the harbour one can reach the city, by train or by car, in twenty minutes. Some friends who expected me, kindly met me on board the steamer and brought me safely to *Weltvreden* or (well-content, in *Dutch*) the new city. Really it looked a well-contented metropolis with large clean streets, fine parks and sumptuous buildings. Batavia rivals Singapore as an emporium of Asiatic commerce. It is the capital, for three centuries of the Netherland possessions in the East-the *NederIndisch-Indie* as it is called by the Dutchmen.

I had the good fortune to enjoy the hospitality of Mr. Corporaal, the principal of the Training College, "*Gunung Sari*." It is a "new model" school run on co-educational lines. Its fame for efficiency, order and peaceful atmosphere had attracted boys and girls from every part of the Dutch Indies. Students from east and west Java, from Bali, and Lambok, from Sumatra and other islands, greeted me with their veriegated native costumes and refined courtesies. At a glance I could discover the wide range of variation in features, in dresses, in gestures, a *tableau vivant* of the picturesque types of Indonesia greeting my eyes. How thankful am I that the Principal and fellow teachers kindly arranged to keep me in the very heart of this rising generation of Indonesian youths. How much would I have lost (as the tourists in general do) by entering an up-to-date hotel with its modern comforts.

A model school of Batavia

The whole day, my first day in Java, passed away like a dream. The teaching staff, composed of Dutch and Javanese teachers, impressed me with a spirit of rare devotion and idealism. Mr. Corporaal struck me as an ideal captain; then Mr. Maatman, Mr. Post and other Dutch scholars were splendid lieutenants, with the true instinct and sympathy as teachers. The band of women teachers were trained in active service; some as superintendent of the girls' boarding, some as kitchen-queens. I was taken round the whole establishment, not excluding the washing department; for, as Mrs. Maatman humorously said, I must be convinced that they observe Dutch cleanliness right through the institution. Really it seemed to me that I had come to a model school, rarely to be met with in Indo-China or in Siam and Burma.

What intensified my joy was the discovery that our Poet Rabindranath had thoroughly captivated the heart of the professors as well as of the pupils. They asked me many things about the Poet and his Shantiniketan. I found here for the first time some of the Dutch translations of his works which, I gathered, were keenly appreciated here. The special favourites were: *De Leerschool van den Papegaai* (Parrot's Training) *Opvoedingsidealen* (The Crescent Moon) translated by the Javanese writer Noto Soeroto. Rabindra-

nath's "The Centre of Indian Culture" (Het Centrum de Indische Culturer), roused great enthusiasm for India in the heart of many serious-minded Indonesians who were glad to welcome me as a Tagore disciple.

I was introduced to the Javanese Pandit whose family name was *Śāstra-vīrya*. He taught the Javanese language and literature in the school and he furnished me with valuable information about the present state of scholastic learning in Java and Bali along indigenous lines. He lamented, like our own Pandits, that the traditional method of study was decaying. I humorously asked, if he knew the original significance of his family name *Śāstra-vīrya*. He did not know Sanskrit and got a little confused. I consoled him by saying how his name paid a glowing tribute to the Indians, who believed that real strength was not in brute force but that it lay in the stored-up wisdom, the *Śāstras* of our ancestors. Mr. *Śāstravīrya* was highly flattered and requested me to recite a few slokas from the *Bhagavad Gītā*, which I found to be the universal favourite here as also the *Adi-parvan* and the *Bhārata-yuddha* of the *Mahābhārata* which I purchased for the Bhandarkar Institute of Poona.

An Indo-Javanese Evening

So I had the joy of discovering, the very first day of my stay in this ancient Indian colony, that India still had some place in the heart of the Indonesian people. I spent the afternoon, describing our Shantiniketan school and the Poet's original method of teaching *music drama* and acting. I did not know that I was touching sympathetic chords and that my young Indonesian friends were preparing a most delectable surprise for me that evening. Scinting my weakness for music and drama and noticing my eagerness to know something of the famous Javanese Theatre, the boys and girls of the school conspired to overwhelm me with a charming improvised programme. I began to suspect it, late in the afternoon, when I found the boys running about, carrying foliage and flowers with other beautiful things towards the central *Pandapa* (Mandapa) in a corner of the spacious play-ground. Then I was duly informed and taken to witness the performance. The students themselves organised the orchestra (*Gamelan*), the chorus, the dance-drama and everything. They showed an inborn taste and talent. In vocal music they did not show much individuality. The cosmopolitan music with imported European tunes, seemed a little queer; but the moment the indigenous orchestra of the *Gamelan* started playing, all sense of disharmony vanished and we felt transported to the age of the classical Javanese dance-drama. The girls were naturally shy; yet they contributed their quota by singing a few pastoral songs. There is a distinct regional character in their melodies. The Sundanese and the Balinese tunes seemed well differentiated, as I felt while attending to the folk dances of the earthly Paradise of Bali.

Suddenly we were snatched away from our musical musings to vigorous action. The boys of Sumatra possessed the stage. They gave a splendid show of the Sumatran dagger-duels. The most thrilling part came

when one of the combatants charged furiously with a dagger while his rival, completely unarmed, defended himself with a sureness and rapidity which seemed phenomenal. The Sumatrans enjoy, even to-day, a reputation for fight. A section of the Sumatran people, those inhabiting Atchin, in the northwest, maintained their independence down to 1873, when the inevitable war with the Dutch broke out which resulted in the total subjugation of the heroic people. But the resistance offered was so violent that it cost 80,000 lives and £20,000,000 to the Dutch. It was only in 1908 that these people were completely subjugated. Naturally I found, in the tense agile musculature and flaring looks of these Sumatran youths some vestiges of the old fire. Forty years after, in 1948, the Dutch were obliged to retire, transferring power to the Indonesians under Soekarno and Hatta, worthy leaders of Free Indonesia.

Lastly, followed a *comic interlude* to relieve the tension. My friends explained how the boys were giving us an *impromptu* caricature of current politics, through brilliant dialogues in the cultured dialect of central Java, set against the boorish idioms of the unorthodox provinces. I was reminded of a similar dialectal duel between the aristocratic Castilians of Madrid and the Mediterranean loud-tongued Catalans of Barcelona, which I had witnessed in a modern Spanish comedy while I was in Madrid (which, like London to the Indians, fascinated the Filipinos). The people of Central Java consider themselves as the Aryans of Java, enjoying the monopoly of all refinement and artistic tastes, as I was charmed to observe, as the guest of the Sultans of Surakarta and of Jogjakarta.

A Mahabharata Dance

I was convinced that the Javanese were born actors; but I did not realise how great they were in dance, till I witnessed the representation of the *Brata joeda* (Bhārata-yuddha) by these amateur dancers of the school. Dancing is as natural to the Javanese and the Balinese as swimming to the swan. I wonder who teaches them the extraordinary expressiveness in rhythmic gestures, dumb yet so much more eloquent than the loud rantings of our modern Indian theatrical dialogues. The teacher, so far as I could gather, was tradition. So much more the reason for us Indians to enquire how old were those recensions of the ¹Nāṭya-Śāstra and the Great Epics which were taken over to Indonesia by the early Indian colonists.

The episode, given to us by the boys, was that of the fight between Karna and Ghaṭotkacha, during the fight of Kurukshetra. Those boys, who seemed so quiet and docile in ordinary life, were transformed with an epic grandeur, the moment they donned their traditional costumes of the Heroic Age. On the one side, Ghaṭotkacha, the non-Aryan warrior with his wild and uncouth gestures, his violent methods of attack, an incarnation of brute force; on the other side Karna, the Aryan hero, moving with

grace and self-confidence, restraining passion, calm and self-possessed, yet quick as lightning, stunning his adversary with one unerring blow, without the least sign of cruelty disfiguring his noble visage, a very picture of chivalry and heroism, standing out of the pages of the Mahābhārata. The whole interpretation of our Great Epic, through rhythm and dance, in accompaniment of the highly suggestive Polynesian orchestra *Gamelan*, overwhelmed me with their cadences and verisimilitude. I thanked my Indonesian brothers, these boy actors who are keeping up the great tradition of the dance-commentary, on our Epics and our Nāṭya Śāstra. How thankful should we Indians be to our friends of Greater India, for this unique contribution to our Mahābhārata! Throughout the night these dance-rhythms whirled in my brain and I seemed to live again in the hoary heroic days of the Great Epics. On my return to India I presented a *Dutch* edition of the *Adi-parvan*, to my friend Vishnu Sukthankar, the first Editor of the *Mahā Bhārata* published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute.

The Modern Review July. 1927.

With Rammohan Roy begins the Renaissance of Indian wisdom: Kabir Nanak, Chaitanya announced the religious awakening of India and Sivaji her spirit of independence. Rammohan completed their task.

The high position he holds in his nation also speaks of his importance for the whole of Humanity. He was above all religious in spirit; but religious in the *Indian way*. Attracted, by an equal sympathy, towards all the highest forms of human faiths, familiar with the Bible (Hebrew and Christian), and the Koran of Islam, he accepted them only to deduce from them their *universal values*. He took from them, without 'the slightest' hesitation the purest of their doctrines; but only to incorporate them with the Brahmanical traditions.

As for that *tradition*, although he respected it, he was not its slave. He resolutely, rejected, without passion, all those unhealthy elements, which the long centuries and the decadence of Hindu genius, were responsible for introducing into it.

He proclaimed the *Upanishads*, in which was vested the authority for two Millenia. He interpreted them with the help of Vedantic *Monism* and in the light of modern ideas. He placed India in the heart of Humanity and assigned to her a seat among the *Elites*.

SYLVAIN LEVI

Address to the Rammohan Centenary,
University of Paris (1933)

GREATER INDIA REVISITED

By

KALIDAS NAG

II

From Batavia to Surabaya

Batavia is a modern commercial city with all possible modern comforts, and it palled on me from the very beginning. To escape from its aggressive modernism, I took refuge in the splendid Museum of the city. It contains the richest collection of the products of Indonesian culture and at the same time some of the most important archaeological links between the art and iconography of India and Java of old. I appreciated this museum, as a glorious tribute to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (Bataviassch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen). Meanwhile let me proceed to describe how the propitious smile of Lord Ganesha, who greeted me first, at the threshold of the Museum, gave an extremely happy turn to my chance-driven adventure.

Academic collaboration between India and Java

I saw Dr. F. D. K. Bosch, director of the Archaeological department and he received me very kindly. He had been revising the text of the famous Sanskrit inscriptions from central Java (found in the temple of Chandi Kalasan) which had been already edited by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. Brandes. A new fragment of the inscription had been found and Dr. Bosch was getting ready to publish a revised text from fresh facsimiles. We discussed certain technical terms in the Sanskrit slokas, and gradually drifted into a general discussion on the possibility of a more intimate collaboration between Indian scholars and Dutch savants. Dr. Bosch warmly supported me saying that in two departments the help from Indian scholars would be specially welcome: first, for the proper appreciation of the Indo-Javanese Art it is absolutely necessary that a comparative study of the Javanese and the Indian series of monuments should be made with reference to the *Śilpa Shāstras* like Mayamata, Mānasāra, Vāstuvidyā and such other texts which are being found in increasing numbers. Also, to ascertain, as to what extent the art of India influenced the art of her cultural colonies and also what were the independent contributions of the colonial artists and artisans to the borrowed or imported motifs, it is absolutely necessary to make an intensive study along the lines suggested above. But it was a great pity that very few texts of the *Śilpa Shāstras* have been scientifically edited and published.

The same difficulty is realised, continued Dr. Bosch, in handling the old manuscripts of Java and Bali. Most of them appertain to the Tantras and the cult of Tantrism. It would be a capital study to compare the Tantric literatures of India and Indonesia. But the *critical* study of the Tantras has not yet begun. The writings of Arthur Avalon are too subjective to be utilised for historical purposes. Dr. Bosch urged the systematic study of the Tantras and hoped that Indian scholars would respond to his call promptly.

Projected Tour to the Bali Island

I consulted Dr. Bosch about my tour programme and he very kindly gave valuable suggestions, letters of introduction and other help for which I was grateful. Incidentally he mentioned that a very important celebration would take place in the island of Bali. A local Raja would celebrate the *Śrāddha* ceremony of his ancestor, in the right royal and orthodox style, the like of which was not to be seen for many years. I had a mind to go to Bali if chance favoured me ; but I did not dream that the call of the gods and the Brāhmanas of that island would be so peremptory. Finding me a little confused, Dr. Bosch generously offered to write to his colleague, Prof. Dr. B. J. O. Seherieke, director of the Ethnographic department, who happened to be then in Bali to study the *Śrāddha* rituals on the spot. I thanked Dr. Bosch profusely for offering me such an ideal guide and I rushed to make enquiries about my passage, etc., to that romantic island. I came to know that the steamer for Bali would sail soon from Surubaya, the eastern port of Java and I left Batavia for Surubaya to avail myself of the earliest boat. Mr. Corporaal, the Principal of the School of Guenong Sari, did a great service to me by writing to one of his Balinese pupils (for he had pupils from every part of the Archipelago) who resided in Singaradja, the capital of Bali. He further advised me to halt at Bandoeng and see the place on my way to Surubaya. Thanking my friends of Batavia I boarded the train to Bandoeng at 2-30 P. M., buying a ticket for 5-50 Dutch guilders.

Bandoeng, the capital of a Planter's Paradise

It took me full five hours to come to Bandoeng from Batavia, the distance being about 100 miles. The trains in Java run only between sunrise and sunset ; so we must previously arrange to halt in a convenient place during the night. My friends of Batavia kindly made all arrangements for my short stay in Bandoeng. So with a mind free from all cares, I began to survey the splendid Indonesian landscape from the train. The alternation of hills and plains, with the traces of the cultivators' hand everywhere, gives us an impression of charm and plenitude rarely paralleled in any other part of Asia. We were passing through the Preanger Regencies where native landlords, euphemistically called Princes, still continue to exercise sovereign rights, cleverly circumscribed by the Dutch residents. However, the country

is rich in agricultural products. On the one hand, we find modern tea, coffee and cinchona plantations in the higher regions and on the other, the old *sawus* or rice-fields cultivated and irrigated by the "Terrace system" so famous in the Filipino and Javanese economic history. Rice, as in India, is the universal favourite and is worshipped as a divine grain. Who knows if the Indian grain-goddess Lakshmi emigrated, with the other gods of India, to Java and brought along with her the Indian science of cultivation together with the tradition of ponderous plenty which is still written on place-names like Sukabumi (Sukha-bhumi) or the land of prosperity.

Bandoeng is, next to Batavia, the most important city of Western Java. It is, along with Sukabumi, one of the headquarters for the planters: it is also the capital of the Preanger Regencies. The native Moslem regent is a pensioner of the Dutch Government, and consequently, as an ornamental figure-head, continues the tradition of the bygone ages with its puppet plays and gamelan music in the large palace or *dalem* in the centre of the town. But it seems to be out of context when compared with the up-to-date Dutch settlements, the Quinine-factory and the gigantic wireless installation in the city. The population of over 100,000 souls show only 10,900 Whites, who however are the dominating elements. The relation between the natives and the Eurasian community, as was reported to me, was however cordial and the cultural and social discrepancy not so sharp as in India.

My brief stay in Bandoeng, was in the quiet hospitable homes of Mr. Fournier and Mr. Van Leenwen who had visited India and Santiniketan and were great admirers of Tagore. In their select family library there were standard works on Java and Bali and I spent most of my time glancing through them.

A school for government officials

Higher University education was unknown in colonial Java. The secondary schools were pretty numerous and well-organised. The bulk of the aspirants for Government services had to pass through a type of school-test represented by the Bandoeng one, where the Javanese youths study the elements of arts and sciences, of drawing and surveying nay even economics and law! While visiting the school I chanced to come across a manual of Law, and I was informed by the teacher that once in Java the influence of Manu's Code was as pronounced as it is to be found in Bali to day; but at present the Islamic and the Dutch codes are preponderating factors in the legal training of the Javanese officials. The successful candidates, are recruited into service with grades ranging from 25 florins to 400 florins per month according to qualification. Those who aspire after higher posts must get themselves transferred to the Dutch Universities in Holland and secure the Imperial (as well the colonial) service jobs.

A Musical evening

Mr. Van Leenwen kindly took me one evening to a remarkable Dutch scholar who had devoted his life to the study of Javanese music. Mr. Mevrouw Kunst received us in his room, which struck me as a miniature museum of musical instruments coming from Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, Celebes and other parts of the Archipelago. Mr. Kunst had travelled extensively through the Dutch Indies and made this valuable collection with a view to write out an exhaustive history of Malay-Polynesian music. He discussed his programme of work with me; and I came to discover in Mr. Kunst a musician who shows in him the rare combination of the musical intuition with a sound historical sense. He also showed me the excellent photographs he had taken of those reliefs of Borobudur wherein we find musical instruments, performances and dances, demonstrating the innate sense of rhythm and harmony, displayed by Indonasia's talented people throughout history. I felt how the silent stone sculptures might bear eloquent testimony to the musical genius of a people. The musical instruments depicted in the bas-reliefs of Borobudur (8th and 9th century A. D.), might supply certain links in the chain of cultural relations between India and Java. Mr. Kunst told me how his studies along these lines had brought out an unexpected corroboration of the intimate cultural relations also between Indo-China and Indonesia. Some Chinese musical instruments penetrated Laos and passing through Cambodge and Siam, came as far as Java and Borneo. Where is the historian to write out an account of this musical matrimony between the different races? Mr. Kunst struck me as a remarkable personality and I left Bandoeng thanking him for this new vision of Human music and Asian Harmony. He introduced me to Tjokorda Gde Raka, a Baliness expert in Indonesian music, living in *Sukawati* (Sukhavati), who is the *Punggawa* or chief of Oeboed in south Bali. He received Tagore in 1927 and his successor gave me a warm reception during my post-war visit of Indonesia in 1954.

From Bandoeng to Surubaya

To reach Surubaya by the evening, I had to catch the early morning train which covered about 400 miles in 14 hours. This is the southern line which passes Tjibatoe, Tasik Malaya, Bandjar, Maos and Djokjakarta, reaching the final port of Surubaya about 7-30 p.m. The whole route is marvellously rich in tropical sceneries, whose softness was occasionally broken by the rude and terrific faces of volcanic rocks. On either side of this route lie the Hindu monuments and temples like Borobudur and Prambanan. I postponed my archaeological pilgrimage through these sites in order to witness the rare *Śrāddha* celebration in Bali. While devouring the contents of a book on Bali I suddenly discovered that a

Japanese youth was looking at me from the opposite seat. After exchange of courtesies I enquired and came to know that Mr. Narutomi belonged to the Agricultural College of Tokyo, and that he had come to Java to study the systems of cultivation, special to that island. The Japan Government grants travelling fellowships for such studies, which they consider important. When will our Government Agricultural institutes and our Universities come to realise the value of such direct studies nearer home, under Asiatic conditions in Indonesia, before sending students to Europe and America?

Arriving in Surubaya, I had to buy my tickets etc., for Bali. I add here a few prosaic details on that item, for the benefit of future visitors to that lovely island. The railway fare from Batavia to Surubaya comes to about 34 guilders and a ticket to Bali and back costs 93 guilders. Telegraphic charges to Bali came to about 10 guilders. So about 137 guilders were spent to meet the bare charges, on the road, for this humble Indian pilgrim. But the moment I boarded the steamer. I forgot all about foreign exchanges and sea-dues and such other unpoetic but inevitable items. The unknown yet very closely related brethren of Bali began to draw me with an overpowering fascination. So I lapsed into a dreamy communication with them on board the Dutch ship, "S. S. Both", which heaved gently on the placid waves kissing the shores of Java on one side and the coast of the island of Madura on the other, all floating on our Indian Ocean extending further up to Australia and Antarctica.

GREATER INDIA REVISITED

III

By

KALIDAS NAG

Through the Island of Bali

To reach the Island of Bali from Surubaya, the eastern port of Java, we had to pass through the straits of Madura. The very name "Madura" brought back to my mind the history of the progressive Hinduisation of Indonesia. I could not somehow believe that I was sailing in unknown waters. Heaps of antiquities belonging to the Hindu civilisation of Madura, Bali and Lombok that I saw in the Museum of Batavia, helped also to dispel the idea of "foreign-ness" from my mind, while I travelled in spirit through these "Island museums" of Hindu culture, reaching to the very confines of the Australasian

continent. Lying on the deck of the small steamship 'Both', I spent the whole day surveying the outline of the southern shore of the island of Madura, while the ship glided past Kamal, Sempar, Sampang and Pamakasan Bunder. The range of low hills in the centre formed a charming darkgreen background. I saw the plying of boats with the help of a peculiar sail, woven not of cloth but of palm-leaf mattresses, like the Indian *chatai*, which shone brilliantly in the midday sun. Then I felt that I was in the fringe of Polynesia, the world of leaf-reed-wicker-works, surpassing "civilised" handicrafts in an unsophisticated grace patterns and delicacy.

Our boat left Surubaya at 9 a. m. and it touched Soemenep, the eastern port of Madura, at about 5 p. m., thus flanking practically the entire length of the island in eight hours. Here the boat stopped for some time, loading and unloading cargoes. While watching the exports and imports of the island, I noticed a smart young man, in a white drill suiting, who had been studying me from a distance. I greeted him and he nodded gently and replied in broken English that he was trying to ascertain if I came from India. I assured him that he was right; and we soon became good friends, though the range of our conversation was very limited. I gathered that my friend hailed from the island of Celebes. His name was Mr. J. Walintukan and his home was at Menado in the Sonder District of Celebes. He was full of praise about his native country, where India is known through the *Rāmāyana* scenes which are still depicted by the people of North Celebes on painted cloth. Walintukan urged me to visit Celebes on my way back from Bali. Alas, my mind was willing, but money was ridiculously unwilling to replenish the exhausted purse of a vagabond tourist. Hence I had to postpone my visit to Celebes (yielding Hindu icons) for some future incarnation.

Early next morning I felt that the steamer had stopped somewhere. I rubbed my eyes and rushed to the deck with a view to ascertain if we were already in Bali. The captain informed me that, while face to face with Bali, we were still in Java. To solve this fine riddle I consulted the map and found that the island of Bali almost touches the extreme eastern port of Java, Banjuwangi, where our boat was lying in anchor for the loading and unloading of cargoes from the furthestmost province of Java, called Besuki (Bāsuki), which shows place-names like Probolinggo, Argapura, and Situbondo. Surely the *setu-bandha*, or the bridging of the ocean by Rāma, did not stop with Ceylon. His worthy descendants must have ventured farther and farther till they reached the very heart of Polynesia and who knows-probably they or their spiritual progeny of Indonesia, gradually crossed the vast expanse of the Pacific and left the relics of their manners and customs, their cosmogony and mythology, their art and iconography, in far-off Polynesia, nay further than that, even in the so-called New World where the symbolical Oriental designs and elephant-motifs have been discovered in the sculptural remains of the Pre-Columbian art of Central and South America.

Our ship weighed anchor, leaving the Javanese port Banguwangi and thus forced me to leave my historical fantasies. What a rare feast for the eyes. The morning sun lit up the sea of Java and the verdure of the Balinese coasts into an extraordinary brilliance. There is an unspeakable fascination in this greenery of the Pacific isles. I drank in the charm the whole morning through, and woke up as it were from a trance when in the mid-day the ship touched Buleleng, the northern port of Bali.

A crowd of Balinese boatmen invaded the steamer and tried to induce me to go on shore. But I was eagerly waiting for my Balinese friend, written to from Batavia. Suddenly I discerned a young man, of about twenty, approaching my steamer in a small boat. This was Njoman Kadjeng, the former student of the school of Gunung Sari and at present a clerk in the office of the Resident at Singaradja. He struck me as an ideal guide, a healthy unsophisticated and sympathetic young man speaking just sufficient English to make himself understood. He took charge of my luggage and brought me to the shore in a Balinese boat *tambangan prahæ*. I was informed that there was no regular hotel in the island but that there are rest-houses called *pasangrahan* (corresponding to our Indian *pānthaśālā*). So my friend deposited me and my luggage in the resthouse of Singaradja, some two miles from the landing place.

In Singaradja-the capital of Bali

The Balinese are born artists. The clean and charming roads with trees on either side supplying natural sunshade, the picturesque houses with thatched towers and rich wood-carvings, the variegated dress and dignified bearing of the womenfolk, the exquisite designs of temple architecture and decorations, all combined to evoke in me the memories of an ideal village community which is so persistently aspired after in our Indian texts, which once must have been the very basis of our Indian civilisation, yet which is so rarely to be seen and enjoyed in modern industrial India ! How strange it is that in this far-away Hindu colony, so long forgotten by the Hindus, I felt the inspiring touch of the bygone rural civilisation of India, praised equally by master Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi.

I spent the whole afternoon strolling along the village roads, haunted as it were by this bewitching scenery. I was suddenly attracted by the loud music of drums and cymbals in a neighbouring house ; and on enquiry was informed by my "friend, philosopher and guide", Njoman Kadjeng, that a folk festival was being celebrated there, as is customary on the full-moon day. So our Balinese brethren observe the *tithi* celebrations like us ! When I reached the house the ceremony was over and amusements were going on. It was really a funny spectacle ; in the spacious court-yard had assembled a huge crowd and in the centre there

was a gigantic lion with white mane. To reassure my nervous readers let me say at the very outset that it was not a real lion, but a dummy made to jump about by a clever man, a specialist in animal mimics ! The lion is not to be found in the list of Balinese fauna. Tigers, as I heard, are found in west Bali, but lions are neither seen nor known to the people. So this must be a ceremonial lion imported from India along with Indian cults and legends. And it jumped and danced quite unceremoniously, while the boys and girls were shrieking with merriment. Two men were dancing some rustic dances while the village orchestra was playing. Suddenly another actor appeared on the scene and, approaching the terrible beast with rhythmic gestures, laid it low, not with the stroke of any weapon but simply with magic *mantras* duly uttered. On the dead body of the lion (probably a symbol of Evil) was sprinkled water and flowers of four different colours were strewn to propitiate the four gods : Brahmā, Vishnu, Śiva and Indra.

While I was trying to disentangle the Indian elements from this queer ceremony, I was asked by my friend to watch a black chicken which was tied, all the while in an obscure corner and which was liberated, now that the power of Evil had been killed by the sacred *mantras*. This little detail made me alert at once in detecting the strain of Malay-Polynesian magic in this Indo-Javanese culture.

In the Library of a Balinese Pandit

Ever since my landing I was in search of a real Balinese scholar who might enlighten me with regard to the extant texts and traditions of Indian origin. I had the good fortune to meet just a man of that type in Pandit Djilantik who had a splendid collection of books and manuscripts. He received me very cordially and asked me numerous questions on India and the state of indigenous learning there. I felt how, in spite of centuries of separation, these descendants of Aryan pandits were still vitally interested in Indian religion and culture. We were sitting in the outhouse on a long wooden seat, so similar to the Indian model, and this Balinese Pandit was showing me one by one, the manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Vishṇu Purāṇas*, the *Dharmashāstras* of Manu and Bhrigu, the *Rājaniṭi* or royal science of Kāmandakā, etc., till I almost forgot that I was thousands of miles away from India, the original home of these *Shāstras* which I saw in their Balinese garb and reported to my Professor S. Levi. What a vast field for research ; and how our Indian learned societies, and universities should take immediate steps to send experts in Indian palaeography and Sanskrit literature in order to collaborate with our brother pundits of Bali and Java so closely connected with India.

Pandit Djilantik informed me that his collection had been catalogued by a Dutch Indologist. The ancient Indo-Javanese literature, written in

"Kawi" dialect, formed part also of the old literature of Bali. At a later epoch, when Islam inundated Java, with the fall of the Majhapahit empire in 1475, the important Hinduised families left their possessions in Java and crossed over to the island of Bali, which, down to this day, is free from Islamic domination. Those who consider themselves as descendants of the early Hindu immigrants are named *Wong Madjapahit*, who are infinitely superior to the *Bali-aga* or the indigenous Balinese. It is very easy to discern the two types : one flat and featureless, the other fine and handsome, among the Balinese of to day. The *Padanda* or *Pandit*-class resembles very much the Hindu Brahmin, and I gathered that the Balinese Brahmins claim *Panda Vahu Ravuh* (the "newly arrived") as their ancestor. Thus Bali began to offer me from day to day, sociological and cultural problems, at once fascinating and baffling.

A visit to the Residency

Thanks to Dr. Bosch, Director of the Archaeological Department, my arrival at Singaradja was intimated to the Governor or Resident of the islands of Bali and Lombok, P. E. Moolenburgh. He very kindly invited me to his house, situated in a lovely spacious garden. He was somewhat surprised to find an Indian scholar on archaeological adventure. Very soon I discovered that the Resident was a well-read man. I mentioned incidentally that we appreciate keenly in India the profound studies on Buddhism by the Dutch savant Henrick Kern. Mr. Moolenburgh forthwith told me joyously that he had the privilege to sit at the feet of Prof. Kern in order to learn Sanskrit years ago. So he would help to the best of his abilities an Indian admirer of his learned master. I had some favour to ask and I took that opportunity to seek his aid. I knew that Njoman Kadjeng was a clerk in the office of the Residency and I knew equally well that it would be very difficulty for me to secure the services of another Balinese of his type, during my short stay in the island. So I requested and the Resident generously agreed to place me under the care of Dr. Schrieke, the Director of the Ethnographic Survey, who has then staying in Gianjar (South Bali) in order to study the elaborate Cremation rituals there. That was just the thing which I wanted to witness before anything else ; and that was why I postponed my Java trip. By a stroke of good luck or by a propitious smile of Lord Ganesha, I gained my object completely. Thanking the Resident, I began to get ready for my historic tour from Singaradja, on the north, to Gianjar, the stronghold of Hindu culture in South Bali.

The Resident's library contains all the important books and reports on Bali, Lombok and other islands. I offer to my Indian readers some facts that may prove interesting to my Indian friends.

Bali and Lambok were first visited by Houtman as early as 1597 and

he found the people "extremely warlike" in nature, quite in keeping with the proud tradition of the native chronicle-*Usana Bali*, which names the island Bali-anake, the Lamp of the strong and valiant, thus fitly expressing the bold warlike spirit of the Balinese (Vide B. R. Chatterjee's *Indian Culture in Java and Sumatra*, pp. 12; *Greater India Society Bulletin* No. 3).

The Balinese could not be made to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Dutch Government before 1841; although the Susuhunan (or chief) of Surakarta (a central Javanese State), who had theoretical rights over Bali, ceded them to the Dutch settlers as early as 1743. The grip of political control was tightened in 1841, with the consequence that there were dangerous up-risings throughout the island between 1846-1849, causing considerable drain of men and money to the Dutch Government. The nationalist opposition was so determined and organised that "as late as 1894 the Dutch power had under their direct control only two provinces of Bali: Djembrana in the west and Buleleng or Singaradja in the North. All the other provinces were governed by the Rajahs who were absolute monarchs, the Dutch having little more than nominal influence."

The island of Lombok was subdued in 1819, the year which also witnessed the subjugation of Karangasem (South Bali), though at the cost of the life of the Dutch general Michiels who was killed at Kusambe (? Kausambi). But even then the spirit of resistance was not subdued. The inevitable however, happened. The Dutch Government took decisive steps between 1906-1908, during which nearly all the chiefs surrendered except a few martyrs of uncompromising patriotism. The Rajah of Badung (present Den Passar) preferred death to servitude. He laid down his life with his devoted followers rushing out in the field, dying to a man like heroes. This is the exact counterpart of the Rajput practice of plunging in mortal fight, exchanging betels for the last time. In Bali this heroic custom was known as "Puputan", which means a *sortie enmasse* of the ruler and his entire court, advancing not so much with the idea to fight but to die honourably in order to avoid a dishonorable prolongation of life.

The Raja of Tabanan committed suicide in order to avoid the above humiliation. The Deva Agung (chief) of Kusambe (present Klung-Kung) also followed the example of the Raja of Badung in 1908, which year witnessed the final extinction of the sacred flame of Balinese liberty.

The whole of this chapter of history reads like the memorable pages of our Rajput Annals. It shows that not only Brahmanical wisdom but the heroic courage of the Kshatriyas of India were also manifest in the life of the Hindus of Bali. With the same feeling of awe that possesses us while we visit Chitor, I started my pilgrimage through this land of the Rajputs of Indonesia.

From North To South Bali

The island of Bali is about 75 miles long and 50 miles broad, covering an area of 2300 square miles. From the general outline, Bali seems to be a big *tortoise* heaving out of the sea of Java. North Bali is separated from the South by a chain of mountains crossing the island from East to West. The highest peak in the range is the volcanic peak of Gunung Agung (12 379 ft.).

The total population of Bali is about 960,000. The neighbouring island of Lombok, which is almost of the same size, contains an equal number of souls, the two islands showing the total population of 1,545,931. According to the recent census (31 Dec. 1925) of the various races and peoples distributed in Bali and Lombok, there were 7213 Chinese, 1031 Arabs, 332 Europeans and 277 natives from British India, as we find in the official books.

Before starting my itinerary I had to study the map of Bali and I add a few details for the benefit of future tourists from India. I have said before that Bali resembles a *tortoise* in its outline; now the western projection of the island, the neck of the *tortoise*, is like the extreme west of Java, moderately interesting from historical point of view. The number of the Hindu temples or *Pæra* are very few and there are only two Brahmin chiefs or *Punggawa*: that of Djembrana is posted in Negara (? *nagara*), which only shows a few miles of roads, the rest being hilly and difficult of access. We notice a few low peaks; Grogak (1414 feet) Merbuk (1350 feet) and Malaya hills.

Similarly the extreme east of Bali is hilly and uninviting to tourists. Here we find the highest peak of Bali, Gunung Agung (12,379 feet). Here we also find the biggest lake or *danau* of Bali, the lake Batur between Mt. Batur (1717 feet) and Mt. Abang (2152 feet). The place of the Dutch *Controleur* is at Karangasam.

There are three other *danau* or lakes in the hill ranges of central Bali: Bratan, Bujan, and Tamlingan offering Swiss sceneries.

Thus we find that the middle portion of the island, both to the north and to the south of the volcanic ranges in the centre, is most interesting from archaeological and other points of view. I proceeded forthwith to study the ways and means of visiting this areas. I was in Singaradja, the capital of Bali and Lombok and the Resident and his staff gave me their expert advice. So I was enabled to see more than I ever expected.

In the north-central part (the back of the *tortoise*), we find several centres of native *Punggawas*: at Pungastulam, Bubunan, Bandjar, Pandji, Kubutam-bahen, Sawan Bondalem, Tedjakula (? *Tejakula*), Kintamani (? *Chintamani*) Tchampaksearing and other lovely places.

But for the most interesting relics of Hindu religion and art, we must make a thorough survey of South Bali, a veritable museum of Indo-Balinese culture. I cannot resist the temptation of giving a few place-names, the centres

of the *Punggawa* of south Bali : Kesiman, Sukawati, Satria, Bebitro, Kediri, Kamal, Antasari, Badjri, Marga, Pajangan, Madargan, Susut and Bangli. I had already an introduction from Mr Kunst, on Tjokarda Gde Rake, the Chief of Ubud near Sukawati. Now I had the invitation to the rare Cremation ceremony of the Princely house of Gianjar, considered to be the leader of Balinese orthodoxy, a sort of a Rana of Udaypur amongst these Balinese Rajputs. Consequently, in the *Śrāddha* ritual of Gianjar, not only all the *Punggawas* of Bali but many chiefs of Java as well (some of them Muhammadan) assembled in that function, affording me the unique opportunity to observe and study the life of Bali in that concentrated and ceremonial aspect.

My friend Njomen Kadjen was quite happy to get a few days' leave from his office and the chance to witness the grand celebration at Gianjar. He made all arrangements about our trip, the most important item being the hiring of an automobile. He brought an Arab dealer, Alwi-bin-Segaf, who struck me as a shrewd man, a typical descendant of the race which, by their maritime and commercial ventures, as much as by their adaptability to new environments, deprived the Hindus of their predominant position in Indonesia. After some inevitable discussions on the difficulty of the roads, the cost of living and so forth, the Arab agreed to place one of his cars at my disposal for journey to and from Gianjar for seventy guilders.

We followed the north-western coast road and came to Bubunan, where we found a beautiful Balinese temple. It is built mainly of bricks with stone-carvings fixed here and there to add to the beauty of the edifice. These temples of Bali resemble the shrines of the Hindu colony of Champā (modern Annam) which I visited a few weeks before. The ornamental parts are more elaborate in the temples of Bali, while those of Champā are more soberly designed and decorated. In fact, most of the works of Bali show a tendency to over-decoration. Somehow these specimens of plastic art of Bali strongly remind one of its superb goldsmith's arts; we appreciate the *minutiae* of details from close quarters; but they seem from a distance to be a sort of over growth, obstructing the view in *ensemble*. On the walls are seen carved figures of the Indian Garuḍa and Nāga. Symbols are quite numerous; a curious piece of iconography appeared in a niche; a figure with human face but with the tusks of a boar, riding a tortoise and a tree growing above. What a long and forgotten history of tree, serpent and animal worship of primitive man is peeping through this strange iconic incarnation!

The next stage where we stopped was the village Ringdikit which had a Śaiva temple, with a pair of gigantic Nāga figures guarding the gates and a terrific Tantrik female (? Dākini) with hanging breasts, and flames shooting from her mouth. Inside the shrine I found a small wooden seat for the priest, a *Kalasa* full of water and a few wooden ladles, probably for ceremonial use. On the walls I was surprised to find a painted wooden board, depicting some mythological subjects, just like the *Pat* drawings of Bengal.

The gate of entrance is made as it were of a superb piece of wooden tower, sawed into two-halves, leaving a narrow space between. The Lotus motif appears very often and the temple contains numerous thatched towers in five or seven stories of lovely Rural architecture.

We motored down the picturesque village road, with neat thatched houses on either side ; and bright innocent faces of boys and girls peering at us from a distance. In the village, Desa Busungbise, we had the good fortune to witness a regular village assembly (Panchayat) in full session. I enquired through my Balinese friend and came to know that there would be a celebration ; and to discuss the ways and means the village folk, as well as the members of the various village guilds, had assembled in the courtyard of the temple. I wondered if the village community of ancient India had been brought over to these Pacific isles by the Indian colonists. The orderly way in which the meeting was conducted impressed me deeply ; and I felt how fruitful it would be for our students of rural economics, in our Indian universities, to come over here and make a comparative study of the cottage industries and agriculture in India and her cultural colonies of Indonesia.

Thus skirting the hill range of Batukan (Central Bali) along its western side, we reached the Pasanggrahan (Pānhasāla) or rest house of Tabanan, the first important centre of South Bali. While approaching Tabanan, I got a glimpse of the Indian Ocean and felt that I was still in familiar waters. The Poongsawe of Tabanan committed suicide when the last attempt to preserve his independence failed between 1906-1908.

Viewing the bazaar of Tabanan we came to Den Pasar. Its ancient name was Badung, and the Raja of this place with his whole court sacrificed his life fighting like an Indian Rajput prince of yore. This happened in 1906 and his example was followed by several Rajas of South Bali, e. g., the prince of Kesiman and the Deva Agung of Khungkunu (or Kusambe). The history of this splendid though futile heroism is still alive in the heart of the local people who showed me, with deep feeling and reverence, the sites of their heroic fight for freedom.

(*The Modern Review*, October-1927)

GREATER INDIA REVISITED

By

KALIDAS NAG

IV

Pilgrimage Through Bali

We were accustomed to consider the culture of Bali as something derived from Java. The collapse of the Hindu-Javanese empire of Majapahit in 1478, as the result of Islamic onslaught, was supposed to have produced the migration of Hindu culture to the island of Bali. But the latest researches of Dutch antiquarians like Prof. Krom, Dr. Bosch and others have revealed a series of new facts of capital importance. They assure us that the island of Bali was directly colonised by the Hindus from India, long before the forced migration of the Javanese Hindus under the pressure of the Moslem invaders in the 15th century. This conclusion was arrived at by Prof. Krom after a prolonged and intensive study of Indo-Balinese arts and crafts which as he has shown, cannot be explained exclusively with reference to Javanese artistic evolution. So my friend Dr. Goris of the Dutch Archaeological Department writes: "Since 1925 a beginning has been made with the exploration of the island of Bali; and it has become clear that the Hindu-Balinese Art and Religion forms a branch of its own, apart from the Javanese branch. Formerly scholars thought that the Balinese art was a mere offspring of the Javanese art. But now by discovery of many inscriptions in the old Balinese language, in copper as well as in stone, and by the finding of Sanskrit inscriptions in stone, dating from the 9th and 10th century, of the Saka Era, the history of Bali had proved itself fit to stand on its own grounds." This was corroborated by Prof. Sylvain Levi.

My pilgrimage through Bali was in 1924, a year before the formal announcement of this new discovery. But I felt at every step of my visit how strikingly original are some of the manifestations of Balinese religion and art and how unsatisfactory it was to try to explain everything in terms of Javanese history and institutions. Moreover, while the progress of Hindu culture in Java was seriously interrupted by the Islamic conquest in the 15th century, the original Hindu-Polynesian culture of Bali, strengthened by the vigorous infiltration of Indo Javanese culture from 1478, had an uninterrupted progression through these centuries, thereby producing a cultural mutation quite different from that of Java. Even in the course of my journey from Singaradja to Gianjar I felt that I was in a cultural milieu quite different from that of the neighbouring island of Java. The somatic type, the life

and manners, the dress and ornaments, the picture of the villages nay, even the physiognomy of the villages, fields and forests, were so different ! My rambles in the heart of south-central Bali specially impressed this fact on my mind. (*Vide* H. B. Sarkar ; *Hindu Culture in Java and Bali*).

From Den Pasar To Gianjar

The area round about Den Pasar is the most fertile part of the country and here the Balinese art of irrigation and cultivation may be studied to the best advantage "The tunnels made for irrigation purposes, the damming of rivers and such works which may be seen in the vicinity of Den Pasar showed the height which the Balinese have reached as regards irrigation."

Den Pasar has a museum built with a view to give an idea of different styles of Balinese architecture. The museum is situated in the central square of the village and necessarily commands a good view. There is a *pasangrahan* (rest-house) where one may enjoy games and amusements special to Bali, cockfight being the most important of them. The *maudoor* or native manager of the rest-house, provides for these recreations when due payments are made by the tourists in advance.

The most important temple here is called Pura Satrya. It was once considered to be the centre of the greatest ritualistic celebrations of Bali. Even to-day it is deeply venerated by the people as a sacred spot. The temple fell into decay and was being reconstructed while we were in Den Pasar. I was struck by the skill of the Balinese architects who were rebuilding the temple with the sure touch and self-confidence of the master-builders of ancient temples. I gathered that as temples in Bali are suffering wreckage, from the constant convulsions of earthquake, the architects of Bali have kept up the uninterrupted practice of building and rebuilding according to ancient traditions. And as the structure is mainly of brick, the cost is not so heavy as to retard the work of prompt renewal of the edifices.

Very near Den Pasar there is a remarkable temple in the village Kapal. Here we found the figure of a huge elephant carved in the rock. Above the elephant there was a deity riding a lion or tiger, worshipped as the guardian of the bathing place. The next village was Kesiman where we stopped to see the residence of the Raja who lost his life in his struggle with the Dutch Government. One of his descendants was living in the spacious house which through neglect looked deserted. Cock-fight is a passion with the Balinese people and this chief of Kesiman has cultivated it into a vice. We found plenty of his prize-fighters cocks not men, and tried to catch a glimpse of the Raja's palace. This is just what a village palace should be. It marks a natural evolution out of the dwellings of the commonfolk ; the same materials of construction-brick, bamboo, timber and straw, with sparing use of stone just

occasionally to decorate the windows with exquisite carvings. This community of taste testified to a democracy of social behaviour which is remarkable. The ruler and the ruled, the rich and the poor participated in the same cults, and ceremonies with similar common comforts and culture.

The general features of the palace are the same that could be seen in ordinary houses ; only the dimensions and execution are richer. On the road front, we see an ornamental brick-built gate, flanked on either side by two corner pavillions made of wood and straw, one resembling our *Nahawat-khānā*, or the music-room, and the other containing a huge log of timber hanging from the roof, a wooden bell kept there in order to rouse the people, as I gathered, in case fire breaks out or thieves and robbers break in ! This queer danger-signal of Indonesia to help the wardens of the village amused us greatly and we entered into the spacious central courtyard separating the out-houses from the inner chambers. The Balinese have the same hunger for *space* which the Chinese betray in their architecture and painting. The open space lends an additional charm to the delicate structures around, the rooms in the wings and the house temples (Panaradian) soaring to five or seven-stories in thatched towers. The brick work with a modified pyramidal design reminded me of the architectural styles of the Hindu colony of Champā ; and the wood and stone carvings in the lintel and window-sills looked simply charming. In India, the land of village communities, we must have had such *village palaces* in ancient pre-Asokan pre-lithic days. The spacious country-houses of north India, though different in detail, evoke, I do not know how, the same feeling as I had while surveying these Balinese houses from the central courtyard.

Passing from Den Pasar to Kesiman we took the south-eastern road which passed through Sukawati very near the sea and we caught a glimpse of the strait of Badung separating Bali from the small island of Nusa Penida, which, though thinly populated, had several *Pura* or Hindu temples round about the hilly range of Mundi.

In Sukawati we took a little rest and tried to recapture the past days of happiness and glory that conferred this proud name on this humble village. The name Sukhawati (Abode of Bliss) suggested Buddhist Mahāyāna atmosphere and probably it may have been a seat of Balinese Buddhism ; But I found Brahmanical vestiges prominent in the central temple which unfortunately had been seriously damaged by earthquake. The debris of the superstructure that collapsed, had been gathered by the local people into a *stūpa*. The base of the original temple, still partly standing shows, on the bas-reliefs, lions, horses and monkeys. The five-storyed thatched tower being lighter, was still erect and a block of rooms had also escaped destruction. Entering with the kind permission of the priest, I was surprised to find a series of paintings like the Bengal Pot drawings on some kind of cloth. The subject is taken mainly from Brahmanical *Purāṇas* : Rāhu devouring the moon, which is supporting itself on a huge serpent (Ananta ?). The figures of a pair of women are visible, on

in an attitude of speaking and the other playing her *charkha* ! On another side Vishnu is seen cutting the head of some wicked demon with his terrific *chakra*. We found several Hindu gods and goddesses staring through the central altar with a Dhyāni Buddha thus showing how in Indonesia, Hinduism and Buddhism flourished peacefully side by side.

From Sukawati we passed through Blahbatu and reached Gianjar, the seat of the great funeral ceremony which had attracted us from Singaradja. My friend Njoman Kadjeng shrieked with joy to reach this destination and I expressed my thanks to him for guiding me so carefully through the most interesting and picturesque part of Bali, thus preparing my mind, as it were for a proper appreciation of the gigantic ceremonial at Gianjar which had drawn such a huge crowd from every part of the Island.

The court of the Prince of Gianjar

We reached Gianjar about 12 A. M. and before we could reach the place of the prince we had to get down several times on the way in order to watch that wonderfully orderly and picturesque crowd of Balinese men and women, boys and girls, all marching in their charming dress to the central place of celebration. It was really a wonderful spectacle, the like of which I never saw anywhere in Java, but which strongly recalled to my mind our huge Hindu *melas* of North India.

Prince Dewa Ngurah Agung, the chief of Gianjar, very kindly received me in a spacious *varandah* of his palace where he had been sitting with several distinguished guests ; and I met Dr. Schrieke, Director of the Ethnographic Survey, who informed me that the Resident had already requested him to take charge of me. We became friends very soon and started observing that wonderful festival from different vantage grounds. The Prince made kind enquiries, through his interpreters, about India, her people, her *śāstras*, her *pedandas* (priests) and so many other things that I was at a loss to answer ! This spontaneous sympathy for a land so far away and from which so few people come to visit Bali (I was the only Indian in that crowd of guests and tourists from different lands, photographers, cinema operators, etc., from the Germans and the ubiquitous Americans) spoke a great deal about some mysterious attraction that the Balinese feel for us Indians, an attraction which probably suggests centuries of ethnic and cultural interaction in the past. Amidst that heterogeneous crowd I felt as if I had been transported to an atmosphere so different from that of the Indonesian world, that I had been recently exploring, and so similar to that of our ancient Indian history that we read of in the classical works.

In the huge court-yard flanking the place a splendid *mandapa* had been created. The decorations were simple and impressive because of that

simplicity. The Prince was receiving guests and at the same time moving about, giving instructions to different persons as the master of ceremonies. He kindly introduced me to his royal Chaplain; the venerable priest, appearing in his ceremonial dress, his special turban his Baliness *akshamālā*, his crystal beads, his strange ornaments, deepened the mystery that was overpowering me. We tried desperately to exchange our ideas; and I felt how sadly we Indians have neglected our duty towards our own kith and kin of Greater India! Neither do we care to learn any of the living vernaculars of our ancient cultural colonies, the dialects of Champa and Cambodge, of Java and Bali; nor do we send any of our scholars to those places, so that the Hinduised population of those areas could re-learn our languages and texts. With a pathetic gesture I told the high priest, through my Balinese friend Kadjen, that I might try in my humble way to rouse up my people so that they would consider it worth their while to send mission after mission to Bali and Indonesia, to re-establish direct relations with our brethren of that Archipelago.

There was a sudden rush of people towards the pandal. The gamelan orchestra had started playing; The *Śrāddha-sabhā* was full of guests seated on comfortable chairs; and the common folks were crowding the remaining spaces with their beaming faces and intent looks. There was no undignified shouting or elbowing as we find in our Indian crowd. A peculiar restraint and serenity seemed to reign in the *mandapa*. The musical instruments were arranged in successive rows: 3 4 5 altogether 11 Gamelans of different pitch and intensity. I found also a pair of gongs exactly like our *Kānsar*, a pair of *Karatāla* or cymbals and a pair of drums corresponding to our *mridanga*. The accentuation of the rhythm, the repartition of the liquid movement of Polynesian melodies into musical bars by means of harmonious beats, all tending to evoke, in an Indian mind, the feeling of a superb execution of our timing instrument like the *mridanga*, the total absence of any wind instrument or vocal accompaniment conjured up a musical atmosphere which was wonderfully pleasant but strikingly different from our own. Here *tāla* or rhythm seemed to be everything and musical word-painting or imagery nothing; Or who can say, this rhythm-music might evoke sense-pictures to the Polynesian soul that we are not capable of appreciating. For, didn't I see the wonderful response of the delicate dancing girls to the inspiring movement of the gamelan? They seemed to understand perfectly that worldless rhythm-language. Sitting in a conventional pose, reclining against a richly ornamental frame heightening the statuesque character of these Balinese beauties, we found them to grow as it were from a state of suspended animation to the first tremor of quickening life and thence to the exquisite scanning of the gamelan melody by their eloquent steps a veritable *tāla* symphony. The slim sinuous limbs of these girls were decorated with charming touches of ornaments and draparies. The lower part of the dress in bright green silk embroidered with gold, a flowing yellow upper garment and a purple piece

tightening the body which was ever bending and twisting in a serpentine grace, making me realise for the first time the significance of our Sanskrit rhythmic mode called *Bhujāṅgaprayāta*. There was a pair of a miniature wings attached to the girdle and the necklace; and the tiaras were made in imitation of those found on the age-old *Wayang* figures, their designs strongly recalling the ancient Indian ornaments. These dancing apparitions of Grace were keeping time not with their feet only but with every fibre of their body, every particle of their ornaments; now trembling like storm-scared birds, then rushing into a whirlwind of uncanny rhythms, the *Gamelan* keeping pace, all the while with these harmonious variations.

In the midst of this music the royal party streamed in with the same untutored grace as the common people demonstrated; the Prince of Gianjar with his jewelled turban, followed by guards of honour, carrying real and symbolical arms, swords and *Kriss* blades of wonderful workmanship. But the most fascinating sight was the slow entry of the Queens and their train of maids of honour. The four queens took their seats in the assembly with a rare refinement and dignity about their face; and the maids stood behind, each carrying some exquisite work of Balinese goldsmiths: a betel-box or a sandal-carrier, as they used to carry in the courts of the ancient Indian princes of the Heroic Age. The bare body of these healthy Balinese maids, decked with the old-world ornaments and shining with the grace of unsophisticated womanhood, hypnotised the audience into the belief that the vulgar modernism was no more and that the bygone ages of Beauty and Chivalry had dawned anew!

These living and moving sculptures of our Indian Epics, the King and the Queens with their attendants, the respectful crowd watching freely, unmolested by the policing of an official *levée*, the music of the Malayo-Polynesian people impregnated with Indian spirit, the entire decorative and artistic background, combined to transport me to the days of the great courts of Ayodhyā and Hastinā, where the heroes and heroines of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and our *Mahābhārata* played their faithful roles. Their lives and achievements have almost been overshadowed by the lowering clouds of *modernism* in India, the soil of their origin. But in this far-off cultural colony of India I caught a glimpse of that Epic Age and seemed to peep into its actual life. By a weird coincidence I found before my eyes, a queer piece of painted curtain, depicting a scene which, as was explained to me, emanated from the *Mahābhārata*. Before the outburst of that tragic fight, between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, Krishna is seen to come to the Kaurava capital with a view to settle matters if possible. The arrival of ambassador Krishna and the approach of the Kauravas to meet him is dramatically presented, according to the local conventions, by the Balinese artists who heightened my feeling of affinity and wonder, while I have been breathing the magic atmosphere of that wonderful Hindu colony of Indonesia.

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PERPETUATION OF HISTORIC MEMORIES

[Being thoughts suggested by the occasion of the Anniversary of the death of Raja Rammohan Roy.]

I

Man's Association with Nature : The Peculiarity of Bharatavarsha.

Once more, the revolution of the heavens has brought us our national commemorative sacrament. Nature is cyclical, wheeling on in endless processions. The sun and the stars dance in Eternal round ; the seasons bring back the hour of Glory, the grass and the freshness in the flowers. Nature is cyclical, nature is sempiternal ; her purple regalities and blue immensities, her moonlight enchantments and nocturnal mysteries, are same in their recurrence and recurrent in their sameness. But man flits across the scene like a phantom. The elemental forces, the consecrated symbols of his Humanity are dispersed in air,—vanish into nothing. Man is an alien, an uninvited guest at the Banquet of Nature.

Nay, no guest, but an alien, for the festal Sacrifice. The sense of nothingness burnt into his soul ; the doom of perishableness written on his brow ; man stands a victim at the stake,—his race to be offered up as a holocaust on the altar of a blind inexorable Necessity. But his thoughts stray and wander through Eternity. A dim vision of endless possibilities, of infinite worlds and untried varieties of being—glimpses and revisitings from beyond the Sun, whispers from the circumambient Deep, heard in the stillness of the soul's wilderness, haunt him in the darkness of the grave ; and lo ! his *silhouette* is projected over the heavens, his shadow lifted above what is of the earth earthy. The pathos, the mystery, the sanctity of Death itself crowns his forehead, and gives him a sublime tragic repose. Man stands self collected at the stake, a half-curious, half-amused Spectator of the contentment and completeness of Nature's life.

Presently Man enters into partnership with Nature. Death and Life play into each other's hands. The sempiternity of Nature, her renovations and resurrections are shared by her associate Man. Humanity and its festivals become cyclical with the cycles of the heavens, processional with the process of the suns. Man is clothed with Immortality as with a veil, and his sanctities and pieties, his martyrdoms and heroisms, his ecstasies and agonies like ghosts, revisit the earth ; their former sense with the regularity of seasons and the tides,—and their amaranth blood is daily renewed, daily refreshed, with the votive tears and offerings of the heart.

How far have we as a nation entered into this penumbra of Immortality,—shared in this fellowship which humanises nature and naturalises

man ? Where are our consecrated symbols, our pious rites, our national festivals of Humanity ? Historic man and his historic appearances—where among us are the Pilgrims' shrines and temples dedicated to him—where calendar of his saints, where his holiday or festival cherished in our national consciousness ? Thou Bhāratavarsha, land of pilgrimages and shrines ! But it is the Absolute, the Ubiquitous, the Infinite thou seekest and adorest amidst the illimitable ranges of the glacier-clad Himalayas, or the sempiternal roar of the vasty Indian Deep ! Man is overwhelmed, lost, sunk into Nothing, in these infinitudes ; and only the bleak, blank, desolate Spirit is the all-in-all, the universal-grey in which everything appears grey. Yes, ours in the templeless temple, the shrineless shrine, for the Universal Inanity. There are no historic land-marks in the ocean, the sky and the hills ; neither are there human boundary-stones in Bhāratavarsha. Endless generations of pilgrims have footed this trackless path and vanished evermore : the measureless tread, the never-ending ever-beginning March of the generations, whispers in the dim corridors of Time, whispers and reverberates into a roll of far-off thunder. The individual is lost in the countless streams, the human is lost in the unconscious Ubiquity.

The Bharatavarsha ! land of Avatārs and Līlās, thou hast dedicated countless shrines and pilgrimages to the supra-human and the infra-human ! The non-human, the non-historic claim thy land and thy people for their own. A half-buried Sphinx in the spirit's wilderness, mute witness of Timeless time and changeless change, a half-buried Sphinx in the wilderness, this is the genius, Oh Bhārata-Varsha.

II.

The Picture of Historic Eternity The Perpetuation of Historic Memories Rome, Paris.

Once in an imperial assembly of the world's savants, amidst the ruins in the Capitol where long lines of Emperors and *Porpyro-geniti* looked down from marble pedestal or sarcophagus, in the heart of the Eternal City, Rome the ever-old, Rome the ever-new, at once the Mighty Mother, the Imperatrix and the *Mater* Church of the world of man : *fons-etorigo*, of the creed of Historic Eternity. It was my proud privilege, as the representative of Brahminism, to proclaim the message of another Eternal Order, the Spiritual Eternal, the cult of the Universal, the Infinite in man, which the world and the World's history pass away, in which Space itself vanishes into the Spaceless, and Time expires in the Timeless.

To day, Brethren, standing by the cenotaph of (Rammohan) the Patriarch and Law-giver of modern India, from the vantage-ground of the spirit's watch-tower, from which they reconnoitred the forces and surveyed the march of Mankind, I bring back the message of Roman Civilisation, the cult of the Human in Universal, and the Passion in the Infinite, the creed of Historic Man and his fellowship with Nature and nature's cyclical life, the festival and holiday observances, renewing the heroisms and sanctities of Historic Man, transplanting them an nurslings of immortality, and clothing Nature's alien sun-rise and sun-set with a glory not their own and thoughts too deep for tears.

Yes, they have made the Human and the Historic not only participate in the order and revolution of the heavens, not only cyclical and processional, but also abiding presences like the immensities of Sea and Sky. Breathing from pedestal and canvas, speaking from memorial column and arch, ruling with holiday observances and sacramental rites, these monumental sites of the West are of greater *omergaus*, rehearsing, as in a perennial Mystery-play the Passion of Humanity. A song and its Hope of Resurrection.

Historic Eternity, double-visaged ! Janus-faced, thy name is Rome thy name is Paris ! Paris Rome, the ancient and the modern, the Mighty Mother and Mistress of the world.

Rome ! Rome ! Rome ! Rome is a vast amphitheatre raising tier above tier, ruin on ruin, rampart over rampart, rising from the dark deeps and hollows, mounting in terraced hills, in winding ascents that painfully struggle up to the Light, mounting higher and higher into the blue Immensity. Her foot is on the antique ruins, deep down in the dark passages ; the Trajan Forum excavations and the Coliseum pit, the subterranean Cloaca Maxima, and the vaulted Catacombs. Her lanes are girt with the Medieval gloom, the devotional twilight of the Basilicas, the cadaverous glimmer of the monastic Mortuaries, and the deathlike stillness of the Churches and convents, often growing like arabesques and grotseques out of the body of the Pagan temples, but aspiring heavenward in their steeples and spires ! But towering above these on the Pinician Hill and the Janiculum, which you mount in flights of terraces, and winding spirals, stands the genius of Modern Rome, of Federated Italy, outlined against the blue Southern sky, and looking down in majesty on the wilderness at her feet, - a wilderness of Man's dreams and adorations, loves and sighs, idle tears and divine despairs, in marble and stucco, canvas, and paint carving and mould. But look from the Pincio or the Gianicolo, as you will, the soaring majesty of St. Peter's Dome, that floating vision in mid-air, overshadows your prospect, and even the brute Coliseum, that mammoth of stone, is an unseen presence.

Yes, Rome is an amphitheatre of the Ages, rising epoch above epoch, civilisation on civilisation.

Thy other name, O Historic Eternity Paris ! Paris is a fabric of Music an architectural symphony of a Mozart, the flesh and incarnation of

Raphael's Eve, the Madonna-Mistress of Andrea del Sarto, a creature wriggling and coiling in its masked loveliness, hissing with the serpentine grace and passion.

Paris, the city, wife by day, the Bride of Night ! O the Nights of Paris more magical than the Arabian Nights, flaring up in thousand glares, is the Rue de Rivoli and the Hôtel de Ville, in the thousand cafés and concerts, blinded with stunning gloom in Foubourgs around Montmartre ! Pierced with rippling bursts of merriment and laughter, and vibrating to dance and song and revel in the thousand Casinos and Salons ! Paris, *en deshabillé*, somnambulating in the *boulevards* !

But behold the Madeleine, woman washing the foot of the Lord Anointed ! Paris is the New Jerusalem of the cult of Humanity, of Historic Eternity. Equally in her Foubourg 'St. Antoine and her Père Lachaise, her Champs Elysées and her Bois du Boulogne ; her Hôtel des Invalides and her Place de la Concorde. It is the new Revelation of Man, enacted day after day, night after night. Every stone stairs and balustrade, every façade and portico, every Place or boulevard, is stained with the blood of the Martyrs of Humanity. These are the authentic scenes of the Passion Play of Man.

But it was at the Marseilles celebration of its twenty-fifth century, of the foundation of this creed. It was the sacrament of Historic Eternity, here celebrated with the pomp of David's consecration of the Temple, the Lord descending with his Host, a sacrament rousing a whole people to the Saint's dēvotional ecstasy and to imaginative ardours of a divine Poetic restiveness, and crowding the many-vistaed life of twenty five centuries, into a glorious month, a glorious week or a glorious moment. Day and night, and night and day, every man, woman and child in Marseilles, congregated under the blue canopy of the heavens, congregated, in an endless monstrous moving Mass to witness, with a million upturned faces, the eventual Resurrection of the Past, the fate-fraught Revelation of the Future, to witness the landing of the Phœnicians, twenty-five centuries ago ! Their struggles with the Iberians, their settlements and concords in the dim pre-Christian era, the moving pomp and pageantry of mediaeval castles, giants and Knights-errants, the siege of the city in the fourteenth century, the Governor delivering up the keys of the fortress, the military cavalcade, the council chamber, the badges and emblems of the city's peaceful industries, the crowned figures of Liberty and of Marseilles towering high on the tops of the columns, and Fraternity and brotherly embrace beaming forth from the million faces below.

The Historic Creed For Modern India :

Standing, I say, by the cenotaph of our Spiritual Father Rammohan, I ask you Brethren, to brood on the secret of this wonderful Resurrection, to learn the magic of this triumphant Renovation, to initiate the cult of Historic

Eternity by instituting fêtes, festivals and federal gatherings of National life, and establishing pilgrimages and shrines dedicated to the heroes, and the martyrs, the saints of the Father-land ; and as is meet, to consecrate our national Pantheon or Valhalla of the Futures, by first raising a monument to the living memory of our Father, Patriarch and Law-giver !

Yes, Providence has ordained it. The monument over the Raja's grave, in far-off Bristol, points the way. Who dreamt that a new Pilgrim's shrine for the dusky dweller on the palmed shores of Tropical seas, should be raised across half-mythical oceans and continents, in the White island in the storm-vexed Northern seas, under the cold signs of the Great Bear ? Yet, hundreds of Indians have paid homage to that shrine, and offered up their vows. On this very day, three years ago, (1899) three friends, Indian pilgrims, stood and knelt, on that spot, hushed mute and pale in the shadow of that Monument. The autumn morning struggled with the mists, and smiled with a new born innocence ; beyond stretched the dim Elm groves, relieved by miles and miles of the glorious green of the English swards and downs, gently rolling away in the bluish haze to the silvery seas, chequered light and shade, glittering pools and shiny rain, multi-shadowed by the thin, white clouds overhead. Life was hushed in endless repose in stirless, ripple-less, dreamless repose ; only the grasses grew round the grave, with a few autumnal blooms, pensive and pale under that stone canopy ! Nature's own Peace without and within, the Peace that passeth all understanding.

Every Indian visitor records his name in the Book that is brought to him by the kindly old Keeper of the cemetery ; and the simple folk of the fields gaze, with reverence not unmingled with curiosity, at the modest monument of the Oriental Raja, at which hundreds of Brown people from the land of the Sun, in motely dress and head-gear, be-shawled and be-jewelled, knell and offer up their vows and prayers !

Bristol, I say, points the way. A monument in Stapleton Grove ! Why not also on the quiet village green of Rādhānagara in the delta of the Ganges ? Why not the spot, hollowed by the first manifestation of that *Avatārā* of Historic Humanity ? Must we be content with a cenotaph, with the hollow *fanfaranade* of a day, with mounting rant or mincing mimicry from the ephemeral platform or pulpit ?

Nay, let us set up a Rammohan *Mela*, an Indian Fair, as we Orientals know how to do it, a *Mela* with the *tableaux vivant* (as at Ramlila) of our National History, with a *Dharma-Mahāmaṇḍala* or Congress of Religions, an Indian Arts collection, an Industrial Exhibition, a Literary Re-union. They are going to hold a re-union of Bengali men of letters in Moorshedabad. The idea is felicitous, the place and its memories far from appropriate. The birth place of Rammohan Roy is the heaven, appointed centre of our national *fetes*, federations and reunions. Emerald fields and yellowing patches, mango-tops and bamboo-clumps, placid hills and murmuring streams, old village tanks and ruined *ghats*

and temples, will not be wanting in the delta of the Ganges. The house in which Rammohan Roy was born (1772), the roof under which he passed his infancy, his earliest haunts and surroundings, should form a sufficient nucleus round which to grow the pilgrim-city dedicated to the memory of the Father of Modern India, just as Stratford-on-Avon is dedicated to Shakespeare's and America's Concord to Emerson's.

Shakespeare lives in Stratford to this day, for Stratford lives in Shakespeare. The quaint old gable-house the romantic Hathway cottage in Shotover, and across the green lanes and corn-fields, the poet's New Place, now turned into Shakespearean Museum, out of which you emerge into a sunny little garden, with the traditional tree of the Poet's planting, and most hallowed of all, the fine mediaeval Church of the Holy Trinity with its Gothic arches and painted windows and painted steeple 'bosomed high in tufted trees,' and its modest tablet over the Poet's Tomb, in the dim-lit chancel ; round these reminiscences, what a Mausoleum has been built, attracting thousands of pilgrims from the habitable globe ! From the Shakespeare Hotel to the Shakespeare medallion and jug, the Shakespeare Cup and match-box ; they eat and drink Shakespeare, they smell and touch Shakespeare, they light and smoke Shakespeare ; and in characteristic English fashion, they buy and sell Shakespeare ! And we, Hindus, in our national way, could we not set up a new *Tirtha*, a new *Pithasthāna* a new *Mānava-melā*, in the name of our Patriarch and Law-giver, the Manu or Prajāpati of our Modern Manwantara ?

Luckily, the Occidental genius for hero-worship, and the British eye for facts have preserved for us some personal relics of the Raja. Many of us have had the privilege of seeing and touching the Rajas *pugree* and *Upabita* to which he claimed unto the last. We have casts of the Raja's head with skull-measurements and a phrenological chart. There are several of his personal effects ; these are not airy nothings, but they want a local habitation, if not a name. They are human exhibits with Talismanic power, charged with human magnetism.

Calcutta may be a city of Palaces and flats ; it is not yet a city of monuments and so places the monuments in the Maidan. The Metropolis is rich in memories ; and among these, none more cosmic, more monumental, than those of Raja Rammohan Roy. The Victoria Memorial Hall will be a centralised Imperial affair ; and, rightly conceived and embodied, may be a noble exposition of the creed of historic eternity ; but we require not only *bullion* in the Mint, but also *specie* and current coin for daily transactions and familiar intercourse. Truth, Beauty, Heroism every theme of inspiration multiplies itself ; the sanctification of historic Man must come home to us in our daily works and haunts, in our marts and chowks, in our squares and parks, and schools and theatres, as well as in our Museums and National Galleries. It is thus that monumental cities rise.

A central Rammohan Roy Library and Rammohan Clubs, Literary, sociological, religious and philosophical ; and Rammohan chairs for Comparative

Religion and comparative Sociology at the universities, are amongst the *desiderata* of the intellectual life of the Metropolis. The Raja's residence in the Lower Circular Road, the original Meeting-house of the *Atmtya-Sabhā*, and the garden house of Ramaprosad Roy, should be set free for the purposes of the clubs in the Central Rammohan Library.

Busts, statues, portraits of the Raja will be multiplied with the not unlikely inception of a school of Indian Artists. The *Bhārata-Mangala*, a Bengali epic, already commemorates him as its hero. No future Indian artists in colours and marbles, but will dedicate his talent to the historic or emblematic representation of the scenes and labours of the Raja's earthly life.

This will lay the foundation of the new creed of Humanity in this land of Avatars. Let Raja teach the cult of Historic Eternity, the Raja who was the eldest begotten of the Age of Illumination in India ; and our first Evangelist and High-priest of the gospel and sacrament of the French Revolution. May we begin to build, and the Cenotaph will become a living shrine for heroic self dedication, for votive self-consecration.

And now for a dream, a hope, a Prophecy ! I have stood in the Santa Croce's sacred ground in Florence.*

In Santa Croce's Holy precincts lie
Ashes which make it holier, dust which is
Even in itself an Immortality.

* * * Here repose
Angelo's, Alfieri's bones, and his
The starry Galileo, with his woes,
Here Machiavelli's earth returned to whence it rose

But where are the bones of Dante, Florence's mightiest son, the Patriarch of New Italy ?

Ungrateful Florence, Dante sleeps afar.
Happier Ravenna ! on thy holy hoary shore
Honoured sleeps the immortal Exile !

So sang Byron ; so will not sing the poet of the future. For Florence's reproach has been wiped away. Three years ago, I gazed on the cenotaph of Santa Croce, which tardily gave rest to Dante's memory in 1830 ; no longer a Cenotaph but a Holy Mausoleum, beneath which lay the bones of the immortal Pilgrim and a wanderer, now more than five centuries old. After his death he is revisiting his native earth to preside over the city on the Arno, secured to the memory of his beloved Beatrice.

Standing by Dante's new-old graves in Santa Croce's sacred ground, what if I dreamt of the Raja's future home ? Coming from beyond the seas, the return of our Prince Arthur to the Isle of Avalon ! Lo ! Our Prince dies not, but has *passed*, in trance ; presently he will awake, and with his return the Old Order shall again yield place to the New !

BRAJENDRANATH SEAL

Principal, Victoria College, Cooch Behar

* Santa Croce, the Church of the Holy Cross. "The tombs of Machiavelli, Michael Angelo, Galileo and Alfieri, make it the Westminster Abbey of Italy.—Byron

QUEST ETERNAL

By

B. N. SEAL

The stanzas of the *Gītā* are well-known in the history of culture as doses of philosophy in verse. Brajendranath Seal's *Quest Eternal* (London, 1936) bids far to be appraised as such by students of poetry and philosophy. The work formally aims at being a versical summary of philosophical outlooks, ancient, medieval and modern. But its merits are likely to carry it beyond the range of mere versification of three different types of philosophy. Seal has succeeded in creating a number of artistic situations and clear-cut characters, and these are well-calculated to furnish poetic delights to readers such as care to ignore or forget the history of philosophical ideas.

The milieu that creates the *ancient* ideal as conceived by Seal is half gnostic, half neo-platonic. The hero is a Greek priest who has travelled as far East as Taxilā or Mathurā in India and spent quite a long time in Bactria. In the course of his world-travels he has made it a point to study the philosophy, God lore and fine arts of the Hindus.

The humanism of Seal's ancient hero finds expression in the following invocation :

"Thee nothing human doth displease,
For thou hast not disdained to wear the human face !
The Muses, Graces, Charities
Are human mysteries ;
Thou tastest of the cup from which Thou
freely serv'st man's race !" (I. 39-43)

This cycle of hymns is encyclopaedic enough to comprise new forms of the Godhead,—intelligential essences and fair humanities, the Maid Eternal, the Child Eternal and the Mighty-Mother. The apparitions of the Godhead as the terrible and the demoniac are invoked as much as those of the raptures and rhythms.

The hymn rises up to the final conception that the "Great Illusion knows not love nor hate." And further,

Thy human mysteries,
Thy Dance of Love,
Thy Dance of Death,
Thy Graces, Pieties, Charities,
Are as the desert Sphinx impassive
Implacable as Fate !"

(I. 296-302.)

To works like Harrison's *New Calendar of Great Men* the student goes for history, biography and bibliography. But the verses as these of Seal's present the lover of poetry with fine literary forms. While watching the progress of the human mind, one is not forced to enquire about the dates and localities, the chronologies, geographies and ethnologies of the "cosmic waves' progression." The ideology is concrete and yet universal enough to rise to the level of pure poetry.

Seal has shown diversity of creative power as regards forms and matter. If the ancient ideal has been given out in the form of a hymn coming from a Greek priest, the mediæval ideal has found expression in and through a ballad.

The hero of the mediæval ideal is the Wizard Knight. He is a product not so much of the Catholic *Weltanschauung* as of the three mystical brotherhoods of the age, namely, Platonic, Syrian and Magian. Indeed, the *psyche* of this Knight-errant is definitely in conflict with the Catholic type. In his mental *Gestalt* have entered such rationalistic world-views as those of the Mutazilas and *Ikhwanus Safa* (Sincere Brethren). The revived neo-platonism of Syria, and to a certain extent, the ideas of the Iranian Magi-lore, have likewise contributed to the making of Seal's mediæval hero. Students of history as well as philosophy will feel how Seal⁸ has dug deep in order to discover forces earlier and more profound than Catholicism, which as a rule covers the canvas of conventional historiographers of the Middle Ages.

The mediæval hero of Seal is an uncompromising Titan a dare-devil pilgrim of Truth, a veritable *satyagrahi*.

"It was an unearthly glare
Rapt him as he told his deeds weird and bold,
How to the Fates his life he had sold,
During the curse, pronounced of old
On him who would see Truth bare!"

(II. 109-113.)

The Satanic pride of this Truth-seeker finds expression in the following lines :

"For to Church or Empire as liege or umpire
Or to Turk who seals the Byzantine Empire,
I owe no fealty ;
Their rule is treason to the Commonwealth of
Reason
(The cosmic order star-writ in Heaven)
Universal free !"

(II. 148-153.)

The peace of Catholicism is *Pax Romana* the furthest removed from the quest of Seal's Mediæval hero. He disparages the gifts of the Virgin Mother, thus,

"The Lady of Sorrows, from death She borrows
 The snowy pall of Peace ;
 The Power of Meekness, of weeping Weakness
 of praying charities
 Are hers the Mother's, her children she gathers,
 And folds them blind in bliss'

(II. 199-204.)

It is not a "blind bliss" that he craves for, the bliss associated with meekness, weakness, prayers and tears. His a sterner peace, the peace of the struggling, combative, creative souls. He declares his *credo* as follows :

"I'd rather burn than renegade turn,
 The right to Peace and Hope thus earn,
 And Truth and Freedom miss !"

(II. 205-207)

He is a votary of Truth and Freedom and is not bent on peace and hope at any price. He wants to be one of the Seers,

Whose eye the ideal firmament clears ;
 No longer Destiny's minions
 But co-workers free."

(II. 213-215.)

The work is not marred by *isms* and abstractions, as the versification of philosophical systems or even philosophical poetry generally is. Indeed, one doubts if Seal is dealing with any system at all. We are reminded easily of Browning's *Paracelsus* in Seal's elucidation of both the medieval and the modern ideals. The two tragedies conceived by Seal are superb and are fine contributions to the progress of the modern spirit. He has furnished the twentieth century with two remarkable exponents or rather embodiments of the Elemental Cosmic struggle.

Seal's *modern hero* is Humanity itself in its simple universality. The problem of civilization *vis-a-vis* the primitive and the Pagan constitutes the fundamental *elan vital* of this hero. Psyche and the Soul's vision of deathless love as well as Prometheus the Deliverer, form the spiritual background of the strife that is being waged in the modern setting against the savage ritual of the omophagic sacrifice. The hero's ambition is to be a *viritya-ñjaya*, a conqueror of Death, i. e. to attain mastery over the evil forces which seek to frustrate all ideal strivings.

Seal has conceived thereby a new *Faust* for the twentieth century. The modern hero's quest of immortality is gradually transformed from the ambition of an individual into that of *all mankind for redemption*. But the Redeemer dreamt of is neither an external nor a universal force but the individual soul itself purified and illuminated. The hero passes through the tribulations of the ages and undergoes the tragedy of the human race since the earliest times. It

is by recapitulating vicariously the tragedy of entire mankind that he frees himself from his own passion, and finds himself on the road to freedom and Immortality.

The situation is described by the hero thus :

"By slow unconscious steps, I moved
To the central Cosmic light, in which I'd see
Transfigured, in the heart of things, my story.
The individual passion of my life
As world-passion of Creative Deity !"

(III. 819-823).

Like Browning's Paracelsus, Seal's modern hero lays bare his soul in the following words :

"Beautiful dreams of renovated Man
I dreamt undaunted still : I'd overcome
As with forgotten notes of a last lost lyre,
The Powers of Darkness and unreason old
Throned in the Deep of the Universal Heart."

(III. 390-394)

Seal, like Tolstoy, has contributed to the modern world

"The just man militant ! He is the Way,
A New Prometheus, Universal man !
Himself he frees from the revolving Wheel
Of Law, the blind Necessity that binds
Tyrant and victim to one doom. Outlaw,
An inner peace beyond the Fates he seeks,
In soul's war against an iron Universe "

(III. 470-476.)

In this grand Epic of the march of the human personality through the ages, we hear very often the "strains of Creation's choral song" which come "bursting with the uproarious roll of Aeons" (III. 961-962).

It is the poetry of the Cosmic voice

"Chanting the law of man's deliverance,
Wisdom to master Death, the Power of Life !"

(III. 971-973),

Those readers who do not know that Seal is a philosopher or was a professor of philosophy, will not take long to enjoy these elevating verses as some very brilliant and beautiful creations of our own times in the realm of poetry.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

N. B. The above appraisal of Dr. Seal's *Quest Eternal* was printed by our late lamented friend Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar the most prolific pupil of Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND WORLD CRISIS

By

KALIDAS NAG

The League of Nations formally came into existence, on January 10, 1920, when the Treaty of Versailles came into force, theoretically terminating the World War. But the war raged savagely for years, in the depth of the European soul and continued to manifest itself through murderours, intentions and moves no less cruel like the diverse plans of economic and political strangulation. Such dire realities can but poorly be checkmated by political pacts or diplomatic treaties. Nothing short of a radical change of heart and fundamental revision of outlook can save Europe from wars and utter destruction through periodic outbursts of militaristic savagery. The select spirits of the Occident realised this danger and tried to dam the deluge of fratricidal war, through the League of Nations. But the League was a mere baby and the majority of its sponsors, although temporarily non-violent by compulsion, was not lover's of peace by conviction. This was proved beyond doubt by the sad and unpardonable breakdown in the over-due Disarmament Conference at a time when the public certainly hungered for peace and respite for national reconstruction. But the nations, by a tragic irony, are represented in the League not by their cultural ambassadors and creative heroes but by professional politicians and hard-grained militarists and diplomats who lured the young League into the far from enviable role of an *International Cabal*-a contradiction in terms.

Thus, ever handicapped by the defects in its original constitution, the League of Nations nevertheless worked steadily, whenever it allowed itself to be guided by a few sincere believers in peace within its hold and whenever it could be carried forward by the deep undercurrents of pacifism and internationalism, pervading the inner life of the majority of mankind. To sound the depths of that immense human potentiality for Peace and Goodwill, the League and its workers must have recourse to the technique of Moral Rearmament and revaluation, incompatible with the outworn sacret "Cabinet methods". So Prof. Radhakrishnan was perfectly right in affirming with the traditional instinct of a Hindu Philosopher, the moral dilemma confronting the League in the fateful 13th year of its existence. Great nations (numerically if not politically) like China and India are constitutionally Pacific; and yet they are virtually treated as "no nations", thanks to the present organisation and functioning of the League. A time may come soon when the wholehearted support of 800 millions of souls from India and China would be considered by the League to be the greater and better guarantee for world peace than its diplomatic "scraps of paper" and ephemeral pacts,

Already a healthy note of scepticism if not of pessimism was sounded by the Secretary General Sir Eric Drummond who said, on the day of his leave-taking (30th June), "I notice that there is even among us perhaps a certain feeling of pessimism as to the *future* of the League." He was the foundation-Secretary who helped to build up the League machinery; and yet it is sad to note that, before leaving the League, after 14 years of service from within, he found little except his personal feelings, and the organized continuity of the secretariat to support the stupendous League structure in the future. But what about the vital and moral functions of the League, ever so much more important than its structural elaborations? Can the secretariat manufacture and supply the moral dynamic and initiative of Peace, indispensable for the very existence, what to speak of the continuation of the *Société des Nations*? The United States of America and of Brazil, of the U.S.S.R., as well as Japan and so many others, are *out* of the League of Nations! How would it avoid the danger of degenerating into a futile debating club of merely European diplomats? Unless the League develops into a veritable Family of Nations, embracing equally the peoples of the East and the West, the Christians and Non-Christians, the Whites and the non-whites into one World Fraternity, the chance of the League's survival is very doubtful.

The principle of Fraternity (*Maitri*) was promulgated, 25 centuries ago, by a great son of India, Gautama Buddha, the First Pacifist of History. So Modern India under Gandhiji will ever sympathise and co-operate with the League in her truly pacific aspirations, irrespective of success or failure. At this crisis in the history of the League and of the World, comes M. J. Avenol who will pilot the League as its new Secretary-General. With an ardent faith and optimism he says: "The bringing into being of the Covenant of the League in 1919 was a great achievement. In the years that have since passed the League has become an important moral personality". We can only hope with Mon. Avenol for all that is good for the League and Humanity as a whole.

57 States were registered as members, according to League reports of February, 1933, and the most glaring loss, since then, was the withdrawal of Japan on the 27th of March, 1933, although the withdrawal will be effective in 1935 on the expiration of full two years from the first notice of withdrawal after the Japanese invasion of China. The internecine war between China and Japan is the most deplorable event for the whole Orient; and the failure of the League to check it effectively clouded its reputation just as in its failure at the Disarmament Conference, through fanatical outbursts of militant nationalism as in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.

Now that the Disarmament Conference has failed and Treaty revisions almost shelved, aggressively militant Germany and its allies are preparing to sabotage the entire League of Nations.

The majority of nations of the world unfortunately remains virtually outside the League, owing to its rigid constitution which makes the Government and diplomatic credentials the only passports to the responsible posts and departments of the League. The weakest link in the chain of the League activities is its relation with public opinion in the largest sense of the term. Moreover, the Great Powers *hypnosis* hitherto shut the eyes of the League from some of the vital and urgent needs of the *non-European* nations. The entire procedure of the Mandates System, within closed doors, should be reformed to disarm world suspicion; and the questions of fairness and justice with regard to the humblest groups of humanity should be made public by the League, irrespective of the Imperial, colonial or diplomatic inconveniences of the Great powers, reminding them that the title of the World Parliament was that of the League of Nations and not League of Powers. More research into, and greater allocation for publications on, the problem of universal Intellectual Co-operation, and World Health, International Labour, of Social and Humanitarian activities, should be provided for specially with regard to the *non-European* blocs of humanity and to the people of the Orient who, with the single exception of Japan, have so far been treated with scant courtesy and justice. India with her 350 millions and as an original signatory to the Covenant, feels sadly neglected. All these years, India has been paying out of her very low Exchequer a huge annual subsidy (56 units of the League budget) coming very close to Italy and Japan (paying 60 units) in contribution. And the people of India has started enquiring as to what benefit has India derived so far by her association with the League of Nations? The malaria and infectious diseases ravaging India's millions, the appalling agricultural indebtedness and illiteracy of her peasantry, and thousand other problems which have hitherto been shelved on the technical grounds, of coming under the category of internal administration of British India, certainly challenge the immediate attention of the department of Social and Humanitarian activities and of the Intellectual Co-operation section of the League of Nations—white or non-white.

(*India & The World*, (Sept. 1933))

INDIAN CHILD LABOUR AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE

By
KALIDAS NAG

"An article, fixing the age of the employment of children, in non-industrial occupations, at 10 years in India and 14 in the rest of the world, was passed by the International Labour Conference, despite the vigorous protests of Diwan Chamanlal, the Indian Workers' Delegate"; so runs the message from Geneva, which also came to enlighten us about the strange convergence of opinions of the Indian Employers' Delegate, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty and the Indian Government Delegate, Sir B. N. Mitter, our then High Commissioner in London. Child Labour, specially in a country like India, means minimum of wage for maximum of service; and therefore it requires no profound grasp of the laws of economics to understand the move of the Indian Employers' Delegate to continue to exploit children, between ten to fourteen years of age, now emancipated by the rest of the civilized world.

But it is difficult to understand the attitude of the delegate of the British Government of India with regard to this momentous socio-economic question. The High Commissioner seemed to have little to lose (on the contrary, very much to gain) by supporting the Indian Workers' Delegate, who certainly had international opinion as well as humanitarian considerations in his favour. But Diwan Chamanlal championed the non-official cause; and possibly by contra-suggestion, the High Commissioner felt that he must play the official by contradicting even the Truth and Humanity of the cause of child exploitation, by his sophistries on the "realities of the situation". The British Government of India already enjoys a shady reputation of generally leaguings with the forces of reaction, seldom initiating progressive reforms. By allying himself with the Brown exploiters, the High Commissioner further strengthened that general opinion and missed a great opportunity to demonstrate, if but once, that on a non-political and thoroughly humanitarian cause, the British Indian government might support progressive non-official point of view.

Neither history nor academic study seems to be the strong point of the supporters of the infanticidal clause; or they would have hesitated to rush into the debate with the double-edged argument about the "realities" in this age of over-realism. If only politicians could realise that many of their so called realities are mere tomb-stones of doomed and dead institutions! How long shall we have to wait for the appearance of a new generation of politicians and statesmen who would use these monuments of death as stepping stones to New life in the scheme of human progress? To regain that Paradise of potential

Realities—so different from the sordid actualities of our age, a *selfless minority* in every country is working silently, always defeated, yet never daunted in spirit. They will bring the human rights of exploited labour, of massacred innocence, and throttled infancy to triumphant vindication. The great International Labour Organization, we believe, has come into operation as an earnest of that supreme consummation. Let us hope that India will soon cease to be misrepresented in the Republic of World Labour by the nominees of the *white* or *brown* exploiters. She should proclaim and institutionalise her traditional social truth of the "Infant God" *Bāla-Gopāl*, which found in the Occident its first woman champion in Ellen Key, the renowned author of the "*Century of the Child*". Capitalism which fails to take account of this fundamental truth is doomed. Its doctrine, of "profits as usual", is a sort of *divine right* in the domain of economics, which has been successfully challenged by USSR, and other states. The constructive economists of the future will turn their face away from the degrading exploitation of childhood, of boys and girls—and will build a new Industrial Order, untainted with the blood of women and children. We quote, in this connection, a few profound statements of Mr. Arthur W. Calhoun, an American specialist on the subject and the author of "*American Labour Dynamics*" (Vide : *Behold America*, pp. 275-285) :—

"Though official Christendom accepts Capitalism as the normal scheme of life, one hesitates to apply to the profit system any adjective even remotely associated with the name of Jesus. Particularly in the case of *child labour*, a barrier rises in the mind of the honest disciple, conversant with the Master's exaltation of childhood and youth, and his elevation of human values above material interests. It is so long, however, since any considerable body of ostensible Christians has fellowshipped with Jesus, that his principles scarcely figure in a realistic analysis of the civilization that calls itself by his name .. Representing rather the cold-blooded pragmatism, appropriate to an age in which world discovery had opened infinite possibilities of enrichment, to a generation lacking the capital with which to exploit the *planetary* resources, the Gospel of the modern saints called for the subordination of every human affection to the claims of productivity and thrift, so that *infancy* itself was grist to the mill of *material* production and capital accumulation".

Our Realistic politicians and economists should remember the epoch-making doctrine of John Fiske who considered the "prolongation of Infancy" as the gauge of the height of any civilization. Premature termination of infancy would surely mean the premature senility and death of human society.

(*India and The World*, May, 1932)

INDIA AND INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION

By

KALIDAS NAG

During the second quarter of the 3rd century B.C., an Emperor of India, Asoka the Great, in the very plenitude of his power, suddenly felt sceptical about the permanence of power as such, propped up by armaments and domineering politics. The profound words of his Master, Lord Buddha, the Prince-Mendicant of 6th century B.C., suddenly rang into his ears, a new message : *Sava munisā pajā me* All beings are my children. The august Emperor trembled in his throne of majesty ; and through unrecorded days of woeful searching of the heart, he rediscovered and pronounced with rare joy and conviction the Truth, the simple truth of Indian's spiritual revelation transcending time and space : Not through enmity can enmity be eradicated ; it can only be pacified by Love. Through Asoka, India asserted the truth that co-operation, real and abiding, must support itself not on intellectual stimulus only but on the deeper moral and spiritual foundations as well. History of human idealism is a vast wreckage of ill-conceived ideals, prematurely paraded insincerely championed, and finally cast into the lumber-room of Antiquities. Asoka realised it throughly and hastened to fling the first span in the bridge of intellectual and spiritual co-operation, by putting the entire resources of the State at the feet of the Creative Ideal. There he stands supreme as a true Pioneer and the spiritual Columbus of international Co-operation. Since then India has unified in her bosom the cultural currents of the Egyptian, the West Asiatic, the Hellenistic the Iranian (Yona-Kamboja) the Central-Asian, the Far Eastern and the South Asiatic worlds, for over two thousand years, and she might legitimately claim her rightful place in any cultural scheme of international co-operation.

The twentieth-century humanity, occidental humanity specially, intoxicated with national egotism and blinded by fatal greed, was trapped in the tragic conflagration of World war. No amount of academic researches in the domain of international law, ethics and equity, no platonic love-making with universal culture, no sentimental poetising on the achievements of the "Wonderful Century", could save human society from that dire disaster. The League of Nations emerged out of that terrible holocaust ; and with the voice still choked with the smoke of gun-powder and poison gas, the nations wrote with their very blood the first Peace Charter of the modern world :—

"To promote international co-operation
and to achieve international peace and security ;
By the acceptance of obligations

not to resort to war ;
 By the prescription of open, just
 and honourable relations between nations."

India as one of the original signatories to this Covenant might, through her representatives, have temporarily considered the Covenant as a mere diplomatic document. But India of the future is bound to hold with all her conviction, to that most significant phrase in the opening clause of the Covenant : International Co-operation with a view to achieve International Peace.

In December 1920, the first Assembly of the League of Nations recommended that the Council should associate itself as closely as possible with all steps aiming at the international organization of intellectual work ; and in September 1921, the great French statesman, M. Leon Bourgeois submitted his report, recommending the vigorous interchange of professors and students, a quick and accurate exchange of the results of scientific research and the appointment of a permanent committee, composed of the most qualified persons, to study the means of "strengthening and extending the international relations and to provide for a more general mingling of the great intellectual currents of the world." The second assembly of the League adopted the report of Prof. Gilbert Murray of the University of Oxford ; and the illustrious Chairman of the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, "The future of the League of Nations", Prof. Murray asserted, depended on the formation of an universal conscience. By a flash of intuition Prof. Murray realised that co-operation, to be really effective and enduring, should rest not merely on intellectual discipline but must have its root in the living conscience of Humanity.

When the first committee of the Intellectual Co-operation met in Geneva in August 1922, Prof. Murray was its Vice Chairman and Prof. H. Bergson was the Chairman.

Privileged to be present then in Geneva to represent my University of Calcutta at the Third International Congress for moral Education, presided over by the great English jurist, Sir Frederic Pollock, Bart., I appealed with all the conviction I could command, for a radical and complete revision of the text books of history which are the greatest libels on humanity. My paper on *Humanization of History* was an urgent plea of an Oriental for a fair and equitable readjustment of the relations between the East and the West. The French *résumé* of that paper published in the Annals of the Congress brought me numerous enquiries from sincere champions of internationalism ; and I still have the privilege of cherishing the friendship of several leading persons, men women, then working in the various organizations with the League as their centre. I had the privilege of shaking hands with M. Albert Thomas alas ! no more now to inspire his audience with his rare eloquence. I met Jane Addams and other leading workers of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. I met in Geneva Sir J. C. Bose the pioneer of Indian

scientific research, serving for several years as the member of the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation. Prof. Jagadis Chandra Bose counts (as his colleagues) some of the great champions of intellectual co-operation : Prof. Lorentz, Mme. Curie Skłodowska, Prof. Einstein, Dr. R. A. Millikan, M. Paul Painlevé, Prof. Alfredo Rocco and others.

Sir J. C. Bose of India and Prof. M. A. Tanakadate of the Tokyo Imperial University were the only two representatives of the vast Asiatic continent of unexplored possibilities. The League was suffering, as it suffered throughout from an unfortunate political bias. Originating in Europe, it naturally (though not quite rationally) developed into an organ of *European* internationalism which threatened to be a contradiction in terms ; and the secession of the United States of America, further accentuated that parochial character. Not only the largest number of the responsible officers of the League proper were recruited from the European nations or nations of European origin, but even in the department of Intellectual Co-operation and in the International Labour office, non-European elements in the personnel are as yet almost negligible. We wait to witness if possible that transformation of the League from within, through the equitable mediation, of persons, with whom neither East nor West, nor north nor south, but Mankind as a whole, with all its problems and potentialities, would be the centre of all activities. For the present it is absolutely necessary to bring in the "Old world to readjust the balance of the New" ; and a prophetic message to that effect was delivered to the League of Nations by the Poet-laureate of Asia, Rabindranath Tagore through our *India and the World*, in January 1932 :

"The supernational spirit of Humanity has at last built its body in the League of Nations. Though we, in a country like India, can hardly hope to help her mission through practical politics, yet let us raise our voice in expressing our hope, that she will bring Peace in this world by establishing Justice between nations and removing all that is menacingly noxious in the attitude of powers that rule the destiny of man in the present age".

Another great philosopher of India, Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, now serving in the Committee of the Intellectual Co-operation, raised his voice, endorsing Tagore, in his powerful appeal

International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

In September, 1933, the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations authorised the Committee of the Intellectual Co-operation "to receive funds from any institution or private persons interested in the work". And Prof. Bergson as Chairman of the Committee issued an appeal in January, 1934, to those concerned at "the serious crisis through which intellectual life in general was passing". It is significant that France, the traditional champion of culture and cosmopolitanism, came forward to supply the Committee with the material resources indispensable for the realisation of the great idea. In July, 1934,

M. Francois Albert, the French Minister of Education, in response to the appeal of Prof Bergson, offered to set up in Paris the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. In September 1924, the Council accepted the offer of the French Government. In December, 1924, the French Government, at the initiative of its enlightened President M. Herriot, formally undertook to provide and maintain in Paris the Institute to be administered by the Committee of the Intellectual Co-operation and to grant an annual subsidy of two million francs. Gradually subsidies from other governments came to the Institute, particularly from the Swiss, Italian, Czecho-slovak, Austrian, Polish and Hungarian Governments. The whole project was finally approved by the French Parliament in January, 1925 and the Institute was officially inaugurated in January 16, 1926.

The programme of Intellectual Co operation must necessarily be Complicated ; but the Institute wisely concentrated its beneficent activities to the following primary sections :

1. Institution of a general enquiry into the conditions of Intellectual life.
2. Examination of the problem of assistance to nations whose intellectual life is especially endangered.
3. Study of questions of scientific property and of others questions of intellectual and heritage property.
4. Study of university co-operation.
5. Study of the international co-ordination of bibliographical research.

Publications of the Institute.

Apart from the *resume* of the activities of this department in the *Monthly Summary* of the League of Nations, the League published from Geneva an excellent periodical, *The Educational Survey* which made its first appearance in July, 1929. Some of the articles published are : "Child and War Films", "University Education in International Affairs", "Broadcasting as a means to promote International Understanding", "Report of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute, of Rome", "Self-Government as a system of Education", "Foreign Travel, Meetings and Exchange of young people", "International Labour Office and wireless Broadcasting" etc. In march 1932, prof. Alfred Zimmern, formerly Director of the Geneva School of International Studies and Professor of International Relations in the University of Oxford, contributed a thoughtful and comprehensive survey of "Education in International Relations." The Committee, from time to time, forms sub-committees of experts to study problems of international interest like the *protection* and conservation of the Monuments of Art and History, International Musical, Artistic, and Literary relations, International Museum, Popular Arts etc. Reports of the progress of work along these lines are systematically published in the journal : *Musees et Monuments* and in the *Bulletin de la Co-operation Intellectuelle*. A sumptuously illustrated and well documented volume on "Popular Arts" has been published, incorporating the results of the First

Congress on Popular Arts held in Prague in 1928. Progressive reports on Library-exchange is also published; and several important *hand books* on inter university relations have been carefully compiled, the latest being "University Exchanges in Europe." Indians and other Oriental nations, who keep in touch with international movements through the English language, will, we are sure, welcome the publishing of the Monthly Information Bulletin. The first number published in April 1932, was full of interesting articles and M. Henri Bonnet, the veteran Director of the Intellectual Co operation made a brilliant survey of cultural developments. Another interesting note on the "Reorganization of Education in China" was published by the League's Mission of Experts. The Bulletin kept the public informed about all international conferences and congresses in different parts of the world.

The future.

The Institute co-operates whole-heartedly with the various international and intellectual organization, working more or less with the same ideal, in different countries e. g., International Bibliographical Institute, Brussels, The International confederation of Intellectual Workers, Paris, The International Student Service, Geneva, and several inter-university organisations of America. The Institute carries on systematic exchange with these different national groups, through its sections on University Relations. This has resulted in the creation of a number of national committees on intellectual co-operation.

But while we go through the list of the different nations that have been cultivated by the League of Nations, we are under the painful necessity to state that the vast non-European and non-Christian groups of humanity seem, strangely enough, not yet to be ripe for full and equal co-operation. India, China and Japan, Persia, Turkey and Egypt, to mention a few among others can, we are sure, send a large number of experts, representing the respective cultures, and they can co-operate on terms of perfect equality, with their Occidental colleagues for their mutual benefit. We hope that the attention of the authorities will soon be directed to this palpable anomaly and this serious limitation clings to the organization of the Intellectual Co-operation work. The resources of head, heart and hand of the international group of co-operators should be requisitioned by the League for the amelioration of the conditions of the much neglected Non-European countries, labouring under stupendous handicaps and difficulties, although representing the overwhelming majority of the human race.

RAMMOHAN ROY AND THE NEW WORLD

By

KALIDAS NAG

Rammohan Roy saw the light of day during the outbreak of the American War of Independence (1772-1783). While he was growing from boyhood to youth, Europe was convulsed with the explosions of the French Revolution and of the Revolutionary wars culminating in the emergence of Napoleon as a world figure (1789-1809). By the end of the 18th century Rammohan owned a small house in Calcutta which was growing into an important centre of Western culture in India, with the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784) and of the Fort William College (1800). He came into personal touch with eminent British Orientalists like Colebrook and Wilson, mentioning their works as well as those of Sir William Jones. He served the East India Company (1800-1815) and won the admiration and friendship of his official superior Mr. John Digby whom he met in 1804 and who knew his Indian works and was responsible for publishing some of the English works of Rammohan in England as early as 1816.

Joining issues with the missionaries of Trinitarian Christianity, Rammohan laid securely the foundations of Comparative Religion and of the first Unitarian Community Service and Church known as the *Atmīya Sabhā*, the *Brahma Sabhā* and the *Brāhma Samāj* (1828-1830). He was the first ambassador of Oriental Unitarianism to the West where we find his books and pamphlets reprinted both in England and in America, giving a new orientation to the development of Unitarianism amongst the progressive British and American monotheists and thinkers. The fame of Rammohan preceded him in England and France; for he was elected an Honorary member of the Asiatic Society of Paris (1824), long before his arrival in Europe. He was requested by the Royal Asiatic Society of London to propose a toast (1831) to its founder Th. Colebrook then very ill. Within a few months after his arrival in London, he was accorded a special reception at the British Unitarian Association. In an account of that reception, published in June 1831, we find Dr. Bowering (afterwards Sir John) welcoming the Raja in the most glorious terms saying:

"They have endeavoured to imagine what would be their sensations if a Plato or a Socrates, a Milton or a Newton, were unexpectedly to honour them with their presence."

After Dr. Bowering, the ex-President of the Harvard University Prof. Kircland observed:

*Rammohan Roy and America by Adrienne Moore. Published by the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Calcutta, 1942. Price Rs. 2-8.

"The Raja was an object of lively interest in America and he was expected there with the greatest anxiety."

That this was not a mere formal compliment to the Raja, has now been conclusively demonstrated by the painstaking and devoted researches of Miss Adrienne Moore. She was privileged to carry on her researches at the Columbia University, under the direction of Prof. Dr. Arthur Christy who is an authority on Oriental influence on American literature. He pointed out to Miss Moore that in a letter to Emerson still in his college (1822), his aunt Mary Moody enquired about the materials which she had sent to him about Rammohan Roy. Through Emerson who read regularly the *Christian Register*, from 1822-1830, Indian Unitarianism of Rammohun and Indian Theistic thought came to be the topics of public deliberation discussing for a time "the spotlight of publicity on Oriental thought" and thus ultimately led to the growth of New England Transcendentalism and the flowering of New England Literature.

This thesis of Miss Adrienne Moore justified, after a century, the statement of Dr. Kircland of Harvard; for we find her completing her study at the Columbia University, in February 1935, or just two years after the Rammohan Century (1633). She entered into correspondence with the Editor of *The Modern Review* who encouraged her by publishing a part of her thesis in the *Modern Review*, Sept. Oct. 1936. The Editor passed her complete manuscript to the late Rev. Satish Chandra Chakravarty who, as the Secretary of the Rammohan Centenary Committee, finally saw her book through the press. In Part I of the book the author introduces us into the heart of the subject and gives us a sober and at the same time an inspiring estimate of the life and works of Rammohan. Part II, forming the bulk of the book, is a detailed Bibliography of the works written by and about Rammohan. In the list of American libraries consulted by her we find thirteen states represented from Maine and Massachusetts to New York and Virginia. The earliest Bengali-Sanskrit work of the Raja, traced so far, the *Vedānta Grantha* was published from Calcutta in 1815, when Rammohun gave up the Company's Service; and within a year we find his first English work published in London, entitled "Translation of an Abridgement of the Vedānta" (1816). The German edition of the same book was published from Jena in 1817. The earliest American edition of the Raja's writings referred to the correspondence relative to the *Prospects of Christianity in India*, Cambridge Mass. (1824) and the *Precepts of Jesus* passed through several editions. Thus his name became so famous that in an address to the members of the American Congress on the Abolition of Slavery (Washington, 1830-33) we find an American champion of the abolition signing a document with the pseudonym "Rammohan Roy":

"In closing this address allow me to assume the name of one of the most enlightened and benevolent of the human race now living, though not a white man, Rammohan Roy."

So there was no exaggeration in the statement of Dr. Kircland that the

Raja was an object of lively interest in America. In the third part of the book the author discussed the question of the access of the American public to literature concerning Rammohan Roy. As early as 1821 we find Rammohun corresponding with David Reed, Editor of the *Christian Register*. The Raja's famous letter to Prof. H. Ware of Harvard, Cambridge, concerning the Prospect of Christianity in India was published by the Harvard University Press in 1824. Rammohan hoped to visit America in the spring of 1834 but he died before that. Miss Moore has shown, in her chapter on "Private Sources of Information", how Rammohun was corresponding with eminent religious and thought-leaders of America like Dr. W. E. Channing, Dr. William Ward and Dr. J. Tuckerman among others who endorse whole-heartedly her conclusion from which we quote the following paragraph :

"Until the advent of Roy, the Orient had seemed far removed and impersonal to American thought. But with the coming of this great leader there took place a certain fusion of East and West and a realization that, inspite of distance and difference, the Indian as personified in Rammohun Roy was a close kin to his American brother".

The author has produced a first class work on Indo-American Bibliography and has earned the gratitude of all Indians who appreciate the services rendered by Rammohan, the Father of Modern India, to the cause of the rapprochement between the East and the West.

Rammohan was a great admirer of the democratic traditions of the American constitution. But North America apart, we find him also the first Oriental to express publicly his sympathy for the Independence Movement led by his great contemporary Simon Bolivar—among the South American Republics, seeking to emancipate themselves from the shackles of Spanish Colonialism. He gave a public dinner to commemorate the victory of the Latin Americans over the Spanish army. I suggested a new line of research on my return from the Phillipines (1938) in my note published in the *Modern Review* (1939) on the significance of the presentation of a copy of the famous *Constitution of Cadiz* to Rammohan Roy by the Phillipine Co., (now in the Rammohan Library, Calcutta). The archives of the Latin American States may yet yield some valuable documents of Indo-American relations.

GREAT MEN IN HISTORY

By

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

When the great ones of the world come, they bring conflict with them or their coming had no significance. The multitude that drifts down with the stream places its trust in the ebbing current of humanity. But, for him who would work the boat of life up the stream, there is unending toil. When Rammohan Roy came into this country, he refused to go with the moving mass of turbidity which was ever flowing down, and which fought him as an enemy every minute up to the last. The height of the Himalayas is measured only from the different level of the plains around ; it is the hostility of the enlightened that measures the magnitude of the Great.

In the history of a nation, Man marches onwards, ever amending ever conquering himself with his own innate and conscious principle, only so long as his vital nature is all powerful. As we walk, our every step is a challenge to the constant pull of the earth ; inertia bests us on all sides, and each of the organs of the body is ever engaged in fighting it. The heart goes on, night and day in sleep as in walking ; while the enormous passivity of things stands up against that unremitting exertion, building up, every minute, barricades of fatigue, to be fought down by the heart as long as it has the strength.

The air flows all around us in its blind laws ; but the vital Nature forcibly drags this air along into its own system of channels. The germs of disease, and conditions favourable to their growth, are everywhere, both within and without us ; but the army of health is all the time engaged in an unceasing combat against them. The life process is, in fact, this never ending struggle, this continual warfare between the inert and the living forces, between the battalion of malady and the battalion of health. If this relentless struggle weakens, if the forces of rigidity, as against the forces of movement, gain the upperhand in the corporal economy, then the human body grows more and more clogged with the accumulating filth of wastage. And at last Death, in its mercy, comes down to remove this battle-weary defeat from the world of the living.

The social body too, is a living organism ; and all its evils find their opportunity when its own energy grows sluggish. Its life-force too, trained in fighting has ever to keep up hostilities against dull intellect, feeble will, against narrow knowledge and poverty in sympathy and loving-kindness. The most powerful of its enemies is apathy of the mind. When the mind weakly surrenders its rightful dominion and is content to remain immobile, the garbage of slovenliness accumulates and imprisons it. It is through such besting that Death gradually advances in the field of life. The Great person who appears at this period, brings along with him a powerful antagonism against the drag of his dead

grossness. And the feeble spirits enchained by indiscriminate customs, cry out in anger and pain against the pressure of his onward urge

This history of India had been standing stagnant for a long time, giving up, in weariness of spirit, all independent seeking of Truth, all adventures of Life, even the initiating of intelligent operations for its internal and external cleansing venerating its own deterioration ; it had ceased from attempting any readjustment with the changing ages. One by one, almost all the lights of its life had become dimmed through poverty of food, poverty of health and poverty of knowledge. Man's defeat comes when his own will abdicates and some external will occupies the vacant throne ; when his personal intelligence retires and he clings as a parasite to some foreign intelligence, be it borrowed from his own dead past, or imposed upon him from the presence of some stranger nation. That is man's defeat when the activities of the spirit are arrested and when he blindly goes on turning the wheels of the machine of habit, fashioned through a succession of centuries ; when he ignores reason and accepts authority, when he lowers the dignity of his innate informing principle and exalts external observances. For him, wearied with the load of decrepitude, there is no escape through any narrow short cuts devised by any oversubtle artifice.

Rammohan Roy appeared in India at this very period, when the country, in its blindness extending over centuries, had come to regard a life of vegetation as holiness. Such a towering and sudden contrast to one's own country and age is very seldom found in history. And it is by the very silliness of its impatient execration that his country proclaimed to all succeeding ages, his supreme greatness and vehemently announced that he had brought the conflict of light against the darkness of the land.

He did not follow the futile path of dull intellect by repeating feeble and wornout formulas ; he refused the humiliation of being the acclaimed leader of the flattered multitude, by usings its stupidity as the foundation for his power ; he was never frightened by the unintelligent antagonism of the threatening mob with its upraised stick ; the slightest deviation from the path of Truth, owing to fear or temptation, was for him an impossibility. He valiantly struck at the demon of unreason, enshrined through the ages on the altar, and that demon did not forgive him.

For the animal, there is no *Swarāj*, for it is merely driven by its blind instincts. Man's *Swarāj* only extend as far as his own intelligent self, the master within him, occupies his social consciousness and inspires his creative activities. The history of man's progress is the history of his extension of *Swaraj* through the domination of selfthinking, self-confidence and self-respect. Rammohan knew that insult to man's living spirit brings about a bankruptcy of initiative.

The victory of *ātman*, as the higher self of man, has never been proclaimed from the heights of manhood, anywhere except in India, with such an unhesitant voice. It was the message that Rammohan Roy brought anew, when in the India of his days it had become narrow and perverted, disclaimed in practice,

For ages the major part of India had been sunk in self-abasement through an unashamed acknowledgement of inferior rights for the multitude, in religion and in social affairs, rendering its people unfit for the difficult responsibility of self-expression. Not only did the mind of India of his times passively discard the claims of this highest right of humanity, but it actively denounced and wounded it.

The strange thing is that Rammohan Roy was eager to invoke the message of the Spirit not merely within the narrow boundaries of his own self-forgetful land; he assayed, by the test of the spiritual ideal, every great religious community which had, in any manner, obscured the true forms of its own inner self in mere external forms and in irrational rituals. Only a very few people in the whole world could in that age, realize through the mind and spirit and express in their lives the Unity of Man as Rammohan had done. He realised that it was only when man regarded the external boundaries of his religion as more valuable than its infinite inner significance that man was jealously kept apart from man. The worldliness of sectarian piety had called up pride, hatred and strife, and muddled the whole world with blood, to a degree impossible for any secular cause. It was in such an age of religious exclusiveness that he had gained in his heart and expressed in his life the Universal back-ground of Religious Truth.

Though at that period, men had been able to find a place in the knowledge of every civilized man they had not found the way to his heart. Even to this day, the realization of human unity is hampered, throughout the world, by so many prejudices born of blind instinct, or bred by deliberate training. It is therefore not possible to assert even today that a New Age has arrived—an age of solidarity on every side, an age in which the wide highway must be opened which may bring together all the human resources in knowledge and in co-operation. A beginning has already been made, in the domain of Science where caste distinctions in different departments of knowledge are being removed. Co-ordinated action, too, is gradually gaining in world-commerce, even though trafficking in trickery is still rife round the corners of that winding highway. It is also impossible to deny that a beginning has been made even in the realm of world politics, though the way is beset with a myriad of thorny obstructions. Rammohan Roy, however was the foremost of those brave spirits who have stood up, in the face of hostilities and misunderstanding, and who, in all their varied activities, have eloquently welcomed the spirit of this New Age. He was the Herald of India, the very first to bear the offerings to the outside world, and accept for himself and his country the best that the world could offer. He had envisaged in its entirety the Truth of man; and therefore his service to his country became complexly many-sided, never narrowing its path of welfare by following the line of least resistance or of immediate expediency.

Rammohan had to hew out the way, in strenuous struggle, across the unexplored region of Bengali prose, when he was engaged in developing the potentialities of his own language for the self-expression of the people of Bengal.

When eager to illuminate the Bengali mind with the philosophy of the Spirit, he did not shrink from the difficult endeavour of expounding the Vedānta in the yet unformed Bengali prose to a reading public, some of whose learned men had ventured to scoff at the Upanishads as spurious and considered the Mahānirvāna Tantra to be a scripture fabricated by Rammohan Roy himself.

Even in the West woman was really powerless and had her rights restricted on all sides, when Rammohan Roy stood up alone, to support the rights of women in his own society.

There was not even a glimmering of national consciousness in the country when he had demanded respect for his countrymen in the world of politics and culture.

He had faith, with all his strength of conviction, in the varied elements of human nature. It was not possible for him to have any dwarf's vision of man : for, in him, manhood had an extraordinary fullness of manifestation.

More than one hundred years have now gone by ; but the true recognition of his greatness still remains incomplete : even to-day it is not an impossibility for his countrymen to do him irreverence ; that generous vision, to which alone his magnitude would be clearly visible, is still enshrouded in mist. But the mist has nothing for which it need be proud, even if it envelopes the luminary and robs the morning of its majesty. Greatness goes on doing its own work, even in the midst of rude obstructions and is not obscured even when light is withdrawn from it.

The force that Rammohan had set in motion is still operative to-day, and a day will yet come when the country will attain a translucence of Mind freed from dense superstitions, and will climb to that altitude of unobstructed perspective which is essential for realizing Rammohan's place in our history and his strong, undaunted magnanimity. Those of us, who have received from him the inspiration to accept man in the completeness of his Truth even against profuse contradictions, may feel deeply hurt at each insult levelled at him. But when he was alive the hundreds of insults that were his share could not in any way weaken his beneficent power ; and it is this unperturbed power which, even after his death, will continue, in the face of all contempt and contumely, to sow the seeds of fulfilment in the very heart of ingratitude itself.

—*India and the World*, April, 1934

A PROPHET OF YOUNG ASIA

By
KALIDAS NAG

The 50th death anniversary of Keshub Chunder Sen (1838-84) celebrated recently, brings back to our mind the noble services rendered by that illustrious pioneer, to the cause of Asiatic renaissance. He was born within five years from the death of Rammohan Roy, who, as is well-known, propagated the great truths imbedded in Persian and Arabic literature. He boldly championed the cause of Turkey in those days of Anti-Turk crusade and Rammohan was not unfamiliar with the philosophers and kings of far-off China. Debendra Nath Tagore, the spiritual successor of Rammohan, is known to have undertaken a rather risky voyage to China; and when he had the pleasure of welcoming Keshub Chunder Sen, a class fellow of his son Satyendra Nath Tagore, all the three made a momentous voyage to Ceylon (27th September, 1859), in course of which the venerable leader collaborated spiritually with the young and audacious dreamers of New India and a New Asia. Keshub was then barely twentyone; but this grandson of Dewan Ram Comul Sen (the first native Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the collaborator of eminent orientalists like Wilson and Prinsep) must have caught the divine infection visiting the 'Golden Lanka', realising the eternal role of India as the civilizer of the Orient. While a mere boy of fifteen, as early as 1855, he was eagerly collaborating with eminent liberal missionaries like Rev. Long and Rev. Dall, running some sort of an East and West Association (British India Society). In 1859 he came to be the Joint-Secretary with Debendra Nath Tagore of the Brahma Samaj when Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar was a member. To further the cause of the re-marriage of Hindu widows, so dear to Vidyasagar, a social drama Bidhabā-Bibāha was staged by Keshub with his young friends; leader of men that he was, Keshub was our first leader of youth. In 1860 he developed a veritable youth movement publishing a series of tracts (Young Bengal: This is for you, etc.), to rouse up the dormant spirit of the coming generation. Throwing career to the winds, resigning a promising post in the Bank of Bengal, Keshub started his apostolate, formed a *Sangat Sabha* (spiritual fraternity) to make intensive study of the Bible and other scriptures, 'as well as the works of modern thinkers like Theodor Parker and Prof. F. W. Newman, Hamilton and Victor Cousin. But it was never an isolated cell of transcendental meditation, for Keshub was a worker per excellence. The youth movements, and last though not least the philanthropic and humanitarian movements ever found in him an ardent champion. He raised relief funds to mitigate the sufferings of millions in the North-Western provinces, on account

of a terrible famine in 1861. He organised an intensive campaign for the promotion of education in India and published an 'Appeal to the British Nation' which was circulated in England through his friendly correspondent, Prof. F. W. Newman. This laudable championship of *mass education*, within three years from the foundation of the first University of Calcutta, testifies to his prophetic vision. Ever backed by the venerable father of Rabindra Nath Tagore born (May, 1861) in this momentous year, Keshub started (August, 1861), the famous *Indian Mirror* which came to be a most influential social and political journal. In 1862 he delivered that memorable address 'The Destiny of Human Life,' and in April that year he was elevated to the post of the *Achārya*, the Minister of the Brahmo Samaj. He was boldly encouraging the reform zeal of his young colleagues who were out for defying caste, celebrating inter marriages, courting social ostracism and even the risk of being disinherited. The vindication of the equality of man and man, of man and woman was thus boldly envisaged by Keshub as our practical social Reformer, nobly inspired by Rammohan Roy whose life work was passionately upheld against the attack of Christian Missionaries in his famous lecture 'The Brahmo Samaj Vindicated' in 1863, just 30 years after the death of Rammohan. Silent yet enduring work was done by Keshub and his colleagues by their efforts to propagate education amongst our women-folk imprisoned in our homes by stupid custom and a special journal for women-*Bāmābodhini* made its appearance in 1863. Thus the young men and women, the real assets and potential builders of our nation, were appraised as such and helped by Keshub to their feet. He was a flaming torch which lit up into a rare illumination not only the province of Bengal but of Madras and Bombay as well which he visited in 1864. Very soon came to him a great son of Gujarat who would carry the torch of social reform throughout the length and breadth of India, Swami Dayananda Saraswati founder of the *Arya Samaj*. In 1867 the *Prārthanā Samaj* was also organised in Bombay under the inspiration of eminent reformers of Western India like Ranade and Bhandarkar who came into touch with Keshub during his second visit to Bombay. Keshub had several conferences with Sir Henry Maine, then legal member of the Viceregal Council, who introduced 'the native marriage bill' providing a form of *civil marriage* and legal recognition for all those who were against caste and in favour of inter-marriage.

Thus laying the foundation of national solidarity and developing his own Brahmo Samaj of India, Keshub sailed for England early in 1870 when he was barely thirty-two. Sailing on the 15th of February, he reached London on 21st of March; and sailing again on the 17th of September he was welcomed back to India in October, 1870, when the *Prārthanā Samaj* accorded a warm welcome to him in Bombay. In the soiree welcoming him in London there was present Lord Lawrence, late Governor-General of India, the very Rev. Dean of Westminster, Stopford Brooke, Dr. Martineau, Louis Blanc and other celebrities; while Prof. Max Muller, J. S. Mill, Grant Duff and others sent letters of cordial welcome. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Hony. Secretary to the East Indian

Association spoke with Mr. Sen from the same platform when he addressed on the Female Education in India. He addressed also a big meeting celebrating the 54th anniversary of the Peace Society when Mon. Frederic Passy, Secretary of the Paris League of Peace, came into personal touch with the great Hindu orator who also spoke against the liquor traffic in India. A great Muhammadan, Mr. Syed Ahmed was present in that memorable lecture: 'England's Duties to India' (May, 1870), in which, like a true patriot, Keshub boldly exposed the shortcomings of the Anglo-Indian rulers and administrators of India. Thus, long before the foundation of our Indian National Congress, Keshub opened the path of constitutional agitation to rouse England to her sense of responsibility with regard to India. In August, 1870, he had an interview and a Vegetarian dinner with Queen Victoria. Then after splendid receptions in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Leeds and Bristol (where he visited the tomb of Rammohan), Keshub was given a warm farewell in which not only the British but some Continental scholars were present, e.g., Louis Blanc and Prof. Alibites representing the Society of Free Conscience and Progressive Theism of Paris.

After his return he was confronted with unsuspected and yet unsurmountable difficulties in building up an united reformed church; and as several of his dear friends were leaving him and his own health was failing fast, Keshub formally announced his sublime dream of New Dispensation (January, 1880). He unveiled the portrait of Rammohan Roy in Albert Hall on the 14th of January, 1881. Following in the footsteps of the Rajah, he inspired one of his disciples Mr. Girish Chandra Sen to undertake the publication of the first Bengali translation of the Koran, with the commentaries. At the same time the breach with the orthodox Hindu community he tried to bridge over, by incorporating into Brahmoism many of the poetic rituals and symbolisms of Hindu Religion; and above all by establishing a spiritual communion with the unlettered sage of Dakshineswar, Sri Ramakrishna Paramhansa (1836-1886), the Guru of Swami Vivekananda. On the 20th of January, 1883, he delivered, through his noble address 'Asia's Message to Europe', what was practically his last testament, and his noblest legacy to New India and the New Orient which join hands to-day to salute the inspired prophet of our New Dawn.

—*India and the World*, February, 1934

ASIA'S MESSAGE TO EUROPE

By

KESHUB CHANDRA SEN

Whence this plaintive and mournful cry, which so profoundly distresses the patriot's breast? It seems that a whole continent is writhing in agony beneath the lash of oppression, and sending forth from the depths of its heart a deep wail of woe. Who is it that weeps? Do ye hear? It is India that weeps, nay, not India only; all Asia cries. Behold the sweet Angel of the East, into whose beauty the very colours of heaven seem to have been woven, the fair East, "in russet mantle clad," lies prostrate, a bleeding prisoner! Who can measure the length and breadth, the height and depth, of Asia's sufferings? She has no peace; she knows no consolation. And what is the burden of her complaint? The desperate onslaughts of Europe's haughty civilization, she says, have brought sorrow into her heart, ignominy on her fair name, and death to her cherished institutions. Alas! Before the formidable artillery of Europe's aggressive civilization, the Scriptures and Prophets, the language and literature of the East, nay her customs and manners, her social and domestic institutions, and her very industries have undergone a cruel slaughter. The rivers that flow eastward and the rivers that flow westward are crimson with Asiatic gore; yes with the best blood of Oriental life. Enough! Stay, Europe, desist from this sanguinary strife. No more war. This flag of the New Dispensation, I hold before thee, is a flag of truce and Reconciliation. There shall be no more war, but henceforth Peace and amity, brotherhood and friendliness.

—*India and the World*. February, 1934.

SOUTH AMERICA AND INDIA

By

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

Surprising as it may seem, up to the 20th Century (barring the sole reference of Rammohan Roy) India and South America have no connections whatsoever, either intellectual or commercial.

Such an abnormal state of things is the result of improper communications and the very little we know of Latin America extending from Mexico to Chile.

By the various contacts I have been able to establish with prominent South Americans, I can assure there is in South America a great interest in India and there is a great admiration towards Tagore and Gandhi. The ground is prepared by these pioneers. Our compatriots should make an effort to follow this incipient movement.

What should Central and South America represent to India and *vice versa*? Two great markets for ample exchange of goods. And in addition to this it would mean for us, extending the already existing sympathy to this group of 20 Free Latin Republics, an important acquisition for our cultural and Foreign relations.

Latin America, according to the *South American Handbook*, is one half the area of the whole British Empire; and in 1931, despite the crisis, these Republics did the equivalent of about £ 612,000,000 million of foreign trade, with a difference of about £ 120,000,000 in favour of their exports and imports.

Now it happens that what India produces is being bought by South America, from other third countries, as England and United States. We must try to establish *direct contacts* and sell our articles to South America, who will benefit by a reduction in price, instead of leaving all the benefits to the intermediaries. The movement of bringing South America and India close to each other largely depends on us.

A friend from Cuba suggested to me, among other things, that a ship, as a Floating Exhibition of India should be sent by us to visit Central and South American countries. This should interest business circles. At each harbour, contacts would be established on board the *S. S. India*.

Besides, in our leading cities there should be Consuls of each of the Latin American Republics. If the consul is honorary he should be an Indian not a foreigner. This would greatly help to facilitate information and further connections.

We should distribute in Latin America, a pamphlet in Spanish (and Portuguese for Brazil) with data and illustrations about India. In order to

co-operate with these new plans of Indian expansion, a Review should publish a series of articles devoted to each one of the Latin American countries. The actual isolation, between, ourselves and that important branch of the Latin race, must not continue.

The first steps in order to start bringing Latin America and India closer to each other could be :

(1) Study of Spanish and Portuguese. All the 20 Republics speak *Spanish*, with the exception of *Portuguese* spoken in vast Brazil and *French* in Haiti. Commerce is acquainted with English nevertheless.

(2) Exchange of professors and students, in order to promote personal contacts.

(3) Travelling in these beautiful countries (Tourism)

(4) More information about trade and economic conditions. Trade relations should exist as well with North America—from Canada to U. S. A. —as with Latin America. India can sell directly, let us say, tea ; and obtain in return oil and cacao from Venezuela, silver from Mexico, coffee from Colombia and so forth. We recall here the territorial extension of South America and its population compared with those of U. S. A. and India

	Territory sq. miles	Population (1930)
South America	6, 800, 000	80, 000, 000,
North America	8, 272, 995	165, 934, 000,
India	1, 805, 332	351, 500, 000

This clearly shows the importance of the new market for us Indians.

India as well as Latin America are developing intensively now and progressing rapidly. This is but one of the many analogies. An interchange between these two great Zones of culture and business, appears like a necessity and will be of mutual benefit, both politically and economically.

Geneva

1934

INDIANS ABROAD

By

KALIDAS NAG

The Far-Eastern tour initiated by our Master-Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore, in which I accompanied him, was, in some respects, the most momentous experience of our generation. In Burma and Malaya, in China and Japan, where ever we happened to land, we found our Indian brethren, rushing forward to honour the Spiritual Ambassador of modern India. The Poet also, with a prophetic vision, on every occasion, pointed to us to a horizon of history where Indians, throwing away the tattered garments of a beggar or a helot, will again appear, as before, fertilizing the world with their humanity and creative activities, just as the pioneer colonizers from India did two thousand years ago. To listen to Rabindranath in that setting, addressing the struggling band of Indians abroad, was to be hypnotized by a hope which seems to be contradicted at every point by the cruel fate of Indian Emigrants during the last century. Yet I think, that the vision of a Rabindranath is of a greater historical value than volumes of these dismal and despairing records, continuing down to the inhuman Race conflicts of Africa. And on my return home in 1924 I was driven by that cultural urge to organize, the Greater India Society, which although concentrating mainly as yet to the problems of Indian colonization in bygone ages, is nevertheless fully alive to the necessity of a parallel and complementary line of study of the modern and the future Greater India.

Moreover, no watchful reader of our national history, towards the close of the first quarter of the 20th century, could miss the tremendous significance of the life of Mahatma Gandhi, the high-priest and martyr in the cause of modern Greater India. Privileged to study intensively the life and career of this great soldier of Non-violence and lover of the down-trodden, while I was invited by M. Romain Rolland to help him in preparing his epoch-making book *Mahatma Gandhi*, I realized the importance of the tragic struggle, nearly always unnoticed by their countrymen, of over twenty-five lakhs of Indians scattered all over the world.

Over a century ago our poor country, India, appeared to powerful exploiters as a very cheap field for the gathering of a slave harvest. No doubt by the year 1833 slavery was legally abolished ; but we know that customs and conventions are rarely rooted out by a sudden jerk of legislation. Slave labour from India came to have a new and somewhat respectable label (indentured labour) ; but right through the pathetic struggle of threats and violences, we see no less of condescensions and concessions, hardly less inhuman, of the importers of the human cargo from Mother India.

The island of Mauritius imported *Indian coolies* from as early as 1819 : and although many, by virtue of sheer genius and honest labour, rose from the condition of a veritable land-slave to the status of multi-millionaire, their names and achievements were entirely ignored by their brethern of the mother country. Yet that was an event which deserved a centenary celebration. For in an age when the homekeeping Indians could do nothing more than repeating stupid *mantras* banning the heroic adventures of their compatriots crossing the *Kālāpāni*, those heroes, snatched away from their homes, at first probably against their will, applied their iron will to the reconquest of economic independence, social status and progressive political emancipation through titanic conflicts with the heartless exploiters in foreign lands. They are real heroes, those builders of the modern and future Greater India ; and some day the history and economics faculties of our universities will have to endow special chairs for the study of these pioneering activities in the history of modern Indian colonization. What to speak of our academic bodies ? Even our professional politicians did very little except a few perfunctory references to this momentous struggle and achievement. The expiation of this unpardonable national callousness came for the first time in Africa, through Mahatma Gandhi who, like a true descendant of our great ancestors of yore, brought a new principle to bear upon the destiny of these unfortunate brethern of ours and elevated their struggles and sacrifices to a plane far above the clash of interests of politics or economics.

That is why the great Rishi of the Occident, Leo Tolstoy grasped before his death (1910) the hands of Gandhi spiritually if not physically. Ever since that noble vindication of the cause of the Emigrant Indians by a Great Indian leader, several others, in course of the first quarter of the 20th century, have visited those far off settlements and struggled, each in his own way, to ameliorate their conditions. And may it ever be remembered with gratitude that the sympathy and sacrifices of several non-Indian friends of India,—Doke, Polak Pearson, and above all C. F. Andrews—were ever on our side as our inalienable assets and our unfailing inspiration. Like a true Christian and real lover of India, that he is, Rev. Andrews staked his health energy and all for the betterment of the condition of our colonial brethern.

The immediate present seems to be surcharged with doubts and suspicions, dangers and despair ; and we run the risk of suffering from an obsession of the immediate, forgetting the ultimate. Removal of economic disabilities and exaction of equitable legal rights are no doubt urgent ; and we have every faith that these will be achieved if there is a perfect co-ordination of efforts of the Indians at home and abroad. But let us not forget that, to merit the title of future Greater India, we shall have to pay attention to our moral, intellectual and spiritual advancement as well. The ancient Greater India came to be a source of sublime spiritual and cultural creation and, as such, a blessing to humanity, as we have demonstrated beyond dispute through several publications of our Greater India Society. So future Greater India must ultimately rest, for

its stability and justification, upon moral and cultural and humanitarian achievements no less than on the political and economic.

Unfortunately such a vital question remains as yet so remote even from our cultured few that we barely get an up-to-date *hand-book* containing definite information and statistics on the subject. In the whirlwind of political pamphleteering and journalistic campaigns, the main issues remain as clouded as ever. There is neither a special national organization of competent persons to collect materials nor to undertake periodic excursions to and from India with a view to develop a more intimate relationship between the mother country and those struggling daughter colonies. The humble resources of the Greater India Society which always aspires to be of some service to our colonial brethren are exhausted in exploring the well-nigh forgotten history of ancient Greater India. And though we appealed to our young university students several times to undertake a systematic survey of the history of modern Greater India, they generally find very little facilities and encouragement. Our public libraries care little to keep regular files of the periodicals and publications relating to these Indian colonies; and our universities or other public bodies show little more care to encourage our young men to publish books or monographs on that subject.

Under these circumstances we are under the painful necessity of admitting that, however brilliant might be the occasional achievements of a chance fighter in that field, the international significance of India's participation in the political and economic and cultural life of the modern colonial world will never be brought out in its true light unless we Indians at home and abroad conjointly follow a definite line of policy and of action :

(1) In view of the fact that with the solitary exception of an Imperial Citizenship Association in Bombay and Indian Overseas Associations in London and elsewhere, there are no well-organized bureaux of information relating to modern Greater India; we should devise the ways and means of establishing such bureaux at every one of the provincial capitals. Their functions would be to scrutinize the emigration from their respective provinces and also to ventilate the grievances of those provincials settled in different parts of the world.

(2) Some regular and adequately financed periodical (a monthly or a quarterly) should immediately be started to publish interesting articles, studies, statistics, etc., with a view to make the problems as living as possible. Several earnest Indian scholars are ready to devote their whole time and energy to the study of these problems, provided they are allowed a bare sustenance; and one of them, a devoted worker of the Greater India Society, has already bravely come forward to prepare the first all-round manual "Indian Emigration : a Century of Survey."

(3) Such publications and other valuable contributions like *The Hindusthani Workers on the Pacific Coast* by Dr. R. K. Das and others should be published, republished and translated in all the important vernaculars of India, so that they may reach the larger masses.

(4) Special funds should be raised for mass education along the same line by means of pictures and lantern lectures and cinema shows, so that our common people might share in the joys and sorrows of their colonial brothers and sisters.

(5) At every big provincial or All-India gathering, a special conference on modern Greater India should be arranged and delegates and representatives to and fro should sit together to discuss and report.

(6) Public opinion in this way should be brought to bear upon the activities of the authorities of the Emigration Department, of the Agents-General as well as of Indian's representatives at the League of Nations, and at the International Labour Office.

(7) Indian emigration should be made a part of the syllabus of Indian Economics of our National Universities.

(8) Special prizes should be offered for a thorough and intensive survey of any aspect of the life of the Indians Overseas.

(9) Research scholarships and travelling fellowships should be offered to our brilliant students of history and economics and sociology, as well as to our social service workers, enabling them to visit the colonies personally and co-operate with their brother-workers in the same field.

(10) To organize occasionally and whenever convenient, special colonial congresses, changing its venue from time to time, so that our leaders and tested workers as well as representative men and women of Mother India may gain first-hand knowledge about our brothers and sisters abroad.

—*The Modern Review*, April, 1930.

IS TIBET A FORBIDDEN COUNTRY

BY

HEMENTA KUMAR RAKSHIT (of New York)

Peiping, China

The death of Dalai Lama in December, 1933, ensuring once more the continuity of the hitherto uncertain suzerainty of the Nanking Government over Tibet, gives added interest to the "Souvenirs of a journey through Tartary, Tibet and China during the years 1844, 1945 and 1846" by the Lazarist Priest, E. Huc. Tibet according to the author, has always been a very hospitable country to foreigners, the British experience notwithstanding. Father Huc and his companion, Father Gabet, were very hospitably received by the Tibetan Lamas ; and their reports on the useful activities of large number of Bhotanese and Kashmiri Muslims in Lhasa and elsewhere, prove again that the authorities in Tibet were by no means as exclusive as they are made out to be.

The two Catholic priests travelled through Inner Mongolia and Tibet amidst untold privations. Their sincere and burning desire to convert the Tibetans to Christianity enabled them to face all hardships with fortitude. They were proud of their holy mission, and even boastful at times. When the Regent of Tibet ordered a search of their meager possession as a matter of routine work, the following conversation ensued :

"Yes ; that is all we possess ;" said the priest, "neither more nor less. These are all our resources for invading Tibet"

"There is satire in your words, said the Regent ; I never fancied you such dangerous people. What is that ? he added, pointing to a crucifix we had fixed against the wall.

"Ah, if you really knew what that was, you would not say that we are not formidable ; for by that we desire to conquer China, Tartary, and Tibet."

The Regent laughed, for he only saw a joke in our words, which yet were so real and serious.

With such a conviction and strength of mind it was easy for them to make the hard journey. They observed and took notes : the outcome of which is the present book,* vividly and simply told, and on the whole, accurate. They learned Mongol and Tibetan dialects and were on very friendly terms with the people they met. But they were extremely hostile to the Chinese people, particularly to the Mandarins. They speak of the "utterly unprincipled knavery of

* Souvenirs of a journey through Tartary, Tibet and China, during the Years 1844, 1945 and 1846. By E. Huc, Lazarist Priest and Missionary Apostolic. Two Volumes. 809 pp. Paper bound. New Edition. Annotated and Illustrated by J. M. Planchet, 1931. Lazarist Press. The French Book Store, Peiping, China. Mex. 12.00 dollars.

the Chinese"; and in their relations with the Mongolians, the Chinese people are often pictured as "horse stealers", "tricky", "sly" and "mischievous". Nor the reason for this is hard to find. An editorial foot-note in the book explains it:

"Having given himself up entirely to the evangelisation of the Mongolian and Tibetan peoples he (Huc) feels for them the affection that a father does for his children... Their quarrels too are his. He has heard them complaining of Chinese exactions? Straightway he is up against the Chinese..."

He was also influenced no doubt by the fact that the Chinese Government of the time banished them and other missionaries from China. There is perhaps a more fundamental reason for his universal dislike of the Chinese. The following incident will illustrate the point. When the Chinese Government discovered the existence of the two priests in Tibet, the Tibetan Representative of the Emperor expelled them from the country arranging their transportation with a caravan about to leave Lhasa under the command of a young mandarin whom Father Huc tried to convert. Failing of success he writes of him thus:

"Ly-Kwo-Ngan (the mandarin) altogether concurred with us... He himself spoke with great eloquence on the frailty and brevity of human life, of worldly vanities, of the impenetrability of God's decrees, of the importance of salvation, of the truth of Christian religion and of the obligation on all mankind to embrace it... but when it came to the point, to the practical result, to the declaring himself Christian, there was a dead stand..."

Throughout his journey he had similar experiences. To him the Chinese are a "thorough nation of shop keepers, with hearts dry as a ship-biscuit and grasping as a monkey", "a people almost universally sceptical and indifferent as to religious matters". So Huc had no use for the irreligious Chinese!

He liked however the Mongolian and Tibetan Buddhists, their friendliness and their hospitality. Their tolerance toward his Christian faith he was incapable of reciprocating. For, Huc, the devout Catholic, Catholic Church "is the depository of all truth"; and he was on his triumphant march, so he thought, to Tibet through China, to diffuse "the light of Christianity amidst these idolatrous nations, whose religion is merely a monstrous medley of doctrines and practices borrowed at once from Lao-tse, Confucius, and Buddha, all a growth from "profane antiquity". Throughout his journey he met many superstitious lamas; once he was about to attend a magic feat where a certain Lama is to "cut himself open, take out his entrails and place them before him, and then resume his previous condition." He was inspired to go there to "neutralize by our prayers, the Satanic invocations of the Lamas"! For, himself superstitious, he was convinced that there was "no trick or deception about them... for, from all we have seen and heard... we are persuaded that the Devil has a great deal to do with the matter!"

Their own superstition, however, did not prevent them from making pointed and shrewd observations now and then, which even the readers of *Re-Thinking Missions* may read with profit. The ravages of small-pox in

Lhasa and the prevalence of "medicine men method" of treatment, forced Huc to observe the value of the medical missionary in evangelistic work. He writes: "The introduction of vaccination into Tibet by the Missionaries would not improbably be the signal of the down-fall of Lamanism, and of the establishment of the Christian religion among these infidel tribes." Elsewhere he observed: "After all, we have seen in our long peregrination,...we are persuaded that it is by instruction, and not by controversy, that the conversion of the heathen is to be efficaciously operated. Polemics may reduce an adversary to silence, may often humiliate him, may sometimes irritate him; but they will never convince him."

Huc is a Frenchman even before he is a missionary. For did he not, as we find in his Preface, leave France "oppressed with tears" as "we slowly drew away from this beloved France"? He felt deeply of the retreat of French Imperialism of his time before the advancing steps of British imperialism. And he sighs:

"In India it is with lively interest that we visited Pondichery, Mahé, and Bombay. We saw this mysterious civilization struggling in vain against the unrelenting grip of English dominion...Everywhere, in China, in Malayasia, in Ceylon, and in Red Sea one meets the English imperialism, whose irresistible need for expansion is seeking to absorb all peoples.. But France, it must be hoped, will soon regain everywhere the rank which belongs to her, ..." And he reminds us elsewhere: "It will at once be understood that in our character of French citizens we instinctively placed ourselves in the ranks of the progressists; that is to say, of those who desired to advance "

In Tibet the few weeks he was able to stay there, Huc was deeply engrossed with the teaching of Christianity; but he did not forget France. He told the Regent "of the steam-boats, the railways, the balloons, gas, telegraphs, the daguerro-type, our industrial productions"; these "completely amazed him and gave him an immense idea of the grandeur and power of France." So that "we were scarcely a month at Lhasa before the numerous inhabitants of this town grew accustomed to speak with respect and admiration of the Holy doctrine of Jehovah, and of the great kingdom of France."

Huc was annoyed when the Tibetan officials took him to be an Englishman. At that time the "Opium wars" were going on and the "Britishers from Calcutta" were all suspects in their eyes who "come to investigate the strength of Tibet, to make maps, and to devise means to get possession of the country. All national prejudice apart.. Such a *quid-pro-quo* could not but render us very unpopular, and perhaps end in our being cut to pieces"

It is interesting at this point to quote from a Chinese review of the book:

"Much water has flowed down the Brahmaputra since this book was written. Dalai Lama's fears have been more than realised. Tibet's "national seclusion" has come to mean not the exclusion of Britons, but the exclusion

of all whom the Britons do not approve. There is a telegraph line from India to Lhasa, and a hydro-electric plant in the city. The Chinese garrisons and the Chinese Residents have gone, and the British garrisons and the British representatives have come, while a British trained Tibetan army is encroaching further and further upon Chinese territory .."*

But it is as a travel book that Father Huc's two volumes must excel. There was a time when this work was considered by some as a product of pure imagination. But those who will read Huc, his very human and vivid and minute descriptions of the geography, of the life and labour in parts of Manchuria, in inner Mongolia, in the Gobi Ordos region, and in Tibet, the veracity of which has been confirmed by other travellers that followed him, will have no doubts as to the genuineness of the pious missionary's words. Huc and Gabet travelled from month to month through regions where "Nature becomes all of a sudden savage", living on "insipid barley meal" and "buttered tea, appetite providing the most efficient seasoning".

Huc details his own observations and, like Herodotus, tells of delightful legends and stories he heard all along his long journey, such as the legend of how Lhasa was built. He pictures for us the "rude grandeur" of Mongolia, the crossing of the great Hoang-Ho, "beyond a doubt one of the finest rivers in the world"; the "terrible storms solemnly closing the autumn seasons" and the sparrows more insolent than in Europe." They climbed mountains "wholly composed of moving sands, so fine, that when you touch it, it seems to flow through your fingers like a liquid"; at other time they climbed other mountains amidst "claps of thunder and repeated flashes of lightning that seemed to enkindle the sky." On their way to Lhasa they joined a caravan of "1,500 long haired oxen, 1,200 horses, 1,200 camels, and 1,000" men' returning to Lhasa from Peking. The description of this moving mass of men and animals is a joy to read. He speaks of superb spectacles of Buddhist festivals, of "the Feast of flowers" where flowers and illuminations were arranged with a taste that would have reflected no discredit on a Parisian decorator"; and of "bas reliefs of colossal proportions" of Mongol, Chinese, Hindu and Negro types, representing the history of Buddhism. He found the Mohammadans of China "quite Chinese in everything but temperament and creed" exhibiting a "fine spirit of association." We read of "parties of moustached men" in some places of China, sitting before the door of their houses in the sun, knitting, sewing, and chattering like so many female

"This statement of the Chinese reviewer can be partially substantiated by the following quotation from Mr. David Macdonald's interesting book : *Twenty years in Tibet* (1932), p. 290 : The Government of India refused her (the French woman, Madam Neel) permission to visit Tibet. She stated that she did not recognize the authority of Great Britain in denying nationals of other powers the right to travel in Tibet which is a completely independent country. In this connection it may be noted that the measure adopted by the Government of India for regulating entry into Tibet are in accordance with the wishes of the Tibetan government."

gossips !” While in some sections in Tibet, usage of the country regarded men as downright cowards who would fight with women. Such men “would be despised by the whole world.” This was pure French chivalry”, exclaimed the Fathers !

Father Huc’s forced departure from Tibet ended his labours. The laws of the Chinese Empire of the day were against the Christian missions. He failed as a missionary, through no particular faults of his own ; but he left Lhasa as a friend. He was at home among the Buddhists ; because, as Huc discovered, the Buddhists of Tibet consider “Religious persons, men of prayer, belonging to all countries, are stranger nowhere a religious man is a cosmopolite. The Regent told him so ; and the Fathers bade goodbye, their “hearts bursting with grief.” Then followed another long and hazardous journey full of adventures calmly faced and beautifully told.

The account of Huc’s travels will remain as a classic piece in Travel literature, inspite of its shortcomings in translation and printing. While it lacks a map, the volumes contain many interesting woodcuts and photographs.

—*India and the World*, March, 1934.

PROBLEMS OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION

The League of Nations international Committee on Intellectual Co-operation held its annual session in Geneva during the month of July 1933.

India was represented in this Commission on Intellectual Co-operation by Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University. Professor Radhakrishnan is one of best exponents of Hindu philosophy ; and in a broadcast talk delivered in Geneva, Professor Radhakrishnan dwelt on the need for greater intellectual co-operation in these difficult days. A great Hindu philosopher that he is, Prof Radhakrishnan boldly promulgated the principle, that “Political values are not the highest, nor are they all values”. This has often been ridiculed in the West as the philosophy of despair, born of political servitude. But the question still stands, why the political preoccupations, of the West have neither procured for her peace nor security. There must be something wrong fundamentally in the Western apotheosis of Politics which, even after the tragic experience of the last World war, is again pushing Europe towards the abyss of another war, foreshadowed by the complete break-down of the Disarmament Conference. The League, at this crisis of civilisation, may for a while be less European and more Universal, if she wants to serve effectively the cause of World Peace. The century-old sufferings of India found, in the voice of Prof. Radhakirshnan, the dignity of an international appeal, when he pronounced into the sceptical ears of western militaristic imperialism : “So long as one man is in prison, I am not free ; so long as one nation is subject, I belong to it.”

THE P. E. N. MOVEMENT AND THE BENGALI P. E. N.

Language plays one of the greatest roles not only in the cultural but in our politico-economic reconstruction as well. India, which is more a continent than a country, naturally offers various linguistic avenues towards the understanding of her diverse races and cultures. In the past, these linguistic avenues were more or less exclusive ; but with the dawning of national consciousness, the Indian people realised the importance of a *lingua franca* and English, which accidentally happens to be an inter-national language, fulfilled its mission by making our different languages understandable to one another as well as to other linguistic families abroad. Thus, through English our linguistic outlook has been internationalised. But intensive study and appreciation of at least the major living languages of India have unfortunately been long neglected by our educational organisations, official as well as non-official. It is only very recently that, following the noble lead of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and his successors in the University of Calcutta, that other provincial universities are slowly, though some what haphazardly, providing for an adequate study of our living languages. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, now honoured by our University as its Emeritus Professor, was one of the first to emphasise the need of higher education through the vernaculars and we are proud to claim him, in his 75th year, as the President of our Indian P. E. N. This organisation, under the capable direction of its devoted Organising-Secretary Madam Sophia Wadia of Bombay, made a passionate appeal for a closer cultural and linguistic collaboration between the *litterateurs* of the East and the West. Thanks to her, we have formed an All-India Linguistic Committee and also, through the initiative of one of our esteemed colleagues Mr. K. M. Munshi, a notable writer of Gujarati, a special organisation and a monthly organ, to further better understanding of the different creative literatures of India.

Mahatma Gandhi, from another side, has rendered a great service to our cause by providing for the spread of Hindi as an All-India language for the masses of India. So, through the constructive genius of great Muhammadan leaders like Sir Md. Iqbal of Lahore, Sir Akbar Hyderi of Deccan and other learned members of the Osmania and Aligarh Universities, Urdu is coming to be a powerful unifying factor in Moslem India.

Studying these symptoms and, very appropriately in this year of tri-centenary of the French Academy, Dr. Kalidas Nag issued an appeal for the formation of an united Indian Academy. Most of the influential papers supported the project strongly ; there was an exchange of correspondence in the "*Statesman*", Calcutta, and the *Times of India*, Bombay, wrote the following

editorial : "The eloquent plea of Dr. Kalidas Nag of Calcutta University for the foundation in India of a Central Academy on the lines of L' Académie Française to integrate, as he puts it, 'the creative activities of the nation in the domain of Science and Letters,' deserves more than a mere echo of approval. In view of the differences, recently revealed among scientific luminaries, it would probably be better to concentrate on the literary aspect. But there can be no doubt that a focal point such as that proposed for India's culture, could be a potent force for progress and unity in the future. Such inspiration of the kind as there has been in the past has revolved rather vaguely and spasmodically round the home of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. That in itself was not inappropriate ; yet it was more a tribute to the greatness of a person than to the natural channel of national self-expression. Authorship has as yet a poor reward in India, but there are ample signs of progress and development that promise well. The formation of an Indian Academy, at an early stage like the present could provide for work of inestimable value in protecting and fostering the growth of national letters, on lines peculiar to the natural genius of the people, as well as appropriate to a changing India. Undoubtedly there lies, beneath the dust of ages and many second-rate outpourings of the present day, a wealth of traditional culture which, grafted on to things of worth in modern civilisation can, if encouraged, contribute a literature and philosophy second to none. But there is need in this as in other things, for a creation of a true sense or values both in literary appreciation and literary production. This Indian Academy organised on truly national lines and sincerely devoted, without prejudice either communal or provincial, to letters in themselves could surely stimulate."

Hence Dr. Nag had to develop his idea further into a concrete programme for an All-India Congress of Living languages published also in the *Times of India* : "I am encouraged to find that the most influential Indian as well as Anglo-Indian papers have supported my scheme. But I am specially grateful to you for the constructive suggestions in your note which has been quoted in its entirety in the August number of the *Calcutta Review*, the official organ of the Calcutta University. As a Member of the All Indian Linguistic Committee of the Indian P. E. N. (Bombay) and as the Executive Secretary of the first regional organisation, the Bengal Branch of P. E. N. (Calcutta), I have been forced to think along concrete lines to develop an united academy for the major languages of India : Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese and Malayalam. There are regional literary associations for each of the above languages but they seldom correspond with one another or meet even periodically, to discuss the possibilities of common action 'in protecting and fostering the growth of national genius of the people', as you have observed with so much practical idealism.

May I appeal through your hospitable columns to all such literary clubs and associations to send me (care of my University of Calcutta) their concrete

suggestions, as to how they may help me in calling a Congress of Living languages of India, with Dr. Rabindranath Tagore as President, say, in Calcutta during the last week of December next (1936) when members, can travel comfortably and economically from any part of India, availing themselves of the Christmas Concession "

The Bombay head office of the Indian P. E. N. and our President Dr. Rabindranath Tagore very kindly extended their sympathies and collaboration ; and we hope and pray that the prominent writers, ladies and gentlemen, of our different linguistic families, would correspond and co-operate with the members of the Bengali P. E. N. which is ready to invite them to the first Congress to be held in Bengal under the auspices of Dr. Tagore's *Visva Bharati* and the University of Calcutta. The cosmopolitan group of students in Santiniketan, warmly supported Dr. Nag when he addressed them on the Indian P. E. N. movement and an All India linguistic congress. So Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, who, like his illustrious father, is a great champion of Indian vernaculars, strongly supports us and would extend the hospitality of the University Buildings for such a Congress. The exact date and programme of the Congress may be fixed, after due deliberation and interchange of views.

The Bengali P. E. N.

Within the short time the Bengali P. E. N. Club succeeded in developing a *esprit de corps* amongst the writers of modern Bengal who warmly supported the Secretaries Dr. Kalidas Nag and Mr. Manindralal Bose in their endeavour to develop a permanent centre of social contact. No doubt we have in Bengal, numerous clubs and special groups ; but seldom have we seen so many poets, playwrights, novelists, essayists and editors assembled with such an enthusiasm for cultural *camaraderie*. Several meetings of the general committee were held at the Committee Room of the Asutosh Building (Post-graduate Department of the Calcutta University) When the Rules Committee finished its work, the special regulations for the guidance of the Bengali P. E. N. Chapter, based mainly on those of the Indian P. E. N., were duly passed at a public meeting held on the 29th July, 1935 at the University Building.

On the 15th September last, just on the eve of the completion of the 60th Birthday of Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, the eminent Bengali novelist, opened with his good wishes the autograph book of friendship, of our Bengali P. E. N., in the first P. E. N. Luncheon held at the Hotel Majestic. Over 60 litterateurs, ladies and gentlemen, assembled on that occasion which witnessed the election of three of our leading writers as Honorary Members : Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, Pramatha Chaudhuri and Raj Sekhar Bose who, in their turn, thanked the Bengali P. E. N. Club and assuring their fullest support. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee made a passionate appeal on behalf of the struggling authors to devise some means of mutual aid, Mr. Annada Sankar Ray, I. C. S., in a

moving speech, explained the aims and objects of the P. E. N. and discussed some of the outstanding problems of modern literature. Finally Dr. Kalidas Nag read the following message of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, our President : "I am one with you all when you gather to celebrate the promise of the creative spirit. I share the hope ; my age warns me against sharing the obligation. Through P. E. N. we participate in the great festival of the luminous minds of the world. My warmest wishes"

In the month of November last the great Japanese Poet Yone Noguchi visited Calcutta to deliver his Readership lectures at the University ; and Dr. Nag, who knew him, ever since his visit to Tokyo in 1924, attended to the poet, established contacts with our authors and brought him to Santiniketan where Rabindranath Tagore gave Yone Noguchi a rousing reception with all the members of his school. The Bengali P. E. N. organised a special reception for Yone Noguchi (on the 1st December, 1935) who was introduced to the members of the Club whom he thanked in the characteristic Japanese way by reciting some of his unpublished poems, in the original with English translation. On that occasion Dr. Nag had the satisfaction of reading the following message from H. G. Wells the President of the International P. E. N.

"On behalf of the P. E. N. Club of London, and in my capacity of President of the World Association of P. E. N. Clubs, I send our warmest greetings to the new Calcutta Branch of the Indian P. E. N. Centre. May it flourish and uphold the standard of free expression and human brotherhood throughout the world". We thank in this connection two of our esteemed friends and colleagues, Mr. Amiya C. Chakravarti and Mr. Kanti Ch. Ghosh for their untiring efforts towards making the Bengali literature and authors known and respected by various European writers' clubs and cultural associations. We want more of such cultural ambassadors abroad ; and we hope that, through the co-operation of the various P. E. N. centres and publishers, an active collaboration between the authors of India and of the Western world be soon established for their mutual benefit, and for the progress of intellectual co-operation among nations.

To foster the P. E. N. movement in India Dr. Nag conferred with several writers of Hindi and Urdu with a view to developing gradually the Hindi and Urdu P. E. N. Clubs. Addressing the centenary meeting of Poet Hali (15th December, 1935), the great Urdu Poet, Dr. Nag with Prof. Humayun Kabir, appealed for the formation of a Urdu P. E. N. which was warmly supported. In the coming year we hope to convene, in co-operation with Indian P. E. N. Bombay and the various literary academies of India, the first All-India Congress of Living languages. So we request all who are interested in the project to correspond with Dr. Kalidas Nag* and to send their suggestions, care of the Post Graduate Department of the Calcutta University.

—India and the World, January, 1936

* Dr. Nag was invited to the Buenos Aires Congress of the International P. E. N. in 1936.

INDIA AND THE INTERNATIONAL P.E.N. CONGRESS IN BARCELONA (20-25 MAY 1935)

The Barcelona P. E. N. Congress was a great success and while endorsing whole-heartedly its programme, we draw the attention of the Indian public to the momentous resolution sponsored by the English and the United States Centres and unanimously supported by the International Executive Committee.

"That this Conference reaffirms its conviction that freedom of expression and publication is an inalienable right of all creative workers; that any censorship of literature hinders authors in their work, and is treason to the rights of conscience, and should be resisted by all authors, whatever the nature of the censorship. And this Conference believes that the first duty of every author is the pursuit of truth and the first duty of all governments to the author is to see that he is not hampered in that pursuit.

This Congress recognizes that, in a certain number of countries, authors, members of the Federation of the P. E. N. are not in a position to put the foregoing principles into practice. It calls upon the Executive Committee to make such protests or demands as may be necessary whenever the occasion arises in these countries."

The above resolution which was carried unanimously proves, beyond doubt, that the P. E. N. is growing, from a mere international club, organizing dinners and excursions, into an intellectual *internationale* safeguarding human rights and conscience.

Our Indian P. E. N. was ably represented at the Congress by Madame Sophia Wadia. We quote below the following account of her activities in Barcelona as printed in the June News :—

Mme. Sophia Wadia (India) made an impressive appeal to the P. E. N. to stimulate contact between Eastern and Western cultures. Her speech was received with an ovation. Madame Wadia put forward the following resolution, which was carried unanimously, and the International Executive Committee was asked to deal with it :—"It is suggested that this Congress approve that a Committee of P. E. N. members be appointed to determine the desirability and feasibility of sending a P. E. N. deputation, free from political aims and bias, as from governmental interference or support, to centres of culture in Asiatic Countries for the two fold purpose

(a) Of bringing fraternal greeting from Western P. E. N. members to their Asiatic confreres and, with the co-operation of the latter, of labouring actively to spread among the people of Asia the message of goodwill founded on cultural idealism and to explain to them the merits and worth of Occidental culture, and

(b) Of seeking and accumulating such principles of old Asiatic literary cultures as will energise members of the Deputation to use them in driving a fresh impetus to literary activities in Europe and America.

**A Message from the Bengali P. E. N. to the International
P. E. N. Congress, Barcelona.**

Prof. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, M.A. (Cal.) ·D. Litt. (London) author of the *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* writes :

The Bengali language has a history going back to at least a thousand years ; the language originated at the close of the first millenium A.D. from a kind of vernacular ancient Indian speech current in Eastern India, which may roughly be described as a young form of Sanskrit. The language is an important one, being spoken by some 53.5 millions of people in the provinces of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, and Assam. Of course, Hindustani (Hindi) is the most important language of India, her representative speech ; but Hindustani, although current among some 140 millions as their language of literature and public life, is the home-language, *langue natal*, of a very much smaller number of people, less than that of Bengali. Bengali is the great language of the world in point of numbers, coming after English. Northern Chinese, Russian, German, Spanish and Japanese

Inspite of its importance in India, where it possesses the most advanced literature of any vernacular speech and where it is exerting a direct or indirect influence on the other languages, Bengali remained practically unknown as a great language outside India, before the award of the Nobel Prize for literature to Rabindranath Tagore in 1913. British European admirers of Bengali were there, but interest in it was naturally restricted to Indianists only. As the language of an important major province, administrative necessity made the acquirement of Bengali obligatory for British officials of certain classes posted to Bengal ; and Bengali lectureships are to be found in London, Cambridge and Oxford. One English Professor of Bengali, late Prof. J. D. Anderson of Cambridge, once observed that the British Empire possesses two languages with first class literatures viz. English and Bengali ; and another English admirer of Bengali described Bengali as combining the millifluousness of Italian with the power of German to express complex ideas.

Bengali deserves to be well known and to have an honoured place in the comity of modern languages and literatures for the intrinsic merits of both the language itself and its literature. It is an Indo-European speech, a distant cousin of English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Russian and Persian. It has inherited the traditions and vocabulary and with that much of the power of Sanskrit. Its literary history extends from about 1,800 A.D. onwards and in its literary output, it has produced in its old and mediæval forms some mystical love poetry of an extraordinary quality, a number of ballads in verse

which mark the high water-level of popular social romance and some high class narrative poetry. In its modern literature Bengali adapted and naturalised some European forms like the Blank Verse and the Sonnet ; some of the Bengali poets, dramatists and other writers of the second half of the last century linking up the literature with the literatures of Europe. It produced a number of poets and other writers who can take their rank with the best geniuses in other languages, like Chandidāsa, the lyric poet of the 14th century, the Vaishnava lyric poets of the 16th and 17th centuries, the poet Bhāratchandra (18th century) and the great 19th century master-Michael Madhusudan Datta (poet), Bankim Chandra Chatterji (novelist) and above all Rabindranath Tagore. Among elder and younger contemporaries of Tagore there were and are poets and novelists of a brilliance unique in India. The intellectual prominence of the Bengali speaking Indians and their sympathetic acceptance of modern ideas and ideals of the West, while preserving a very strong nationalism and a desire to retain the best elements of their own culture is well-known in India and outside.

It is gratifying to note that as a member of the Indian P. E. N., Bengali has taken her seat in the more spiritual from of the League of Nations,—the League of Languages, Literatures and Cultures which is embodied in the P.E.N. May this participation in the corporate cultural life of the P. E. N. by Bengali and other Indian languages lead to a greater intellectual amity and a closer spiritual union among the nations by making India, the ancient mother of thought and mysticism, and the rest of the world, benefit mutually by this contact".

"Les Amis de Paris."

In the summer of 1934 Professor Sylvain Levi, the eminent and revered Indologist of the University of Paris, who has gained universal authority and prestige by his works and the teaching in France of Oriental languages and Indian history and literature, entrusted his long cherished desire for the establishment of a Franco-Indian Cultural Association in India to Lt. Col. M. Bonnaud, Trade Commissioner for France in India, when the latter visited him in Paris.

The object of the Association is to tighten the bonds of friendship between France and India and to create a permanent centre of Franco-Indian cultural relations which may serve equally the French and the Indian people. The Association was baptised by Professor Sylvain Levi as "Les Amis de Paris".

Immediately on his return to India Lt. Col. M. Bonnaud sent out invitations to the Doctors of the Universities of Paris and of other Universities of France as also to scholars who studied in France, at present residing in India, to join the Association, so as to give shape to the wishes of Professor Sylvain Levi.

Forty scholars from different parts of India responded to the invitation and gave their support to the formation of the Association.

Dr. Kalidas Nag, of the University of Calcutta, who is well known for his devotion to Société Indo-Latine and to the cause of Franco-Indian friendship, has been entrusted with the work of the organizing President and the Headquarters of the Association was located at 70, Syed Ameer Ali Avenue, Calcutta.

—*India and the World*, July, 1935.

International Institute of Educational Cinematography in Rome.

The three principal secondary organs of the League, are (1) of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris and the Institutes (2) of Private International Law and (3) of International Educational Cinematography situated in Rome. They believe in active Intellectual Co-operation with the Asiatic nations, although most of them, on account of an absurd technical definition, are outside the League of Nations.

Dr. Feo the expert emphasised before the League Secretariat the importance of the fact that the entire Asiatic World should be represented by The Motion Picture Society of India (Bombay) which acted as the national committee of the Institute for India. But India is too big and her educational problems too diversified to be managed by a single city like Bombay. In each of the twenty Universities of India, Burma and Ceylon, the Institute should establish information centres and appoint corresponding members to report regularly on the good or bad influences of Occidental films on the national life of the rising generations of the Orient. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of the 350 millions of Indian population being "unlettered", the quickest and the best means of approaching them would be through healthy educative films and radio-talks. Unfortunately the League Institute is forestalled here by professional exploiters from Europe and specially America who by their oversexed films and by their pathological Crime story-reels, are doing as much harm to Occidental prestige as to Oriental character. We hope that the Draft Convention for facilitating the International circulation of Educational films will rectify the deplorable state of affairs, and that Indian Educationists and Artists would be well represented in the International Congress of Educational Cinematography.

—*India & the World*, September, 1933

THE INTERNATIONAL P. E. N. CONGRESS OF BUENOS AIRES

By
KALIDAS NAG

The world war of 1914 not only demolished many of beautiful old churches and universities (I have seen Amiens and Louvain with my own eyes) but shattered also the ivory towers and dream-structures of the last century. It professed to be a war for Democracy and pretended to be a war to end war. When I entered Europe after the war, Europe was a devastated area of ruined dreams and pathetic idealisms. It was a veritable degradation of Christianity as frankly admitted by believing Christians who were sent to prison for the great offence of broadcasting the *Sermon on the Mount*, as the *Gita* of the conscientious objectors. It was a tragic betrayal of civilization; as, right through and after the war, the victor as well as the vanquished betrayed a spirit of hatred, greed, vindictiveness and cruelty rarely paralled in history. Carrying my modest luggage of copy-book maxims taught by 19th century Europe, I had to wade through, with staggering steps, the bloody mire of international murder in thought and action. And had I not the privilege of knowing personally and intimately select spirits like Romain Rolland and George Duhamel, Hermann Hesse and Stefan Zweig, Bertrand Russel and Gilbert Murray, Ellen Key and Jane Adams, I would have returned from Europe thoroughly disillusioned and convinced that all tall talks about international brotherhood were pious frauds and that the rebarbarization of the world were not only impending but a *fait accompli*.

Luckily for me and for the coming generation, there emerged out of the chaos of hatred, faint yet none the less significant and hopeful currents of genuine internationalism. These were represented by the "Society of Friends" and the group of "Conscientious objectors", the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and a few sincere pacifist organizations; and last though not the least, the World Writers' Association or the P. E. N. Like Jane Adams, on the field of women's activities, the late Mrs. Dawson Scott (the 'Sappho' of the post-war generation of British writers) dreamt a noble dream of building a international brotherhood of Poets, Playwrights, Editors, Essayists and Novelists. It was organized in 1921-22 on a modest scale with a group in London and I heard of its beneficial activities during my frequent visits to England from Paris. Several members of the P. E. N. Club stood on the same platform with me in Paris or Geneva, Lugano or Prague (1922-23) and I was happy to learn from Mon Romain Rolland that he was going to London at the invitation of Mr. H. G. Wells and others of the

P. E. N. Club and that he would be made their Honorary member. Madame Louise Cruppi, a friend of Mon Rolland, and a member of the Paris P. E. N. kindly invited me to a special reunion luncheon in honour of an author, and I had the pleasure of being introduced to several distinguished P. E. N. members. Never could I dream however, that I should be called twelve years after (1935) by my esteemed friend and colleague Madame Sophia Wadia to organize the Bengal chapter of the Indian P. E. N. and to represent it at the International Congress in Argentina through the kind invitation of the P. E. N. Club of Buenos Aires.

It was not all plain sailing for Internationalists and 'things international' in those post-war days. I have seen with my own eyes, while reading Duhamel's *La vie des Martyrs*, many perfectly innocent Pacifists persecuted and sent to prison, Pierre Ceresole among others, for having refused to accept the condition of military service and for having dared to offer severer discipline of Service Civile in exchange, even in a liberal country like Switzerland. But they carried their point. I have watched the battle royal raging round Collège de France when Albert Einstein was invited to lecture on Relativity; the nationalists opposing and the internationalists, led by Prof. Langevin, asserting the right of Tolerance. Finally Einstein came to lecture in pure German in the Collège de France. So in the ensuing International Congress of Philosophy, presided over by Prof. Bergson in the holy precincts of the University of Paris in 1921, there was a full-fledged and enthusiastic discussion and symposium on the *magnum opus* of Einstein. Thus slowly but steadily, the forces of internationalism were gaining ground and Bergson ardently championed the cause of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations. There were backslidings and regressions and shameful recantations on the part of several writers, scientists and philosophers, after the war just as during the cyclone of hatred. There were suspicious and cynical attacks also against internationalism, as I found illustrated in the queer attitude of the newly founded Fascist Government in Italy, in refusing the women's International League of Peace and Freedom to hold its session in Varese (near Como) which therefore, at the last moment, had to be transferred to the hospitable shore of the Swiss lake of Lugano. I could not help remembering those days, when I found Sig. Marinetti, the Italian delegate to the Argentine Congress (1936) throwing the whole house into a convulsion of shrieks and shoutings when challenged by Jules Romain. Nationalism or Internationalism? a pointed question ever throwing the West in a paroxysm of intolerance. Yet I felt most hopeful in the quiet meetings of select fraternities of artists, writers and pacifists, as I met them in Lugano or Prague, Oslo or Madrid, discoursing on The India of Mahatma Gandhi, or India and Internationalism, or India of Tagore. The same spirit prevailed in the enlightened groups of Geneva, the cradle of the League of Nations; and the venue of the Third International Congress of Education where I was privileged to address the public on the Humanization of History. History was degraded

and Art and Literature prostituted to the service of ignoble politics of nationalism during the war. But the other humanitarian and ennobling forces of Peace and Internationalism were gaining ground here and there as would be illustrated by the history of several small but potent organizations like the P. E. N. or the World Association of Writers.

The cross currents of post-war Europe or rather of the war-ridden Occident found their echoes in the far-of shores of South America as we felt from the address of welcome of Dr. Ibarguren, President of the P. E. N. Club, Buenos Aires and from the noble speech of His Excellency General Agustín P. Justo, President of the Argentine Republic. Dr. Ibarguren, while according a warm reception to the distinguished guests of different countries and denominations, could not help referring to "the hours of misery, of hatred and social warfares" demonstrating "the convulsions of mechanical civilization of politico-economic materialism and of passions let loose, threatening to swamp Humanity in that critical hour of history. He affirmed that the glamour of wealth and power in any country is not necessarily a mark of civilization. With regard to literature he maintained that while nationalism stood justified by a special vision of beauty given to each nation, yet the "moral substance brought by the soul of each people goes to the patrimony of *universal culture*."

The President of the Republic who treated the delegates to a grand banquet at his Palace, greeted the writers as brother-spirits in the path of spiritual life, who were specially welcome to bring their moral efforts to the pacification of mankind in that tragic period, "when the tempest of Hate and of Violence seems to have been let loose on this planet." The writers and artists, according to the noble President, cannot afford "to be cold spectators of events" but to realise their lofty social function, striving to hasten the approach of that epoch when "man will not see an enemy in his fellow-being and understand that hatred is barren and that violence ever breeds violence."

Holding, as we did, the session of the Congress in this cultural atmosphere of Hispanic America, where millions speak the Spanish language, (although asserting their independence of the Spanish State) we could feel that the atmosphere was tense with the current tragedy of Spain and her fratricidal Civil Wars entailing awful destructions of life of property and works of art. Europe was threatened with individual violence of Dictators and of group violence of parties; and thus getting sharply divided into two warring camps; Fascist or Communist. This infection had reached also the body-politic of many Latin republics; and even the gentle Argentinians now and then betrayed their party predilections from the galleries of the Congress. Mon. Jules Romain, in his first address at the inauguration of the Congress strongly pleaded for the autonomy of individual judgment in Democracy as the best defence against Dictatorship and he was loudly cheered. So when Emil Ludwig in a stirring address in German, referred to the tragedy of the German writers in Nazi Germany; and

when the Yiddish delegate Mr. H. Levic, to the persecution of Jewish authors, the assembly rose as one man to express its unqualified condemnation its sympathy and support. Thus, so far as the P. E. N. fraternity was concerned, the principle of liberty of speech and expression, so ably formulated by Mr. H. G. Wells in the last Congress of Barcelona, was amply vindicated. Officially neither Hitlerite Germany nor Stalinite Russia was represented in the congress, those governments not having permitted the growth of free literary groups like the P. E. N.

Fascist Italy however was represented by its chief delegate Sig. Filippo Marinetti. By his over enthusiasm in speaking on any and every topic, (metaphysics not excepted) and by his combative assertion of the "Italian standpoint" he furnished the only "incident" or 'scene' in this otherwise peaceful congress. A resolution supporting world-peace was passed in the morning unanimously by the Congress and, for the afternoon session Marinetti was proposed to the chair. Mon. Jules Romain without any previous notice, virtually started an impeachment of the man in the chair by exposing how Marinetti had published only a month ago an article saying that "war was the only hygiene for the whole mankind" and yet he voted for the peace resolution! Pandemonium was let loose and there were no calm deliberation or debate but abuses and counter-abuses between the French and the Italian delegations which were tactfully put an end to by the Argentine P. E. N. group playing real hosts, and asserting that such aggressively political matters need not be discussed at all before the Congress. At the last banquet however, with characteristic Latin effusion the two delegations hugged and kissed one another and Jules Romain as President elect of the next year accepted the venue of the Congress in Rome, as per invitation of the Latin delegation. Thus a tragedy gave place to a comedy, to the relief of all present.

Several important business items of the Congress deserve a brief mention: useful discussions followed the reports on (a) the literary Exhibition of an International character (b) the international P. E. N. Review (c) the social assistance to distressed authors and (d) the diffusion of literary works and their interchange in different countries. Several Eastern European delegates indulged in a mild mutual recrimination on the censorship evil and its deterrent effect on the diffusion of literature. Again politics was tactfully by passed. Sig. Marinetti made a few sensible suggestions in his report on the creation of an International Institute of Translations which would be fully developed and let us hope, fruitfully discussed in the future Congress. Most of the suggestions have been accepted by Unesco.

But so far as the non-European literatures are concerned, there lies a vast and important neglected field of work, as I had the privilege of discussing with several delegates and especially with Mr. Herman Ould, the Secretary of the International P. E. N. He mentioned in his short yet telling report that we have so far 56 P. E. N. centres representing 44 national groups, which is a

brilliant record, deserving warm congratulations. But while translations from one to the other western languages has fairly advanced, translations from the oriental to occidental languages, have made so far little progress. On this point I had valuable discussions with my fellow delegates from Japan and Egypt and Iraq; and we hope a well considered report would be submitted, on that subject to the next Congress, from Oriental delegates. A few of the classics of India and Persia, China and Japan have been translated no doubt; but, so far as we could judge from India, very few of our post-classical Indian writers, really deserving a translator, have found their works translated into any western language. Consequently the living languages of India, proud of having a history of about a thousand years, are largely ignored by the western public and publishers. This deserves the urgent and ready attention of the P. E. N. members of India as well as those of the *Bhāratiya Sahitya Parishad* (the All India Literary Academy)

Yet there is a vast possibility of cultural collaboration as we felt, Madame Sophia Wadia and myself, representing India in that Republic of letters. The very name of India and her great sons like Tagore and Gandhi evoked sincere and ardent applaud and enthusiasm. So much so that the local Catholic bigotry got nervous and started a veiled counter-attack against Madame Wadia, for the capital offence of rousing a tremendous enthusiasm for India by her noble discourse on the Philosophy in the life of the Indian masses, by her radio talks, interviews and conversations, above all by her sweet and graceous personality-draped in the best Indian saris, all combining to create a very friendly atmosphere for India in Argentina.

Over and above India, represented by two of us, there were two delegates from the Near East and two from the Far East. The Egyptian P. E. N. sent Dr. M. Awad of the University of Cairo. He is a sound scholar educated in Germany who has translated Goethe into Arabic and who was specially devoted to human geography. Another Arab-speaking delegate was Prof. Mejid Khadduri of the Education Department of Baghdad, Iraq who, as I was glad to know, is a colleague of my friend Dr F. Jemali of the Iraq Finistry of Education and secretary to the Iraq P. E. N. Club. Both Dr. Awad and Prof. Khadduri participated in the debate on "Intelligence and Life", staged in the forum of the P. E. N. Congress. It is a pity that Persia and China were not represented in the Congress although the learned Minister of Iran in Buenos Aires, His Excellency Nadir Avastah gave me and my fellow delegates of Egypt and Iraq a very cordial reception at the Iranian Embassy. Japan was well represented by the eminent poet-novelist Toson Shimazaki and by the painter and story writer Ikuma Arishima with whom I had the pleasure and privilege of travelling in the O. S. K. Luxury-liner "Rio de Janeiro Maru", from Colombo to Buenos Aires. Through them I came to know many things about the latest cultural activities of Japan and I hope to publish something on them in my fuller studies. Mr. Shimazaki enthusiastically supported the project of

starting an International P. E. N. magazine, contacting the members of the various countries. Mr. Arishima moved a formal resolution, which was accepted, inviting the P. E. N. Congress to Japan in 1940 when there will be grand celebrations of the World Olympic and the 2500th anniversary of the Japanese Empire. Last year, at the Barcelona Congress 1935 Madame Wadia invited the Congress to India and therefore a compromise was suggested to the effect that after the congress of 1940 in Japan the delegates, on return voyage, would accept the hospitality of the Indian P. E. N.

This made me examine the history of the different sittings. I note here below, for the benefit of those interested, that, so far, the P. E. N. Congress met only once in North America (1924) and in South America (1936); so that, out of the 14 sessions, 12 were in Europe: in London in 1923, Paris in 1925, Berlin in 1926, Brussels in 1927, Oslo in 1928, Vienna in 1929, Warsaw in 1930, Amsterdam in 1931, Hungary in 1932, Yugoslavia in 1933, Scotland in 1934 and Barcelona in 1935 just before the tragic conflagration of the civil war. From 1923-1932 the P. E. N. was presided over by John Galsworthy who rendered permanent and great service to the cause of this writers' federation. I was so happy to get some personal reminiscences of the great British novelist Galsworthy from his friend R. H. Mottram who is a novelist himself and who gave a fine discourse on "English novels" to his audience in Buenos Aires. After the death of Galsworthy, Mr. H. G. Wells acted as President for 4 years 1933-36) and when he was replaced by M. Jules Romain, the Congress passed a resolution of thanks and of felicitations on the 70th birth anniversary of Mr. Wells which was brilliantly celebrated (with Bernard Shaw) while I was leaving London to catch my boat for India.

Thus we see that, so far, the P. E. N. has been busy developing the European field of letters and only twice could it touch the two continents of the New World. It is very desirable therefore that a plenary session of the P. E. N. Congress should be held in Asia. Thanks to the invitation of our friends of Japan it will, we are sure, be celebrated with due solemnity by Eastern authors. The hospitality of Japan is proverbial and on their way to and from Japan, our friends of the P. E. N. will have plenty of opportunities to break journey in China and India or any other country. Meanwhile between 1937-1940 we should try to push the cause of the P. E. N. in the linguistic and literary zones of Asia so poorly explored so far. A 'Who's Who' of the notable writers of modern Asia and India also should be made ready before 1940.

The host nation of the Buenos Aires Club, as might be easily guessed, showed infinite patience and admirable preparations on the material side; and we all agreed that our colleagues of the Argentine P. E. N. have played their role perfectly, thanks to the generous support of their Government. Mr. Antonio Aita, the able Secretary, and the local committee spared no pains to make each one of us as happy and comfortable as possible and our gratitude was as sincere as it was profound. The gigantic task which they undertook

and which they completed so perfectly would be apparent when I mention a few facts regarding the invited delegates : 2 from Austria, 1 from Australia, 5 from Belgium ; 3 from Brazil, 1 from Bulgaria, 1 from Canada, 2 from Colombia, 2 from Chile, 1 from Egypt, 1 from Scotland, 7 from Spain (but none unfortunately could attend except one) 2 from U. S. A., 1 from Esthonia, 1 from Finland, 6 from France, 2 from German writers, 2 from Holland 1 from Hungary, 2 from India, 3 from England, 1 from Iraq, 1 from Ireland, 1 from Iceland, 4 from Italy, 2 from Japan, 1 from Lithuania, 1 from Mexico, 1 from Norway, 1 from New Zealand, 1 from Palestine and 1 from the Yeddish authors, 1 from Poland, 1 from Portugal, 1 from Rumania, 1 from Sweden, 1 from Switzerland, 3 from Uruguay, and 3 from Yugoslavia. Over and above the 6 official delegates from the local P. E. N. Club of Buenos Aires some other friends attended, So that about a hundred ladies and gentlemen were entertained in the best style for a about a fortnight, in Buenos Aires, that Paris of Latin America.

I returned with warm impressions of the informal though none the less interesting contacts with the writers of diverse nationalities and temperaments. For myself these personal contacts and friendships counted more than the resolutions and discussions in the Congress. All the same I was happy when my friend of the Congress as well as the public warmly endorsed my plea for a better and closer understanding of India and her vast literature in my address before the final session of the Congress. Luckily it was arranged that the last item in the Congress agenda should not be mere "business" but a symposium on "The Future of Poetry." In that connection I gave a panoramic survey of Indian literature and a few illustrative recitations from the Rig Veda, from Kālidāsa, from Jayadeva, from Kabir and Chandidāsa to Rabindranath Tagore,—showing the primitive, classical, medieval and modern trends in our ever growing Indian literature. In that connection I had the pleasure of presenting to the P. E. N. Club of Buenos Aires ; through the poetess Victoria Ocampo, the Vice-President, a copy of the Bengali original of Rabindranath's *Puravi* which, was dedicated to her and which as I showed them, were mainly composed on his way to and from South America in 1924. I could not help reminding the audience that Tagore came to South America to celebrate as it were the centenary of the grand response of (his grandfather's friend and colleague) Raja Rammohun Roy (1772—1833) to the assertion of the Independence of Latin America Probably the Raja was the first to celebrate that historic event, from India if not from the whole of Asia, with an international Liberty Banquet in the Town Hall of Calcutta.*

* Upon being asked why he had celebrated by illuminations, by an elegant dinner to about sixty Europeans, and by a speech composed and delivered in English by himself at his house in Calcutta, the arrival of the important news of the success of the Spanish patriots, the Raja is reported (*Edinburgh Magazine*, September 1823) to have replied : "What I ought I to be insensible to the sufferings of my fellow-creatures wherever they are, or however unconnected by interests, religion or language ?" (Reproduced in the *Modern Review* for March, 1932).

The whole audience cheered lustily when I made this communication ; and touching references to Rammohun Roy were also made while I spoke again on "Indian Art and Archaeology", at the invitation of the University of Buenos Aires. There, Madame Adelina Guiraldes, the venerable widow of the greatest writer of Argentina, Ricardo Guiraldes, said how she came to hear about that story of the Raja through my letter to Swami Vijayānanda, (Founder of the local Ramkrishna Ashram). When the centenary of Rammohun Roy was celebrated in India (1933) so many foreigners were moved by the cosmopolitan sympathy of the Raja. She also paid a warm tribute, while introducing me to the university audience, to S. J. Ramananda Chatterjee, the Editor of the *Modern Review* which was already known there and she thanked him for his message, as Vice-President of the Indian P. E. N. It was translated into Spanish and sent by her for publication in the leading paper "La Nacion".

Lastly, while drawing the attention of the Congress to the importance of our Bengali literature (a literature of about 53 millions), I invited that international gathering to participate in and co-operate with our Bengali P. E. N. preparing to celebrate the first birth centenary of Bankim Chandra who gave us our first literary journal as Editor of the *Banga Darsan* and came also to be the first "Immortal" of our modern Indian literature by his novels. He made the Bengali literature what it is today and he lived to greet and garland the "rising sun" of our literary firmament, Rabindranath Tagore, President of our Indian P. E. N. whose poetic message I brought from Santiketan to the Congress. The novels of Bankim, now translated partly into English, and into almost all the important languages of India, induced new creative movements in our promising provincial literatures. Bankim Ch. Chatterje (1838-94) combined in his protean literary personality, the Poet, the Editor, the Essayist and even indirectly (for his books still hold the stage) the play-wright—thus an intriguing anticipation of our P. E. N. credo by the Pioneer of Bengali literature. Bankim more than anybody else deserves a centenary commemoration volume and I hoped that it would materialize. Bankim has given to the new born nationhood of India, the national hymn : *Bande Mataram* sung at the opening of our National Congress and of all auspicious functions. This year France celebrated the centenary of Rouget de Lisle-maker of "*La Marseillaise*." So India as a whole should also rise to honour the immortal author of *Bande Mataram*.

While only a select few could get admission by cards to the P. E. N. Congress, thousands, eager to listen to us could not be accommodated in the Town Hall. So we were very kindly taken by our friends to address different audiences outside. Swami Vijayananda, has been rendering great services to the cause of Indian philosophy and idealism, through his "Ramakrishna Ashram" and its devoted group of Argentine workers. I was invited to address them on several occasion and I was deeply impressed by the earnestness of their enquiries and their eagerness to follow the trends of the higher life of

India. They organized a huge meeting to celebrate the centenary of Sri Ramakrishna (1836-1886) Madame Wadia and myself were happy to address a huge and responsive audience.

Several young authors and earnest students also came to ask me so many questions about India, about her masses, her womanhood, her language and literature above all about Gandhi and Tagore, both passionately admired in Latin America. Before our departure from Buenos Aires, one of its best broadcasting station the Excelsior, made special arrangements for Madame Wadia and for myself. I had the pleasure of speaking through the microphone, on the "East and West in Bengali Literature" with special reference to the P. E. N. Club of Bengal, and the splendid contribution of our men and women writers to the literature of today, starting with the voluminous works of our great novelist Sarat Chandra Chatterjee. To make this chapter of our literature known to the outside world is the great work before our Bengali chapter of the Indian P. E. N.

—*Modern Review*, December, 1936

TRI-CENTENARY CELEBRATION OF L'ACADEMIE FRANCAISE

We are thankful to our esteemed friend and correspondent Monsieur Claret De Langevent of Paris for this graphic account of the historic celebration.

The Academy was founded in 1635 by the Cardinal de Richelieu, and received its official consecration by Parliament on the 9th of July 1637, date on which the Parliament, after many hesitations, enregistered the *lettres patent* that had been signed on the 26th January 1635. The French Academy was abolished (1793) by the Revolution and reappeared under the name of "Class of Literatures and Fine Arts" of the National Institute of Sciences and Arts" founded by the constitution and drawn up by the law of the 3rd Brumaire, year IV (25th of October 1795). It was renamed the "Class of the French language and literature," when it was reorganised in the year XI (1802) and recovered the original name of French Academy by a royal *ordonnance* (21st March 1816) and also its ancient status which were officially restored after having been slightly modified.

This royal *ordonnance* of 1816 constitutes the *charter* which it was ruled by until then and which rules it still in our days. In this way it seems to be the faithful continuation of the French Academy created by the Cardinal and its first members were part of a Company of literary men formed in 1629.

The Academy has always kept outside all sorts of coteries, avoiding the political or social combinations which would have injured it, observing the events without taking any part in them, hovering in the domain of ideas, without any preoccupation of doctrine, working with the full sense of its responsibilities which it has never avoided, in the enrichment and embellishment of the French language.

The ceremonies began on the 17th of June (1935) at the Church of the Sorbonne where a Mass was laid in memory of Richelieu and under the presidency of His Highness the Cardinal Verdier. By the side of the Academicians, under the shade of Richelieu's tomb, were assembled the numerous delegates of the French and Foreign academies and universities, wearing their academic robes and decorations. The Count and the Countess de la Rochefoucauld descendents of the Cardinal de Richelieu, were seated in the first rows.

After the Mass, Monseigneur Baudrillard, member of the French Academy, pronounced a panegyric on Richelieu. He retraced his career as a politician, an archbishop, and a good Frenchman. He showed the object pur-

sued by the Great Cardinal when he founded the French Academy: the French supremacy in Europe and its civilizing mission in the world: "Our thoughts are expressed by words, the unity of thought is possible through language. Let us have therefore a policy of language" "so that the French people can assimilate all the dialects and all the *patois* that prevail in this kingdom."

"When the Academy began its work it laboured hard over the Dictionary. The language began to form itself and assume clear forms and neat rules. At the same time the French mind began to be more definite and precise; it fixed the qualities of its proportion, its exactitude and good sense which will win for it the sympathy and confidence of the other nations. Following the victories of Louis XIV, the French Spirit and the French language began to spread abroad and thus began the march of the French tradition.

The Academy opened an Exhibition at the Bibliotheque Nationale, presided over by the minister of National Education. The members of the French Academy and the foreign delegates, were received at the Elysee by the President of the Republic and Madame Lebrun.

On Tuesday, 18th June, the French Academy met again at the Museum of the Louvre, under the presidency of Mr. Gabriel Hanotaux, in the Cariatides room, where in 1672 Louis XIV had invited the Immortals to hold their session. Mr. Gabriel Hanotaux, after having spoken on the mission of the Academy, greeted the delegates of the two Continents who had come over to take part at the celebration of the third century of its foundation. There were about 180 delegates who, with their academic robes, their decorations and the variety of colours presented a spectacle of varied tones which elicited the admiration of every body.

After a few speeches of congratulations and a discourse of Mr. Mario Roustau, Minister of National Education, there were some dramatic recreations, short plays or poems recited by the actors of the Grand Opera and the Comedie Francaise.

In the evening there was a dinner at the Townhall, Hotel de Ville, joining once again the members of the Five academies and the celebrities of the Parisian society. Speeches were pronounced by Georges Contenot, President of the Municipal Council, A. Villey, prefect of the Seine and Gabriel Hanotaux of the French Academy. The Director of the Academy defined with plenty of honour the role of Paris, its heart, its spirit, in French civilisation and language. Paris always stands for welcome. How could it not greet the ideas and the words as it does the persons and things? We must have a language with open arms: that is what brings such a variety of wealth to our language and such cleverness to say all sorts of things; and it is also made brilliant by this continual contact which is the Parisian politeness coming straight from the heart.

On the 19th of June, the members of the Academy gave a garden party at the Chateau de Chantilly. This reception was particularly brilliant because of the setting in which it took place. Two squadrons of the 4th regiment of Moroccan Spahis formed an impressive double rank on the way leading to the statue of the Duke of Aumale. All those who had the pleasure of being the guests of the Forty Immortals, will have in mind for a long time, the spectacle which greeted them on their arrival at the gate of the Chateau.

There was a reunion under the Cupole, on the 20th June, and was marked by the reception, before the President of the Republic, and of the delegations, of the Marshal Frauchey d' Espery. After having pronounced his speech on the deeds of Marchal Lyautey to whom he was succeeding at the Academy, the famous soldier was received by Mr. Abel Bonnard of the French Academy.

The same evening, the French Academy gave a dinner in the drawing-rooms of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, presided by Mr. Albert Lebrun. Mr. Gabriel Hanotaux greeted the President in the name of all the illustrious company and drew a moving picture of the actual difficulties of France saying his reasons for hoping and expressing his conviction that the mission in the world of France and of the French Republic will never cease to accomplish its ends.

In answer to this Mr. Albert Lebrun rendered double homage to the twofold mission, literary and social, of the Academy.

"This heiress of ancient languages, sweet and clear, with her harmonious simplicity, and by virtue of her capacity to express so well the lofty and bold ideas, may entertain the hope of becoming someday the practical idiom for all nations. Other languages, beside her, have known to assert themselves, but this one is spoken to-day by more than 120 million of men, and this is the Academy.

This illustrious company had shown once more that, independently of her role of watching over the interests of our literature and, on the good use of our language, the Academy had known how to extend her choice by receiving amongst its members representatives of the diverse activities of the country :statesmen, churchmen, soldiers, and scientists perfecting the Academy by adding to its intellectual radiance in France and in all the world.

ACADEMIE FRANCAISE 1629-1793 :

By Frederic Masson ; Published by Paul Ollendorff, Paris ; Price 15 Frs.

AND

L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE : (ILLUSTRATED)

Mon. Frederic Masson had the honour of presiding over the Institute and of publishing quite a library of books on the Napoleonic cycle as well as on some 18th century celebrities. With the vision and enthusiasm of a historian he has given us a detailed and inspiring narrative of the evolution of the illustrious French Academy which should be read by all interested in the Tri-centenary of that institution. He brings the narrative down to 1793 when the National Convention temporarily abolished the Academy on the motion of Abbe Gregoire (1750-1838) who wrote on Rammohun Roy. The chapters on the early unofficial beginning and those on the sacrifices of the Academicians, in the days of the Revolution, will move the heart of thousands of readers. Some rare pictures illustrating the history go to enhance the value of the volume.

The second volume is a valuable and interesting collection of illustrated articles by eminent French savants surveying the various departments of the French Academy which came to be styled also as the National Institute. M. Alfred Franklin, the Honorary Director of the Bibliotheque Mazarine, wrote on the "Buildings and edifices." M. Georges Perrot, Secretary to the Academie de l'Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres chronicled its achievements and gave a history of the Institute ; while that of its earlier incarnation the Academy, was surveyed by M. Gaston Boissier. The Academy of Sciences found its able chronicler in M. Gaston Darboux, The Academy of Fine Arts in M. Henry Roujon and the Academy of Moral and Political sciences in M. Georges Picot, each occupying the proud rank of the perpetual Secretary. Nearly all the outstanding personalities and events are visualized by a series of illustrations which are special features of the series of *Les grandes institution de France* launched by the veteran publisher who has given similar volumes on the Bibliotheque Nationale, The Coins, The University of Paris etc Such illuminated volumes redound greatly to the merit and prestige of French publishers. It is high time that the universities and learned societies of India should think of compiling such illustrated chronicles for their posterity.

INDIA SALUTES ROMAIN ROLLAND

Occasionally we find in history an individual who has nothing to do with politics and yet who unconsciously lays the foundation for a new politics of undreamt of possibilities. Plato's prophesies and dreams of a Philosopher-King have not yet been realised in a general sense, although Plato's place in the history of the world politics is assured. So Romain Rolland, in the midst of the most shocking carnages of our epoch, dreams the dream of world harmony far Above the Battle. The forces of reaction from every land have ridiculed him and criticised his quixotic ideals mercilessly ; but this modern prototype of the antique Gallic Knight has never been defeated and continues to ply his spiritual weapons, in defence of the depressed and the persecuted all over the world. That silent yet glorious history of the fight of *L'un contre tous* (One against All) is recounted in his latest book *Fifteen Year of Battle*, which should be read by every sincere worker in the cause of pacifism and international brotherhood. The book appears just on the eve of the completion of his 70th birthday (29th January, 1936) and we, on behalf of the writers or Bengal, assembled in the Bengali P. E. N., and of the international organisations of India, offer him our homage of love and felicitation, wishing him many many years of active service in the great cause. We remember to-day the passionate appeal of Rolland, a freshman from the school (Ecole Normale) to Leo Tolstoy about half a century ago. We remember also that great woman Malvina von Mysenburg who, in the closing years of the last century, nursed as a spiritual mother the budding genius of Romain Rolland.

Then, through over a third of the present century, Rolland has illumined the firmament of art and idealism by the flashes of his genius and the projections of Heroic Lives : of Beethoven, Michael Angelo, Tolstoy, Gandhi, Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. Novels which are really the epics of our modern lives, like *Jean Christophe* and *L'Âme Enchantée*, the *Enchanted Soul*, form a library by themselves. His dramatic creation and new dramatic thesis on the Theatre of the People has made distinct contributions to the dramatic world of France, Germany and Soviet Russia. His masterly contributions to the musical literature of Europe have assured his place in that special branch of human creation. Last, though not the least, we remember his silent yet probably the most potent contribution to the future history of humanity, through his championship of the union between the East and the West. He has friends and followers in almost all the struggling nations of the new Orient from Turkey to Japan. We in India are specially proud to claim him as our unfaltering friend and elder brother ; and as such he shows his profound sympathy through his his inspiring message which we have the privilege of conveying to the rising generation of India on this momentous year of the 50th anniversary of the Indian National Congress.

ABOVE ALL NATIONS IS HUMANITY

By

KALIDAS NAG

I

My predecessor on this platform, Dr. Edwin R. Embree, President of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, told you last year of his noble aspiration and his realistic dream ; the birth of the "New Civilization" through the mingling of the East and the West. Some dreams are just fantastic and illusory ; others are based on our deepest longings and hopes peopling the world of our subconscious being and hence their potency and positive character. The Orient suffered from serious historical mutilations and psychological distortions, but the East is a reality in human history. So the Occident is very much of a reality, today, almost dictating the pace of the entire modern World. Politically and economically the East and the West have often been found to be in conflict born of maladjustments and misunderstandings. Culturally the two hemispheres of Humanity are just indispensable partners in a vast Cosmo-drama. These are not mere figures of speech but basic realities. And speaking as I do on this solemn occasion, before my departure from this noble University of Hawaii to participate in the World Conference on Education, Tokyo, which takes as its major topic of discussion : A twentieth century program of education, I beg leave to affirm that our future education should and must be based on an adequate appreciation of eastern and western cultures. With all its aggressive sense of superiority the Western ideals of education and culture appears today to be terribly inadequate, judged from the standpoint of moral progress and peace for mankind. So, with all its traditions of spirituality and renunciation, the Eastern life and society are darkened today by an atmosphere of poverty, despair, and ignorance dangerously subversive of the World Order. The western methods of dividing and dominating the East are doomed to failure and no less so the eastern reactions against the west, either to treat it as a dangerous "enemy" or a successful "barbarian."

It is indeed a tragic irony of history that the two sister-civilizations, so complementary to one another, have not yet found their "Laboratory of Synthesis" in most of our universities of the East and the West. Western science and technology are invading the eastern schools and colleges, divorced pathetically from the correctives of the creative life of the West manifested through her Arts and Literature. So, a sprinkling of "Orientalism" is found in the western institutes of higher education in their syllabus of Sociology, Anthropology, Comparative Philology and such other humanistic studies.

But such academic approaches of the Occident to the Orient are often vitiated by an unconscious or veiled imperialism and colonialism, actual or potential. Thus even the modern Humanities are tainted by the fatal original sin of "the Unhuman," and our so-called observations and studies are just materials for the exploitation of one another's weakness.

When and how should we organize a new World Education Board, based on mutual respect and co-operation, which alone can drag us out of this quagmire of suspicion and hatred threatening the peace of the World? This is a challenging question which has to be faced and answered, not only by our universities and cultural organizations but also by our political and economic Trusts which are facing today the serious charge of betrayal of trusts! We accuse no one, and we invite one and all in reorganizing the World Trust without which world security and peace are mere illusions, with malice for none and charity for everyone, we shall join hands, men and women of today and tomorrow, to rebuild the neglected and often desecrated Temple of Humanity, singing in chorus with our whole soul the sublime song of the Pacific expressed in the musical Hawaiian:

"Maluna a'e o na Lahui apau ke ola ke Kanaka"

"Above All Nations is Humanity"

Facing, as I do the representatives of some of the outstanding nations of East and West, here under the harmonious sky of Hawaii, I cannot help expressing some of the doubts and aspirations of our generation. Doubts, if any, have got to be boldly faced; and aspirations severely tested in the light of reality. I know that many of us have got sceptical about the possibility of our separate nationhoods naturally evolving into Humanity. Some are asserting that to reach Humanity one must outgrow nationhood. That again appearing to be a problematic, nay dangerous experiment, some swing to the opposite extreme, saying that to safeguard our nationhood we must throw overboard the cult of universal Humanity.

A few of us suspect, however, that whether we like it or not we float move, and have our being on the infinite ocean of Humanity which ultimately supports and regulates the variagated flotilla of diverse nations. Each nation-boat may imagine itself to be self-contained and independent of the others; but all of them stagnate or push forward according to the special rhythmic adjustments with the deep undercurrents of the ocean of Humanity. It is sheer foolhardiness to ignore the ocean while we are lost in our special dances on our particular boats. It may be wise and graceful to adjust our steps with the elemental rhythm of the dancing waves. Our sophisticated civilization has a fair chance of surviving if it learns the moral lesson of the superb technique of Hawaiian surf-riding. Every nation from East or West must learn this basic rhythm of Humanity or be engulfed for good. Several apparently invincible nations have thus been submerged in history, emerging only as archaeological

fossils of a dead past, crowding the galleries of our museums. The lesson of history is clear and it is for us of this modern age to make a choice : suicide or survival, war and extermination or peace and fulfilment of life ? The twentieth century confronts us with this life-and-death question. Our entire thought and action should tackle these vital issues, if we are objective enough to visualize the future and realistic enough to accept the lesson of science and history.

We know that despair and doubts are darkening our horizon today. From the awful experience of the last World War we have learned what a penalty we shall have to pay if we follow again blindly the dictates of egotism and greed, leading inevitably to violence and war. Europe tried that path and may try it again and again. Asia, older in age and experience, ever speaks through her great Seers that it is wiser to renounce than to grab and that peace is more effective than war in the social economy and hygiene of Humanity. Twenty-five centuries ago India promulgated through her great sons Mahavira and Buddha the great principles of Non-violence (*ahimsā*) and Fraternity (*maitri*). The self-same messages go out to the world from the makers of modern India like Gandhi and Tagore. Let me confide to you on this occasion the message of both these leaders of Asian Renaissance. Before sailing from India to join the University of Hawaii, I requested Mahatma Gandhi to send a message to the students of this University, and these are his solemn words, which I read to you :

"I have no inspiring message to give to anybody if Non-violence is not its own. Experience of merely fifty years of practice has taught me, that there is no force known to mankind which is equal to Non-violence. It cannot however be learned through books. It has got to be lived".

Here Gandhi is speaking not simply for his own people but for Humanity as a whole. Those who accept Gandhi only as a national leader do not know his pre-occupations for the welfare of mankind, irrespective of creed or colour. When America was celebrating the fourth centenary of her discovery in 1893, Gandhi was opening his heroic campaign of non-violent resistance to the inhuman treatment of man by the white man in South Africa. His activities aroused the attention of no less a personality than Leo Tolstoy. The venerable author of "War and Peace" exchanged several letters with Gandhi which you may now read in the volume "Tolstoy and the Orient," published by Paul Birukoff, the disciple of the Russian sage in the last few years of his life.

A little earlier, another great thinker and artist of Europe, Romain Rolland who would be the noblest interpreter of Gandhi and his non-violence in the West, also corresponded with Tolstoy. Privileged to collaborate with Mon. Rolland in his study on "Mahatma Gandhi," I saw the original letter of Tolstoy, in reply to the poignant questionings of that abolescent French artist who immortalized himself by writing the epic novel *Jean Christophe* and his *Lives of Illustrious Men* : Beethoven, Michael Angelo,

and Tolstoy. Spending his last days studying Oriental religions literature and Philosophy, Tolstoy left this world in 1910; and within four years the so-called civilized world plunged itself into an orgy of destruction and carnage rarely paralleled in history. The old world motto "Love Thy Neighbour" was coolly replaced by "Kill Thy Brother"! In the face of that awful sacrilege against all religions, Rolland, the symbol of the awakened conscience of the West, wrote that magnificent vindication of Humanity "Above the Battle" and his "Appeal" to the *élites* of all nations to save modern civilization from utter wreckage. Since then, for the last twenty years, Romain Rolland, the master interpreter of music and musicians, has been trying to hold aloft the torch of Humanity in this age of nationalistic obscurantism. It is a rare privilege for me to make his solemn voice also join in this superb symphony of the souls of many nations which naturally drew the sympathy of the great European harmonist. Receiving from me an account of the quiet and constructive work of my friends of this American University radiating inter-racial amity, and specially hearing about the noble outlook of internationalism in Hawaii, Romain Rolland sent me, by air mail, the following lines:

"I am happy to feel the growth of this new family. We are brothers born of the same spirit of human unity and universal communion. Those who are realizing that in harmony are happy indeed in that Eden of Hawaii. Here where I am, in Europe, we must accomplish the same through the tumult of strifes. We are the archers of the *Gita*. We do not fight for ourselves; we fight for the welfare and liberty of all those to come and to build the grand Union of all nations, the sovereign Harmony, rich and complex; the Symphony which weaves into one garland the beautiful and embracing accords of the whole earth.

"To fraternal friends

Of all nations

at the University of Hawaii

with my affectionate greetings.

Romain Rolland"

These words of the most musical prophet of modern internationalism will, I am sure, gladden your hearts, my friends and students of this University. Hawaiians, Americans, Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and Portuguese, all enjoying a common culture in a common democracy. I urge you, young graduates going out to the world, to be proud of your Alma Mater and to serve the cause so nobly championed by her. I strengthen my appeal by reminding you of the prophetic words of a great American who addressed you last year:

"A population descended from the various stocks of Europe and Asia, from Polynesia and other islands of the Pacific, is here making a new race and a new culture... Appropriately enough the birthplace of this new culture, compounded of the best of the East and the West, is in the group of islands situated midway between the Western world and the Orient."

India of three hundred and fifty million souls, that vast sub-continent of many races, religions, and cultures, would always be with you in your pursuit of cultural fellowship, which is the keynote of Indian history and which, I hope will be the guiding light of all national histories. My Alma Mater, the University of Calcutta, to which I am grateful for this opportunity to serve you for a while, is so glad to learn about your bold experiment that our Vice-Chancellor presented your library with all our research publications, an example which, I hope, will be followed by many other universities and learned societies of India. Through ages India maintained the proud tradition of free cultural exchange, ever since the days of our ancient universities of Taxila and Nālandā. And modern India, nay the entire New Orient, would ever be proud of the fact that its greatest living poet-philosopher, Tagore, came to vindicate Humanity, insulted and crucified by the "carnivorous and cannibalistic" Nationalism during the last world war. As early as 1899 Dr. Tagore wrote that soul-stirring poem, "The Sunset of the Century." So in 1917, with the unerring judgment of a prophet, Tagore exposed in his book "Nationalism" the festering sores of our modern history. Returning from the devastated areas of Europe, Tagore, with little else but his grand dream to support him, transformed in 1921 his rural school of *Sāntiniketan* into the first international university of India, the *Viśva-Bhārati*. Here Asiatics, Africans, Europeans and Americans, Hindus and Muslims, Christians and non-Christians, have found their haven of meditation for the welfare of Humanity in that "Abode of Peace." As a member of its governing body, I had the honour of introducing Professor Sinclair, Director of your Oriental Institute, to our venerable Founders-President; and the poet-laureate of Asia, on behalf of India, and the Orient gave his benedictions on the Oriental Institute of the University which I served as your Visiting Professor :—

"I congratulate the authorities of the Hawaii University for the wise step they have taken in starting an Oriental Institute under its auspices. For this distracted world of ours, nothing is perhaps so much needed today as a proper understanding between and appreciation of the cultures of the East and the West. That also is the mission of my University, *Viśva-Bhārati*. Hawaii, situated as it is in the midst of the seas that separate the East from the West, is pre-eminently fitted to be the centre of such an institute and I offer it my best wishes for a glorious and useful career.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

II

It is distinctly a pathological symptom ominous for our human family that while the countless millions of men and women are hungering for peace, a few are stampeding the nations into rearmament, making war almost inevitable. Collective security is a pious fraud if it is only regional and not universal. It is regrettable that while the experts of the International Labour Office and of the

League of Nations Secretariat are bringing out indisputable evidence showing that co-operation is the only solution of our tragic problems, the tariff walls and muffled wars are threatening us on all fronts, western and eastern ! But, towering high above these vagaries of nationalistic politics and economics, are the clear verdicts of the "Representative Men" of the East and the West. Numerically negligible yet spiritually invincible, these poets, philosophers and philanthropists, our Tagores, Rollands, and Gandhis, declare with one voice that the basic religion of mankind is just to be human and that Humanity is above all Nations.

So, before taking leave of you, I beg to entrust to you, of the new-born Pacific race, my dream of a "Laboratory of Human Relations. This University of Hawaii is to me more than a chance experiment of America in the field of international education. It plays the symbolical role of recording the glorious traditions of American democracy with the noble Hawaiian traditions of goodwill and welcome for all. Its departments of culture show a rare potentiality of expansion and growth with a rich variety in its ethnic basic and with the immense horizon of its geographical situation confronting East and West.

Before developing the story of my Dream-Laboratory, I sketch here the outline of the cultural chart of America's collaboration with her neighbours. Hawaii is culturally connected with New Zealand and the South Pacific culture through Tahiti. Situated on the crossroads of trans-Pacific liners and clippers, Hawaii is the most valuable and convenient base for American relations with entire Polynesia and Indonesia, through Japan and China, right up to the farthest western base of America in the Orient, the Philippines. There America, true to her democratic traditions, is going to make the first sincere experiment in autonomy for her Filipino citizens. In the new regime of national self-government, the National University of the Philippines and allied institutions, would render a great service if properly developed, by keeping America in intimate relations with Indo China, Indonesia, India, and the Middle East.

Privileged to inaugurate the lectures on the history and thought the art and culture of the Middle and the Near East at the Oriental Institute, I was deeply impressed by the genuine interest in the subject evinced by the students and the public attending the lectures. Compared with Great Britain, France and Germany, the United States of America was late in entering the field of Oriental studies. She has compensated, however, for her loss of time, by her generous investments in explorations and cultural activities in the Near and the Far East, through her great Museums, the American Association of Learned Societies, the American Oriental Society, and such other organizations. Several American Universities and museums are excavating in the sites of dead civilizations in Egypt and Iraq, in Turkey and Iran. The University of Chicago has developed its grand Oriental Institute. Columbia University has its series of Indo-Iranian classics and Harvard its Oriental Series mainly devoted to India, and its Yenching Foundation attending to Chinese culture.

The pre-historic civilization of the Indus Valley was being explored by the American Association of Learned Societies and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. So, your Yale University sent several expeditions to the Sub-Himalayan regions in search of the Fossil man. Yale also shows keen interest in Polynesian studies, as we find from her intimate collaboration with the Bishop Museum which, with its wonderful collections and research records, is a real pride of Hawaii. The scientific activities of the Bishop Museum are supplemented by the young yet most promising Academy of Arts of Honolulu which very appropriately tries to cultivate, in the public of Hawaii, not forgetting its most important element, the children, a taste in Oriental Art. So the Pan-Pacific Union, the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Anthropological and Sociological Societies and East-West Philosophy group of your University, are doing admirable work for years, co-operating with and supplementing the work of the University of Hawaii. It has already provided for the study of Hawaiian language and literature and the University has also taken a momentous step by inviting an expert musician to open systematic courses on Music. May it help to save from corruption and oblivion the noblest art of Polynesia, its chants and rhythms, its music and dances, finding its sanctuary at the National Conservatory of the University.

The diversity of human interest, the rich complexity of racial types and traditions, in and around the University of Hawaii, naturally signalize it as the most promising "Laboratory of Human Relations" that America can develop, here in the heart of the Pacific, for the better understanding of mankind. I know that 'human relation' and 'better understanding' are phrases at the tip of the pen of almost every diplomat and journalist today. Over-familiarity seems to have bred a silent contempt for such concepts in this age of refined cynicism. Yet I cannot help reiterating, with all the conviction I command, that the only way of revitalizing our studies and humanizing our sciences is the way of human relations. So, modifying a little the sonorous words of Danton in the age of the French Revolution, I wish to give to you of the future generation the following :

L'humanite' encore ! 'humanite', tousjours ! 'humanite'.

"Humanity, more Humanity, always Humanity !"

Human exploitation and race hatred must stop or this civilization will just go. Every University of the world boasts of its department of Humanities and yet, owing to the lack of concrete touch of human relations the studies degenerate into dead analysis. That is why, in the fire-baptism of mankind in the last World war, so many universities could easily betray human trusts. "Can Nations Be Neighbours ?" Is the challenging title of a book of the learned President of the University of Hawaii and we can answer that question adequately if we can humanize our academic atmosphere.

III

America rang the Liberty Bell for the whole human race a few years before the French Revolution ; and the grand Statue of Liberty was very appropriately installed at the entrance to New York. America is a continent of many races, the dominant ones coming from across the Atlantic. Naturally we find, down to this day, that its academic, political and cultural outlooks are severely circumscribed by the principles and prepossessions of the Atlantic civilization. This is an unbalanced and unhistorical attitude, as I could not help pointing out while attending, as a delegate from India, the World Writers Congress (P. E. N.) at Buenos Aires. In the crowded auditorium of the leading university of the Argentine Republic, I asked and got no reply to my question : whether or not the entre body of the Two Americas, extending from Canada to Mexico, Peru and Chile, is irrigated, nourished, and built through countless ages, by the waves of the immense Pacific Ocean. What provision has been made so far for the of this much neglected Pacific civilization ? It has legitimate claims study on full one half of the body of the New World ; and yet how few of the American universities and learned societies are Pacific-minded ? The earliest colonizers of America, the pre-historic ancestors of the American Indians, came from the Orient, sometimes walking over the ice-bridges or crossing in skin-boats which brought the daring folks across the islands to Alaska, as recently stated by Dr. Aleks Hrdlicka, the distinguished anthropologist of the Smithsonian Institution. From that dim past down to our days, the Pacific races and cultures have been negotiating with America. Yet, where is the clearing house of information, not to speak of research centres of Pacific civilization ?

Spending these few months in the human atmosphere of the University of Hawaii, fraternizing with the teachers and the students of so many different countries and nationalities, I have felt that this University is the most worthy and propitious center for the study of Pacific civilization. Here I met among several scholars of the Pacific basin, professors from Alaska in the north, to New Zealand in the south. So the teachers and students from China, Japan and India are working harmoniously, amidst a thousand handicaps, to develop a synthesis of the East and the West, as original as it is comprehensive. Our aim is not the necrology of scientific analysis, abstract and unhuman, but living reactions and interactions of the past, present and future. In this "Laboratory of Human Relations" of the University of Hawaii, a new faculty of research on Indo Pacific culture and a new chapter in world history may someday be developed, through the co-operation and good-will of all nations as neighbours in this world-village of Honolulu.

It is significant that two of the leading universities of America, Harvard and Yale, are already Pacific-minded ; and I hope others will follow their example when the case for centralizing Pacific research in the University laboratories of Hawaii is convincingly demonstrated. Then the Carnegie Cor-

poration would find it necessary to establish a Pacific Division of its Institute of Race Relations ; the Rockefeller Foundation may build here laboratories for the study of Pacific health and hygiene ; the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace would endow chairs for the study of the Peace problems of the Pacific zone. So also the Latin American universities, the universities of China and Japan, of the Philippines and of India, the scientific institution of Indonesia and of the Middle East, would gradually come to collaborate with the University of Hawaii, which is the advance-guard of East West culture in the Pacific and the Orient. It is the meeting ground of diverse nations of the East and the West. It deserves fully and will surely draw in the near future the material and moral support permitting it to fulfil its grand destiny. Hawaii has often been called the "Geneva of the Pacific," and I plead for the progressive development for the University of Hawaii from a territorial institution into one of the grandest monuments of American internationalism, a vertiable Pacific Foundation. So many millions have gone to the building up of the departments of Atlantic Civilization. Is it not overdue, this project of a special Foundation for the Study of Pacific Civilization? Arts and Sciences, races and literature would find their special libraries, museums and laboratories. Experts and researchers from all corners of the globe would come here to teach and learn under the marvellous atmosphere of fellowship. The scholars all the world over would seek the publications of the Pacific Foundation for enlightenment, and the original texts and translations from the Oriental Institute and the Hawaii University Press would go to enrich the libraries and minds of the various nations. Here is peace, propitious climate and rare comradeship ; only material resources and tools are lacking. Should the Temple of Humanity be postponed simply on that account ?

The answer to this question must come primarily from America, although it should come simultaneously from all the nations immediately interested. If we believe in neighbourliness as the soul of all religions, and peace as the real criterion of culture, we should try to make our dream a reality. America has installed the Statue of Liberty on her Atlantic basin. May America, with the Pacific Foundation of the University of Hawaii, dedicate in the near future, the first statue of Humanity on the Pacific, announcing peace to all her neighbours ! Some future Rodin may design that grand statue of Humanity bearing on the pedestal the noble motto of the University of Hawaii, "Above All Nations is Humanity."

Our ancestors of the Vedic dawn left us the priceless legacy of world-vision through the following profound message : "To see the Self in the Universe, and the Universe in the Self, is right seeing." A great philosopher of modern India, Dr. B. N Seal, in the Universal Races Congress (London 1911) declared, in keeping with our ancestral wisdom, that "Nationalism is but the halting stage in our onward march to Humanity." So

the greatest poet of India Dr. Tagore in his *Gītānjali*, which won the first Nobel Prize from the Orient sang :

"Thou hast made me know to friends I knew not,
Thou hast given me seats in homes not my own,
Thou hast brought the distant near,
And made a brother of the stranger."

This initiation of individual Man into Humanity is the spiritual dowry of India ; and I bring the same to you, my young friends of the University. Strive and thrive in rearing the Temple of Humanity. It is a task worthy of the future heroes and heroines of the world. I wish you all success and conclude with our Vedic prayer which came to impregnate the soul of India and the Pacific as manifested in some of the surviving fragments of the Polynesian Vedas :

"May right endeavour bring you Unity,
May right aspirations bring you Unity.
May right achievement bring you Unity."

Convocation address delivered (22nd June, 1937) at the University of Hawaii, Honolulu with the Governor of Hawaii as Guest of Honour.

—*Modern Review*, September, 1937

Fraternal Greetings to my Friends of India

May the great century of heroic works in which we are engaged, build a new, more lofty and more large Humanity, with our agonies, struggles and hopes. May that embrace the totality of the Human Family. May the genius of India be wedded to the genius of the Occident. I see in the future the semi-divine children to be born of that blessed union. From our troubled Dawn, I salute the radiant noon of the Great Day !

January, 1936.

ROMAIN ROLLAND.

—*India and the World*, January, 1936.

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES AND SOUTH ASIA

By

KALIDAS NAG

Over seven thousand islands form this Asian republic of about twenty million souls are dominantly Catholic as the Siamese are Buddhists. The Archipelago was first discovered by the Portugese explorer Maghellan who landed here in 1521 got and killed by the natives. Then the Spaniards conquered it and named it, after Philip II, the Philippines. No other Asian country bears the European name or have 80% of its people as converted Christians mostly Chatholic, when U. S. A. waged war against Spain in 1898. They took both the Island Paradise of the Hawaii and the Archipelago of the Philippines which since then began to have Protestants as well as Catholic missions.

Working in the National Library of Manila, I was glad to find the famous names on its panel of Kalidāsa and our Indian law-giver Manu, as it was reported to me by President Quezon in 1937 when I was returning from the University of Hawaii and boarded the same boat used by the noble President. He died alas in U. S. A. in 1944 when the Philippines were under Japanese occupation. The Spanish rulers, he told me, inflicted inhuman suffering on the Filipinos, executing their popular Doctor-leader Jose Rizal the first Asian martyr to western colonialism. Thanks to President Quezon's kind orders, I was given full facilities to explore different aspects of Filipino life and culture. I noticed that there were about seven lacs of Muslims, about fifty thousand Budhists and over six lacs Pagans : All these prove beyond doubt that Hindu-Budhistic races and religions flowed into this Archipelago in whose dialects I noticed many Sanskritic words, just as in the Kawi language of Indonesia with which the Filipinos are connected, through Borneo, by a common Malay Tagalok language.

The Spanish catholics built their Santo Tomas University in 1611, and when I lectured there I felt I was transported to some of the Catholic seminaries—in the Iberian Peninsula ! Thanks to the excellent system of modern education, over four million speak English now. So I could address even village schools and colleges in English, and my Convocation address on "Tagore and Gandhi" was appreciated by the students and staff of the National University in Manila.

Jose Rizal was not only a patriot doctor but also a talented author whose books should be translated into Hindi and other progressive languages of India. In rural hygiene and compulsory primary education the Filipinos

can give us good lesson; and I was glad to find many teachers—male and female—eager to come to India and study the educational systems of Tagore and Gandhi, as I wrote in the *Harijan* while supporting Gandhiji in his Basic Education scheme. President Quezon and his wife (both victims of the war) showed keen interest in the freedom movement of India in the present century; and I was amazed to find from their questions how much they already knew of India! Our Indian merchants of Luzon and Mindanao should be encouraged to open Hindi teaching centres for our Filipino friends who would understand that, like their agreed "standard dialect" *Tagalog*, we are trying gradually to develop *Hindī* into an All Indian language. I had many exchange of ideas over these, with the then leader and President Boccobo of the University of the Philippines and his worthy colleagues like Francisco and Conrado Benitez.

The first Republican Constitution of 1933 was amended in 1940 and 1948. After the harrowing ruins of the World war, America formally brought into existence the Filipino Republic (4th July) in 1946. In 1947 America leased for 99 years five major bases and eighteen auxilliary establishments for the Army, Navy and Air forces of America. The Filipinos also, "under American pressure", had to sign an agreement throwing open to American interests or companies, the exploitation of all the resources, and public utility business, formally open to the native Filipinos who must observe it till the end of the contract.

A United States mission visited the Islands in July, 1950 to suggest ways and means of improving the economic resources and administration as a whole, especially in the agriculture, and industries Rice and forest products, hemp, copra etc., form the main agricultural wealth; rubber is grown in the south and sugar factories—as in American Hawaii—are scientifically developed by American experts for U. S. markets, yielding much revenue. So even when colonialism is gone politically, it lurks in the economic fields. Drilling for oil is going on since 1947, under 45 American experts. Gold, silver, copper, iron ores, coal etc. are found; so that within a few decades, the Filipinos may emerge as rivals of Indonesia and other South-Asian countries.

I found the Filipinos very friendly people, Asian in language and mentality, yet westernized in dress, manners and religion. Like the Indonesians they are far too scattered and thus must depend upon external agencies to help them, building up their adequate economic structure, transports and defence systems. The new President Magsaysay gave a bold "socialistic pattern" to the nation which is rather panicky about communism, badly preached by their own rebel group of *Haks* (as in Burma and elsewhere).

The Filipinos are now in close touch with Thailand on the one hand and Australasia on the other—both insular groups again brought into a line

of close collaboration with the American and Australian military experts operating under a new treaty in the South East Asia. How they will stop the gigantic population pressure of Red China, will be proved by future history only. The problem is closely connected with the North-South drive of Russia in the Eurasian continent. If Bangkok is the terminus of the first continental defence line, extending north vis Pakistan and Iran to Turkey in the west, Manila is another terminus of the second maritime-cum-air defence line of U. S. and its allies which stretches zigzag along (a) the Philippines-Formosa, Japan, Hawaii, East to the West Pacific coast lines of the two Americas and b from Malaysia, Melanesia (New Guinea) to Australasia (Australia, New Zealand) and Antarctica. The South Pole and Antarctica is being vigorously explored not for the discovery of gold or other precious minerals but for defending 'white' Australasia from any 'coloured' (Red ?) infiltration from the North. We notice feverish activities in the SEATO defence organisation of Australia and New Zealand inhabited by only 10 million Whites, facing the teeming millions of Japan and China, Russia and the Soviet East.

Thus in the geo-politics of the Eurasian continent, while our European neighbours are baffled by the East-West partition and the two Americas of the New world has been united to adjust the strategic Balance of the Power of the Old world, we in Asia are confronting a stupendous North-South drive from the Soviet sector to the British 'Antarctic'. American penetration of Asia is to be examined in the light of this new geopolitical development and global perspective. The future of the human race, as our historian-statesman Nehru has justly observed (after his personal survey of new China and Russia) depends on whether this new grouping of powers and their resources could be used for neuclear war and annihilation or mutual aid and co-operative co-existence.

DAYANANDA SARASWATI A HOMAGE

By

KALIDAS NAG

Swami Dayananda Saraswati whose 50th death anniversary was very appropriately celebrated in Ajmer, was a great Seer and Builder of Modern India. His prophetic vision penetrated through the moral confusion of our National Being subjected to the violent oscillation of the conflict between Western and Eastern cultures. In that crisis of our history when even the leaders vacillated between the Occidental and Oriental ideals of life and education, Swami Dayananda, with unerring intuition, proclaimed the soul-stirring message in the very language, as it were, of the Vedic Rishis :

Sruvantu Viśve Amṛtasya Putrāḥ :

O Ye Children of Immortality !

Listen to me !

And the deathless spirit of Aryan India listened. The hypnotism of foreign propaganda degrading our Religion and Culture, was sapping our self-confidence and manhood, the greatest harm that could be done to a people. That was the gloomy epoch when Swami Dayananda was born (1824) when his brother spirit Rammohun Roy, whose centenary we just celebrated, was fighting single-handed, with rare courage and conviction to defend the Vedic philosophy and religion against the uncritical and unjust attacks of ill-informed foreigners.

"By a reference to history" wrote Rammohun "it may be proved that the world was indebted to our ancestors for the first dawn of knowledge, which sprang up in the East ; and thanks to the Goddess of Wisdom we have still a philosophical and copious language of our own which distinguishes us from other nations who cannot express scientific or abstract ideas without borrowing the language of foreigners".

That was a striking assertion of national self-respect in an age of self abasement ; and our nation should be grateful to Rammohun for having published between 1814-1833 those rare treasures of human wisdom the Upanishads and the Vedanta, having based the Brahmo Samaj, the first Unitarian Church and Society of modern India, on our ancestral Vedic traditions.

Rammohun's disciple Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, the father of our national poet Rabindranath, was penetrated through and through with the Upanishadic mysticism, as you find in his Autobiography ; and he was the first of our leaders from Bengal to send Pundits to Benares with a view to rediscover and resuscitate the Vedic tradition. Those were the days when our spiritual prodigy Mulaśankara (as Dayananda was known in his boyhood) was awakening from the dream of dead ritualism into the realm of Truth.

Moved by an instinctive urge as it were, Dayananda entered Bengal (1872) and was ardently welcomed by our great leaders of religious and social reform like Devendranath Tagore (1817-1905) and Keshab Chandra Sen (1838-84). It was Keshab's friendly appeal to the great Swami which induced him not to use the Sanskrit but Hindi for the masses in his public discourses ; so his *Satyārtha Prakāśh* in Hindi was completed in 1874 at Allahabad.

That was the epoch when the nation was waking up from the nightmare of self-humiliation. In 1872-1873, the year of Dayānanda's visit to Bengal, Babu Raj Narayan Bose, one of the leaders of the Adi Brahma Samaj, delivered a stirring address on the "Superiority of Hinduism over all other forms of Faith." The *Tattwa Bodhini Patrikā* already was publishing Vedic Hymns with Bengali translation and notes, under the direction of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore. Dr. Rajendralala Mitra was publishing a series of Vedic Texts in collaboration with Pandit Satyavrata Samasrami and others, forming the *Bibliotheca Indica* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal which celebrated recently its 150 anniversary (vide Kalidas Nag, *Aryan Path*, Bombay Oct. 1933). Our literary pioneer Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1838—94) through his *Banga Darśan*, was training a group of brilliant researchers and writers, many of whom took to Vedic studies : Umesh Chandra Batabyala, Haraprasad Sastri, Chandranath Bose and others.

There can be no doubt that the visits of Swami Dayānanda to Bengal and Bombay between 1872—75, and his masterful advocacy of a "Back to the Vedas" and of radical religious and social reforms, created a new enthusiasm all over the country. The *Prārthanā Samaj* of Bombay (founded in 1864 after Keshab's visit) created a new atmosphere of self-respect and self-confidence, stemming the tide of degeneracy through an absurdly anti-national education and reactionary social milieu. There was a new enthusiasm to rediscover the pristine purity of the Vedic Age as opposed to the ritualistic aberrations and social degradations of a later epoch. The Śrauta Sūtra and the Grhya Sūtra of Aśvalāyana were edited and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1864—1874) thanks to the collaboration of some of our eminent Vedic scholars : Ramnarayan Vidyaratna, A. Vedantavagish and Pandit Satyavrata Sāmasrami who edited the famous Vedic Journal *Ushā* (Dawn), and published a complete edition of the Sāma Veda with Bengali translation and Hindi commentary, in parts between 1867—78. Charu Chandra Mukhopadhyaya published, "A summary View of the Vedas" in 1873 from Calcutta. While Ramchandra Ghosha published in 1879 "A peep into the Vaidik Age," Ramesh Chandra Dutta published his Rig Veda text and complete Bengali translation between 1884—86 ; and Prasanna Kumar Vidyaratna issued the Rig Veda with Sāyana into two volumes (1889—90). In 1895 a monthly paper 'Veda' came to be published from Calcutta, edited by Pandit Kedarnath Vidyavinod and the interest in the Vedas was sustained by Bengali scholars like Durgadas Lahiri, Dr. Abinash Chandra Das and others.

Bombay showed an equal interest in Vedic studies, thanks to the group of eminent Sanskritists like Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and others whose researches are well known to all. As early as 1866 Karsandas Mulji published his *Veda Dharma* in Bombay; and Sankara Pandurang Pandit published his *Atharva Veda Samhitā* with Śāyana (1895—98) and recently a new edition of *Rig Veda* has come out of Poona.

Similarly Madras, Punjab and other provinces of India may be shown to have pursued Vedic Studies with a renowned zeal, thanks to the apostolic mission of Swami Dayananda who, true to the parting message of his gurn, waged a relentless war against narrow and dogmatic distortions of the original Aryan life through later Sanskrit literature. His *Satyāratha Prakāśh* in Hindi was completed in his 50 year in Allahabad in 1874. That was followed by his *Veda-Bhāshya* in Sanskrit covering the whole of Yayur Veda and major part of the Rig Veda. The *Rig Vedādi Bhāshya Bhūmika* partly in Sanskrit and partly in Hindi (1875—77) laid down boldly his own principles of criticism. And we are dazzled when we think how he attended to so many other things, the teaching of Sanskrit, writing of grammatical treatises, organising schools and social service centres, culminating in the foundation of the *Arya Samaj* in 1877, one of the chief arches of our national reconstructions. Opinions will differ, as they must, with regard to the details of his critical and creative activities; but there was no doubt in the heart of our nation when that great son of Mother India passed away in 1883, that a Dynamical Soul had come, after ages, to bless the rising generation with a new life of reform based on justice and creative sacrifices for the benefit of India and the World.

Vedic *Arya* as well as Avestan *Airana* both derived from the root to move, is but the synonym of dynamical personality; and that was Dayananda *par excellence*, liberating our religion from the shackles of ritualism and our society from the bonds of iniquity separating man and man. Thus Dayananda flung our stagnating soul back on the elemental currents of progressive Life. That is how he saved our nation from a slavish imitation of the Occident, and purged our society from the age-old iniquities of caste and injustices to our women and depressed classes. His educational programme is taking shape gradually through two remarkable institutions: The Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College was found in Lahore 1886. And another major programme of Dayananda is developing through the noble Gurukula University, founded in 1902 by our national martyr Swami Sradhananda. Great educationists from different parts of the world have visited this unique institute and expressed highest praise. Our great educational pioneer Sir Asutosh Mookerji Saraswati along with Sir Michael Sadler, endorsed fully the system of vernacularisation of Education which is coming to be the major problem of our universities. Almost simultaneously with Gurukula, the Santiniketan (1901) of Rabindranath Tagore was following a similar system of education, along national setting, of the Aryan *Brahmacharya ashrama*. No wonder then that eminent educationists like Sir

Asutosh Mookerji and Sir Michael Sadler paid the highest tributes to these two schools as the only ones on truly national lines. When our Education Departments and our universities were failing us, these modest laboratories of national education came to open our eyes and helped the fulfilment of our wants. That explains why Aurobinda Ghosh wrote so passionately about the Dayananda epoch and how Rabindranath paid such an exalting homage to Swami Dayananda.

"I offer my homage of veneration to Swami Dayananda, the great path-maker in Modern India, who through bewildering tangles of creeds and practices—the dense undergrowth of the degenerate days of our country, cleared a straight path that was meant to lead the Hindu to a simple and rational life of devotion to God and service for man. With a clear-sighted vision of truth and courage of determination, he preached and worked for our self-respect and vigorous awakement of mind that could strive for a harmonious adjustment with the progressive spirit of the modern age and, at the same time, keep in perfect touch with that glorious past of India, when it revealed its personality in freedom of thought and action, in an unclouded radiance of spiritual realisation."

May Aryan India, through the blessings of Dayananda fully awaken to the glory and responsibility of the great legacy of Aryan Culture.

—India and the World, April 1934.

GURUKULA UNIVERSITY

By

KALIDAS NAG

I am deeply grateful to you for the honour you have done me by inviting me to deliver the Convocation Address on the solemn year of *Ardha-Śatābdi* of Rishi Dayananda Saraswati, the great Seer and Builder of modern India whom I salute at the very outset. His prophetic vision penetrated through the moral confusion of our national being subjected to the violent oscillation of the conflict between Western and Eastern cultures. In that crisis of our history when even the leaders vacillated between the Occidental and Oriental ideals of life and education, Swami Dayananda, with his unerring intuition, proclaimed the soul-stirring message in the very languages, at it were, of the Vedic Rishis :

Śṛnvanu Viśve Amṛtasya Putrāḥ

O Ye Children of Immortality ! Listen to me !

And the deathless spirit of Aryan India listened. The hypnotism of foreign propaganda degrading our religion and culture, was sapping our self-confidence and manhood—the greatest harm that could be done to a people. That was the gloomy epoch when Swami Dayananda was born (1824), when his brother spirit Rammohan Roy (1772-1833), whose Centenary we just celebrated, was fighting single handed, with rare courage and conviction to defend the pure Vedic Philosophy and religion, against the uncritical and unjust attack of ill-informed and interested foreigners.

"By a reference to history," wrote Rammohan, "It may be proved that the world was indebted to our ancestors for the first dawn of Knowledge, which sprang up in the East ; and thanks to the Goddess of Wisdom, we have still a philosophical and copious language of our own which distinguishes us from other nations who cannot express scientific or abstract ideas without borrowing the language of foreigners."

That was a striking assertion of national self-respect in an age of self-abasement ; and our nation would be grateful to Rammohan for having published between 1814—1833 those rare treasures of human wisdom—the Upanishads and the Vedanta, having based the *Brahma Samaj* (1828), the first reformed Unitarian Church and Society of modern India, on our spiritual Vedic traditions.

Rammohan's disciple, Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, (1817—1905) (the father of our national Poet, Rabindranath) was penetrated through and through with the Upanishadic mysticism, as we find in his *Autobiography*. He was the first of our leaders from Bengal to send *Pundits* to Benares with a view to rediscover and resuscitate the Vedic tradition. That was in the days

when our spiritual prodigy Mulaśankara-Dayananda was awakening from the dream of dead ritualism into the realm of Truth.

Undergoing a discipline of phenomenal severity, when Dayananda, aged 30, was taking leave of his venerable *Guru* Virajānanda (1863), what a noble Convocation Address did the Master deliver :—

"The Vedas have long ceased to be taught in Bhāratavarṣa. Go and teach them ; teach the true Śāstras, and dispel, by their light, the darkness which the false creeds have given birth to. Remember that while works by common men are utterly misleading, as to the nature and attributes of the One True God, and they slander the great Rishis and Munis, ancient teachers are free from such a blemish. This is the test which will enable you to differentiate the true ancient teaching from the writings of ordinary men."

The Legacy of Aryanism

To you, my young friends of Gurukula, whom I have the pleasure and privilege of meeting here, thanks to the kind invitation of my esteemed friends Chamupatiji and Ramdevaji, to you I must address a few words now on the legacy of Aryanism. It is a priceless heritage and naturally involves a great responsibility. The religious and philosophical evaluation of this legacy has been done by many of my illustrious predecessors on this platform like Pandit Vidhuśekhara Shastri, Prof. C. V. Vaidya, Prof. Mahendranath Sarkar and others. So I shall confine myself exclusively to a historical appraisalment of this ancestral legacy, hoping that my humble suggestions may kindle in the soul of a few of the *Snātakas* of the Arya Goṣṭhi, the enthusiasm to explore and discover, collect and collate, explain and interpret the baffling richness of materials of Aryan history and culture, so sadly neglected, alas even to day, by most of the leading universities and cultural institutes of modern India. One Oriental college in Lahore, one Bhandarkar Institute in Poona, one Saraswati Bhavan in Benāras, one Vidyabhavan in Santiniketan, one University of Calcutta making special provision for the study of Ancient Indian History and Culture, had proved utterly insufficient for the colossal task. If cooperation grows among all the universities and research centres of Japan and China, Siam Cambodia and Indonesia, Burma, Malaya, Ceylon and ever so many new zones of linguistic, archæological and historical studies of the Orient ; if they keep in touch, moreover with the great Oriental seminars of Europe and America, especially those of France and Italy, Germany, Russia and Holland—we may hope some day to reconstruct our half forgotten national history and rewrite the Grand Encyclopædia of Aryan Culture. Those who, through a racial and sectarian narrowness, have tried to prove Aryan culture to be a static one, confined to particular territorial limits, are proved to be mistaken by the patent facts of history, unearthed from day to day. Aryan history and culture, quite in keeping with the spirit of Aryan origins (as the science of comparative philology shows) is dynamical, defying all limitations of Time and Space, dogma and creed, race and

of Dharma. And it is a striking coincidence indeed that the *Apramāḍavarga* is an important section of the *Dharmapada* which is supposed to contain the direct sayings of Lord Buddha. He used to take legitimate pride in *Aryasatya*, his Aryan heritage. And propelled by the fundamental laws of Aryanism, he renounced the later Vedic aberrations and castes and proclaimed the first great dynamical World religion of universal Fraternity (*Maitri*) which was translated into the historic reality of Greater India by Emperor Dharmasoka, (270-230 B.C.) the loyal disciple of the Tathagata.

India was again on the march; and thousands of her sons and daughters, inspired by the divine frenzy of spiritual nomadism congenital to the Aryan, left the hearth and home behind them, crossed the Himalayas and the Ocean and all frontiers, physical as well as cultural, to carry the deathless messages of Aryan self-realisation, orthodox as well as heterodox, to Humanity at large irrespective of caste and creed. This history of Greater India is one of the most inspiring chapters of human history showing how the terrific deserts of Central Asia were fertilised with the life-blood of these servants of Humanity who built up the basis of culture and spirituality which we are rediscovering from the sand-buried ruins of Khotan and Kucha, Turfan and Tuen Huang. Aryan Budhistic culture roused into new creative activity the Hellenic, Parthian and the Scythian invaders of India, as well as the Iranians, the Tartars, the Mongols along the *land-route*; and also the Tibeto-Burmans, the Mon-Khmers the Malayo-Polynesians along the *sea route*. Fifteen centuries of this cultural and spiritual co-operation, between India and the Far East, has yet to be reconstructed and incorporated into the general history of Dynamic Aryanism. China and Japan were collaborating with India for over a thousand years and our cousins of Indonesia or Island India (*Insulindia*) are still carrying on the traditions of Aryo-Budhistic culture which opens definitely a new chapter in Indian cultural expansion with the Yūpa inscription of King Mula Varman, celebrating Vedic rituals in Borneo as early as 4th century A. D. The Architectural marvels like the Borodudur and Prambanan of Java and of Bayon and Angkor Vat of Cambodge, bear the living testimony to the sublime audacity of our ancestors who refused to admit any frontier on the path of their cultural and artistic and spiritual expansion.

If during the terrific struggles of Islamic and Christian invasions, the Aryan spirit lapsed for a few centuries into lethargy and fatalistic surrender to external facts, if in course of these Dark ages we have developed psychological and social neurosis and nightmares like the outrageous cults of untouchability, child-marriage, *Sati* and infanticide, our nation was never deprived of the divine guidance of seers like Ramananda and Kabir, Nanak and Chaitanya till we come to our own days when we are blessed with the prophetic voices of a Rammohan, a Ramakrishna and a Dayananda. May their examples and blessings purge us of all sins and iniquities; and may we again be permitted to assume our ancestral role of supplying the notes of Unity and Harmony to the spiritual orchestra of Humanity.

ever disturbed by discords of hatred and disunion ! Even in the depth of gloom, India has prayed for light and, amidst universal carnage, composed the Śāntiparvan ending with Peace the bloody wars of Kurukṣetra. May that eternal Aryāvarta ever speak to us through her deathless message of elemental Harmony.

सं गच्छन्तं सं वदन्तं सं वो मनांसि जानता ।
 देवा भागं यथा पूर्वं संजानाना उपासते ।
 समानो मंत्रः समितिः समानी समानं मनः सहचित्तमेवा
 समानं मंत्रमग्नि मंत्रये वः समानेन वो इक्षिषा जुहोमि ।
 समानो व आकूतिः समाना हृदयानि वः ।
 समानमस्तु वो मनो यथा वः सुसहासति ॥

INTER-UNIVERSITY RELATIONS AND THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

By

KALIDAS NAG

In the foundation of the University of Calcutta with that of the sister Universities of Bombay and Madras, we find the earliest and possibly the most promising example of the collaboration of East and West. The academic debate (Feb. 1835) between Wilson and Macaulay, representing, Orientalism and Occidentalism, was over. In October, 1845 we find the Council of education at Calcutta, with Mr. Charles Hay Cameron as President and Dr. F. J. Mouat as Secretary, preparing a well thought out plan for the University of Calcutta. After carefully studying the laws and constitution of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, with those of the recently established, University of London "the last appears adapted to the wants of the native community." Such was the finding of the earliest Sponsors of our University, as we read in the Second report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories : 1852—53 (vide Tripurari Chakrabarti, "Foundation of the University of Calcutta"—*Calcutta Review*, March, 1936). Dr. Mouat, as we know from his lecture (March, 1888) before the Society of Arts, London, was a friend Prof. Malden of the University College of London, who sent to Dr. Mouat, a copy of his *History of Universities in Europe*. After due exchange of ideas, Prof. Malden "considered Bengal to be perfectly ready for the establishment of a University." The scheme was shelved by the Home Government ; it was revived by Mr. Charles Hay Cameron in 1852, provided for in Sir Charles Wood's Educational Despatch of 1854 and finally passed by an Act (24th January, 1857), of the Indian Legislative Council, incorporating the University of Calcutta on the model of the University of London.

This is a fact which we remember in this year of the Centenary of the University of London which almost synchronized with the 80th anniversary of the University of Calcutta.

Dr. Frederick John Mouat (1816—97) one of the pioneers of the University Education in India and author of "The Origin and Progress of Universities of India" (1883), was a man of cosmopolitan outlook, being educated in London, Edinburgh and Paris. The first Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Sir James William Colvile, Chief Justice, in his Convocation Address (December, 1858), characterized the University as "the ship that was freighted with the enlightenment of millions." So our second Vice-Chancellor, the Hon'ble Mr. William Ritchie, Advocate General, pronounced in a noble address (March, 1860) : "Of all the defences of a state, the surest, the best and the cheapest is

the education of its people." There was another Foundation Fellow, Mr. Henry Woodrow (1823—76), Inspector of Schools, who sat at the feet of Dr. Arnold of Rugby. He was a Wrangler of Cambridge and visited Europe in 1873, inspected the schools and colleges of Vienna and Zurich and, on his return to Calcutta in 1875, tried the University "to extend its curriculum in physical sciences and to curtail the study of *metaphysics*," almost echoing the words of Raja Rammohan Ray in his famous Letter to Lord Amherst (December 1823). Another friend and colleague of Rammohan Roy who was elected a fellow was Rev. Dr. Alexander Duff (1806—78) who edited the Calcutta Review and partly inspired the Education Despatch of 1854. Amongst the other Foundation Fellows we find the following distinguished Indians: Ramaprosad Roy (son of Rammohan Roy), Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Ramgopal Ghosh and Prasonno Coomar Tagore (1801—1868).

The Hon'ble Henry Summer Maine, LL. D., was our Vice-Chancellor in 1863. He was not only the Legal Member of the Governor General's Council but a jurist of international fame. He was an ardent champion of the University of Calcutta which appeared to him to be one of the great educational experiments since the Middle ages, from the point of view of the union of East and the West. The enthusiastic support of such eminent men soon brought the University to the attention of the Universities abroad. And very soon that movement of inter-University relations was strengthened for good by the first benefactor of the University, Prosonno Coomar Tagore (1801—68). As early as 1862, within five years of the foundation of the University, he made a princely provision in his will bringing about Rs. 1,000 per month to the University. This was utilized for the now famous Tagore Law Professorship, the first of its kind in Asia, to stimulate researches in the Science of Jurisprudence. Prof. Herbert Cowell, the first incumbent, lectured in 1870—72; Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh, another benefactor, lectured in 1876; Dr. Gooroodas Banerjee, our first Indian Vice-Chancellor, also made solid contributions in 1878. In 1883 a great Jurist of German University Dr. Julius Jolly, a collaborator of Max Muller in his "Sacred Books of the East," was appointed to lecture on "Hindu Law of Partition and Adoption." Islamic jurisprudence was discussed by Syed Amir Ali in 1884. The distinguished British jurist, Sir Frederick Pollock Bart of Oxford, was appointed in 1894.

Dr. (later Sir) Ashutosh Mookerjee was honoured with the Tagore Law Professorship in 1898; and as soon as he found himself at the helm of the University, he utilized this Tagore Law Foundation for attracting great scholars from different Universities, keeping up the cosmopolitan tradition of the Endowment. The United States of America was so far unrepresented in the succession-list of our Tagore Professorship; and so Sir Ashutosh appointed two distinguished American jurists: Prof. W. W. Willoughby of the Johns Hopkins University in 1919 to lectures on "The Fundamental Concepts of Public Law" and Prof. J. W. Garner of the Illinois University in 1923 to trace "The Recent Develop-

ments in International Law in the 20th Century." In 1924, just a few months before he passed away, Sir Ashutosh had the satisfaction of presiding over the lectures of the French jurist Prof. Henry Solus, whom he invited to discuss the principles of the famous "*Code Civile*" of France.

Called to occupy the privileged chair of the Vice-Chancellor in 1906, Sir Asutosh soon realized that the University, in order to justify its title and its motto of "Advancement of Learning," must make a bold move away from mere affiliation and examination and that it must develop the atmosphere of research. Thus, while celebrating the 50th Jubilee of the University in 1908, he inaugurated very appropriately the Readership Lectures, opening other channels of academic fellowship. Thus in 1909 we find three distinguished Readers: Dr. G. Thibaut to lecture on Hindu Astronomy, Sir T. H. Holland on Geology of India and Prof. A. Schuster, F. R. S., on Physics. In 1909 Prof. R. Fischel, the great German Sanskritist, was invited but he died in Madras on the way; and his valuable collection was purchased by Sir Asutosh for the University. The German archaeologist Dr. Theodore Bloch, attached to the Indian Museum, was also appointed in 1910 but he too died before delivering his lectures. In 1911 Rev. S. Yamakami of the Sotoshu University, Japan, was invited to lecture on "Systematic Buddhism" and his "System of Buddhistic Thought" was published by the University of Calcutta in 1912.

In 1911-12 Sir Ashutosh took giant strides towards the major goal of his University administration—the organisation of the Post-graduate studies. We find him appointing the distinguished alumni of foreign universities, available in Bengal, as "University lecturers" duly appointed by the Senate. Dr. L. Fermor and Mr. Venderburg (geologists); Dr. E. Denison Ross and Lt. Col. D. C. Phillott (author *Higher Persian Grammar*) as philologists; G. B. Watson, E. A. Home and C. Russel (Patna), E. B. Watson, W. A. J. Archbold (Dacca) among others. To conduct post-graduate research and to stimulate creative work, special professorships were created to transform, in course of 1913-14, a mere examining University into a functioning centre of post-graduate teaching and research.

Simultaneously, Sir Asutosh strengthened the Post-graduate Department by inducing a few of his friends to make princely donations. Sir Taraknath Palit Trust and Sir Rashbehari Ghose Endowment helped the nationalization of scientific research in India through the development of the first University College of Science. So the Ramtanu Lahiri Fellowship was created supporting research in Bengali and Indian vernaculars. Thus we find in 1913-14 quite a Ministry of all the Talents in our University: Prof. Dr. Brajendranath Seal as the George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Dr. W. H. Young, F. R. S., as the Hardinge Professor of Mathematics, Prof. C. J. Hamilton as the Minto Professor of Economics, Dr. G. Thibaut as the Carmichael Professor of Indian History and Culture, with another German scholar to assist him, Dr. Otto Strauss, to teach Comparative Philology and Professor Dineschandra Sen,

the renowned author of the "History of the Bengali Language and Literature" as the first Ramtanu Fellow.

Not satisfied with such generous provisions within the University, Sir Ashutosh invited eminent savants from different Universities abroad to develop friendly collaboration with them, and also to inspire the rising generation of Indian scholars to think not merely in terms of degrees and jobs but of creative research bringing permanent glory. Here we find Sir Ashutosh a veritable pioneer in Indian University administration and his noble project was ardently supported by the generation of scholars who came as our Readers or Guest Professors, many of whom returned with the Honorary Doctors' degrees of our University. Thus Prof. Sylvain Levi of College de France and University of Paris was invited to lecture on the "Cultural Relations of India with the Outside World," Prof. Hermann Jacobi of the University of Bonn to lecture on "Indian Alamkāra Literature," Prof. H. Oldenburg of the University of Gottingen to lecture on the "Vedic and Epic Literature," Prof. Paul Vinogradoff of the University of Oxford on "Kinship in Early Law" and Prof. A. R. Forsyth, F. R. S., of the University of Cambridge on the "Theory of Two Complex Variables" (Calcutta University Press, 1914).

That was a record in inter-University relations of which any University would be proud; and so long as Sir Ashutosh lived, he never missed a single opportunity to arrange lectures of such distinguished scholars for the benefit of his students. A brief incident may illustrate his attitude. Prof. Herbert Fisher (then Vice-Chancellor of the Sheffield University, later Minister of Education) happened to visit Calcutta in 1911 as member of our Public Service Commission. He was known to us, the students of the History Department of the University, as an authority on Napoleon and as an author of *Bonapartism*. So when the students requested Sir Ashutosh to bring Prof. Fisher to the University, he readily agreed to be their "canvasser," convinced Prof. Fisher, although overworked as a Commissioner, and brought him to deliver a brilliant discourse on Napoleon, to the great delight of the students. The mind of Sir Ashutosh was like a telescope on a lofty observatory to survey the academic world, to spot risings luminaries and to draw them towards India. Just on the eve of the World War, there was a session of the British Association in Australia; and, counting on the return, *via* India, of some of the scholars and scientists, he invited Prof. H. E. Armstrong F. R. S., of the Imperial Council of Science, London, Prof. H. H. Turner, F. R. S., Professor of Astronomy; Oxford, Prof. E. H. Brown, F. R. S. of the Department of Mathematics, University of Wales, Prof. A. M. Hicks of the University of Sheffield and Prof. A. Bateson of the Cambridge University. Although most of these scholars were unfortunately prevented by the World war from visiting our University, such invitations were significant events in the annals of our Indian Universities.

As soon as the war was over, we find the Calcutta University pursuing steadily this wise policy. So in 1919 we find Sir Ashutosh, as President of the

Post-Graduate Department, moving for the appointment of Prof. L. F. Rushbrook Williams and Dr. G. C. Simson, F. R. S., as our readers. Prof. H. E. Armstrong lectured on Chemistry and Prof. Alfred Foucher on Indonesian Art as our Readers. Prof. Hakuji Ui of Japan was also invited but could not come. In 1921-22 Sir W. J. Pope, F. R. S., of Cambridge, lectured on "Atomic Theory," Prof. J. S. Mackenzie of the University of Wales, lectured on "Philosophy" and Prof. Sylvain Levi on "Ancient India." In 1923 when Dr. Rabindranath Tagore was lecturing on "Sāhitya," Dr. M. Winternitz of the University of Prague lectured on Sanskrit Literature. The Hon'ble Mr. Bertand Russel, F. R. S., of England and Prof. Yone Noguchi of Keio University, Japan, were also invited in 1923-24, although they were detained from visiting India. Thus Sir Ashutosh, before the premature close of his noble career in 1924, had at least the satisfaction that he brought his Alma Mater in close relations with the scholarly world of Europe, America and the Far East.* His wise policy was an asset of incalculable worth and potentiality; as some day, let us hope in near future, it will transform the Indian Universities from a mere backwater of borrowed knowledge into a veritable ocean of learning as of yore, regulating the ebb and flow of world wisdom by the rhythm of its elemental creative urge.

That policy of Sir Ashutosh is loyally pursued by some of his successors and we find from invitations to Prof. Carlo Formichi of the University of Rome lecturing on the Upanishads (published by the Calcutta University, 1927) and to Prof. Manley O. Hudson of the Harvard University, U. S. A., on International Co-operation as our Readers (1926-1927). In 1923 Prof. Buck of the University of Nebraska addressed on the "American Universities" and in 1927 Mr. T. Itishani of Japan lectured on "Shipping and Transport" while Prof. C. K. Webster ("the European Alliance," Calcutta University, 1929) and Dr. H. Luders discussed their special problems of research. In 1928 we had Prof. Arnold Sommerfeld ("Lectures on wave Mechanics," Calcutta University Press) of Munich and Prof. Glasenapp of Königsburg. In 1929 Sir William Wilcocks, Prof. D. S. Margoliouth of Oxford ("Lectures on Arabic Historians," Calcutta University, 1930), Prof. G. Tucci ("Some Aspects of Doctrines of Maitreya and Asanga" Calcutta University, 1930) of Rome, Prof. A. P. Newton of London (Principles of Training for Historical Investigation, "Calcutta University, 1939) and Prof. E. L. Schaub of North Western University, U. S. A.

* In his last Convocation Address delivered on 24th March, 1923, Sir Ashutosh said characteristically with profound feeling :—

"During the last sixteen years we have uniformly recognized the principle that the most fruitful results in the domain of higher studies could be achieved only by the assimilation of what is best in the West with what is best in the East for the revivification of all that is most vital in our national ideals. It is for this reason that we have successively brought our students into contact with such master minds as Prof. Schuster, Prof. Thibaut, Prof. G. T. Walker, Dr. Farayth, Prof. Oldenburg, Prof. Jacobi, Prof. Armstrong, Prof. Foucher, Prof. Sylvain Levi and others".

were our Readers. Invitations were also offered between 1930-1936 to Dr. Maria Montessori of Rome, to Dr. A. D. Lindsay of Oxford ('On the Historical Socrates and Platonic form of the Good,' Cal. Univ. 1939), to Dr. J. Germanus of Budapest (Hungary), to Dr. A. McNair of Cambridge, to Prof. G. Montague Harris and to Madame Halide Edib of Adana (Turkey), to Poet Yone Noguchi (Japan) to Dr. A. J. Barnet Kempers of Leyden (Holland), to Prof. Zoltan de Takacs of the World Federation of Educational Associations.

The Tagore Law Professorships and the University Readerships have helped enormously in developing our inter-university relations, further strengthened by voluntary services rendered by the members of the Post-Graduate Department in Arts and Sciences and their students, to all distinguished visitors to our University, not forgetting the advanced students, from America, Germany, France, Tibet, China and Japan who are ever coming to India on friendly exchange. This would inevitably lead to a system of Student Exchange; and we hope our University would give a lead in this matter, developing inter university relations to the fullest extent. The Consul-Generals of the various nations take keen interest in our inter-university fellowship and have shown exemplary courtesy to over staff and the students. Distinguished foreign scholars, scientists, artists and antiquarians often pay visits to our University and are received by the Secretary of the Post-Graduate Department, the Registrar and our Vice-Chancellor who are all attention to them. And if time and our funds permit, they are offered some special lectureship to induce them to discuss their special researches before our students and the public. Thus Prof. Patrick Geddes lectured on "Town Planning," Dr. T. R. Glover on "Athens in the Age of Plato," Prof. A. A. Macdonell on Comparative Religion, 'Dr. F. W. Thomas on Indology, Dr. G. J. Walker, F. R. S. of Cambridge on "Electromagnetism," Prof. W. A. Craige on "English Literature," Dr. Sten Konow (Norway) on the "Scythian Period of Indian History," Prof. J. Ph. Vogel (Holland) on "Java," Prof. F. S. Marvin on "History," C. J. Saunders (U. S. A) on "Buddhism," Dr. H. H. Drummond on "Liberal Religious Movements," Sir Arthur Salter on the "League of Nations" and Prof. Norman Brown (U.S.A) on "Jaina Painting," Prof. W. G. Rafter on "Art", Prof. H. T. Ward of the Union Theological Seminar of New York on the "Future of the Intellectual Class" Prof. E. H. Solomon on the "Protection of Indian Steel Industry", Sir Ernest Rutherford of Cambridge, Dr. Rudolf Otto of Marburg, Prof. W. Blaschke of Germany and Victor Goloubew of French Indo-China and Prof. Macchioro of Italy, were invited by our University.

It is needless to say that such a generous approach on the part of our University was reciprocated by many leading institutions abroad. Space would not permit us to detail the facts of such a cultural exchange and we mention only a few. In 1905-06 while Lord Curzon as Chancellor was prerorating on "the misty arch that spans the gulf between East and West," our Indian leaders were

developing cultural relations with Japan and U. S. A. So ours was the first University in India to be put on the complimentary exchange list of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and such world organisations. In 1910 invitations came from the University of Naples and from the St. Andrews University on its 500th Anniversary. In 1912 the University was invited to participate in the Congress of the Universities of the Empire in London where Dr. (now Sir) Denison Ross, Director of the London School of Oriental Studies was one of our delegates. This led to our permanent relations with the "Universities Bureau of the British Empire." In 1913 the Astronomical Society of Mexico made contact and the University of Leipzig (which sent this Prof. Dr. F. Levi to our Hardinge Chair) and sought to establish student exchange with our University. The Royal Society of London thanked the University on its donation to the Lester Memorial Fund (1913). In 1914 it celebrated Sir Walter Scott's Waverley Centenary with a centennial address from Principal H. R. James. In 1915 Dr. Sir J. C. Bose in his Convocation address to the Hindu University, Benares, wished that our universities may attain a 'world status and be fit to give world messages' and the University of Calcutta was rightly characterized as "the mother of the Universities" for new India: "The sparks of the non-extinguishable fire kindled in our midst have already leapt to all parts of India and the sister universities are eager to imitate and emulate what we have initiated." Between 1916-17 our University, led by Sir Ashutosh, was collaborating with the distinguished Western educationists of the Sadler Commission with Vice-Chancellor Sir M. Sadler of Leeds. Dr. Gregory of Glasgow, Prof. Ramsay Muir of Manchester and Dr. Hartog of London, to evolve a new system of university education for India. Their Reports and Recommendations will serve as guiding light for years to come, as has been observed by Prof. A. R. Wadia, the Secretary of the Inter-University Board (*India and the World*, Aug., 1934: Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee and the University of Calcutta). In 1911 the Calcutta University participated in the Congress of the Universities of the Empire, presided over by its former Chancellor, Lord Curzon and also in the Association of Indian Universities Committee which later on developed into the Inter-University Board of India.

Our relation with the University of Paris was most cordial as we see from its conferring in 1920 a special medal to the Calcutta University with its "sympathie fraternelle" and a hearty message, "de rendre ainsi hommage a l'Université de Calcutta et de la remercier de la part glorieuse que l'Inde a prise a la victoire commune", rendering thereby homage to the University of Calcutta and thanking her for the glorious role which India had played in the common victory. So in 1920 Lord Ronaldshay (now Marquess of Zetland), an ardent supporter of our University, in his Rectorial address impressed on all Indian universities, founded after the University of Calcutta, "the urgent necessity of striving after a real synthesis between the thought, the culture, the civilisation of East and West."

In 1921-22 our University conferred Honorary Doctorate on Prof. Alfred Foucher and Prof. Sylvain Levi; and the University was honoured with an invitation to the Centenary of the *Société Asiatique* of Paris in 1922 which was attended by me and my friend Dr. S. K. Chatterjee. The University was invited to the Seventh centenary of the University of Padua, to the 860 anniversary of the foundation of St. Bartholomew Hospital, London, to the centenary of Louis Pasteur, to the Congress of Libraries and Librarians in Paris, to the Cambridge University Conference on Extra-mural Teaching, and to the Imperial Education Conference and many other cultural events.

For years together, Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Roy gloriously represented our University in the world of Sciences and in ever so many inter-university functions. So in 1924-25 our University sent Dr. S. N. Dasgupta and Prof. S. Radhakrishnan as delegates to the International Philosophical Congresses, and they lectured also extensively in the Universities of Europe and the U. S. A. as guest professors. So Prof. C. V. Raman was sent to U. S. A. and Canada to attend the meeting of the British Association, the International Mathematical Congress of Toronto and the Centenary of the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia. Prof. Raman also attended the *bicentenary* of the Russian Academy of Sciences, visiting Leningrad and Moscow; these contacts and exchange of ideas brought to Prof. Raman the rare honour of the Fellowship of the Royal Society (1925) and ultimately the Nobel Prize for Physics, a few years later (1930), as the Palit Professor of our University. In 1924 the University was invited to the Imperial Conference of Students, in London, and to the World Federation of Education Associations (Edinburgh) and also to the Jubilee of the University of Leeds. There were invitations to attend the Centenary of Prof. M. Barthelot, the French Chemist, the tercentenary of Harvey, the Centenary of the University College of London of which our first Nobel Laureate Dr. Tagore was a student. The New Education Fellowship at Elsinor, Denmark (1926-28), the Third Anglo-American Conference of Historians (1931), the world Conference of Narcotic Education (1930), the Power Congress of Berlin, the International Congress of Pure Chemistry, Madrid, the Jubilee of the University of Brussels, the International Phonetic Congress and the Congress of Anthropology in London invited our delegates. Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, our George V Professor of Philosophy who won great repute as an author and speaker was invited to deliver lectures under the Hibbert Foundation; and, on the retirement of Sir J. C. Bose from the Council, was elected in his place to represent India in League of Nations Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, Geneva. Prof. Radhakrishnan was also appointed Spalding Professor of Eastern Religion and Ethics at the Oxford University.

Under our Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh foundation, Prof. A. A. Macdonell of Oxford lectured on "Comparative Religion" (Calcutta University Press, 1925); Prof. M. A. Canney of the Manchester University lectured on "Newness of Life" (1924-25). Prof. D. C. Macintosh on "The Pilgrimage

of Faith in the world of Modern Thought" (1927—28). Prof. J. C. Webb of Oxford on "The Contribution of Christianity to Ethics" (1930—31) and their lectures have been published by the University of Calcutta. Thus through our Fellows, Professors and Lecturers, past and present, the University of Calcutta, up to its Centenary, have been participating in the academic life of the world. And when our delegates attended the Centenary of the University of London we remembered with legitimate pride that, in the Orient, our University of Calcutta acted as a veritable pioneer in developing inter-university relations and intellectual co-operation between the East and the West, on which depend, the future peace and progress of mankind.

Several members of our Post-Graduate Department of Arts and Science have participated in the various sections of the All-India Orientalists' Conferences, the Indian Science Congress, the Indian Philosophical and Historical Congress etc. So many of them have also lectured *abroad*, taking advantage of their study leave, special deputation, or the generous provisions of the Ghosh Travelling Fellowship. Thus the sociological and economic problems of India were discussed by Prof. Benoy K. Sarkar in the International Population Congress of Rome and in the University of Munich under the auspices of the *Deutsche Academic* which, like the Italian University on Perugia, systematically supported the cause of our students. So lectures on India history and culture, on Indian Art and archæology were delivered in the Royal Academy of Italy and the University of Rome, in the *Ateneos* of Barcelona and Madrid in the Geneva School of International Studies, in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, the International Houses (Rockefeller Foundation) of Chicago, Berkeley and New York, the Boston Muesum of Fine Arts, in the Teachers' College, Columbia University, as well as in the Universities of Harvard, Yale, Pennsylvania, Pittsburg, and Hawaii, North Western, Los Angeles Oregon, Montana, in the U. S. A., as well as the University centres of Chicago, Montreal, Toronto the Philippines, of Shanghai, Kaifeng, Peking, Kyoto Sendai and Tokyo also in Indo-China, Java Malasiya and Burma. Scholars of the Calcutta University today are collaborating, with all the sister universities of India and abroad, as members of the faculty, researchers and visiting lectures. Thus they have contributed substantially to the development of inter-university relations and to cultural collaboration between the East and the West.

The Calcutta Review February, 1937.
(Revised on our Centenary in 1957)

INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF NON-VIOLENCE

PRINCIPLE AND PLANNING

Although for diplomatic and other utilitarian reasons the cultural problems of the Asian nations could not be discussed, with reference to their religious context, at the first Asian Relations Conference of New Delhi (1947), or at the Bandung Conference (1955), yet the historical fact could not be ignored that Asia is the Mother of all religions ; and consequently the great religious system of Asia must be a major consideration for the teeming millions waiting for spiritual synthesis and cultural integration.

If modern man has found religion to be an uncomfortable legacy or something like an encumbered property, yet we are sure that millions of men and women, of the East as well as of the West, are still primarily guided, in their daily thoughts and actions, by their respective national religious traditions. A few "emancipated" beings may flatter themselves to believe that they are the cult-free leaders of future humanity which will discard religion altogether. But while we proceed with the task of comparing and co-ordinating the cultural heritages of the leading nations of the world, we must constantly refer historically to their religious traditions and scriptures. A good deal of our secular literature, our mythology and folk lore, reflecting the life and mind of the common people, have come down to us through the religious traditions and Sacred Books. So, even if we are less religiously inclined today we should try to utilise the rich data and cultural materials imbedded in our religious classics. It is probably for this reason that Soviet Russia which, in the beginning, was alleged to be anti-religious, is now showing a creditable tolerance to the diverse religions of the multi-national States. In fact, the State of U. S. S. R. encourages the scientific study of the leading Indian religion, Buddhism, by promoting the publication of a very important series of "*Bibliotheca Buddhica*". The Mahabharata, the Ramayana which are not only read but venerated by the Hindus as religious books, have been translated by the Russians after a colossal expenditure of money and energy. The museums of U.S.S.R. as well as of other progressive Western nations are full of rare samples and collections of Oriental religions, art and culture.

Not only the higher philosophical religions but the lower animistic belief of millions of "submerged mankind", whom we summarily condemn to day as the "depressed classes" or as aborigines, Pagans, heathens etc, deserve the closest attention of our statesmen, as it has been strongly urged by eminent sociologists and anthropologists. For, through the strange and even repelling "survivals" among the backward peoples, we may reconstruct the history of

man's thought from the early Stone Ages, through the Metal Ages, to our age of electricity and Atomic energy.

The mind of man was at first explored and developed, country by country, through their respective regional academies and universities. In spite of some minor differences in scholastic and cultural traditions of the East and the West, there is this fundamental similarity that our parochial minds were progressively liberated and expanded ; so that we could understand, even if we had failed to fully realise, the universal character of human thought and culture. This is fairly well expressed through our national and regional universities and their specialised adjuncts, the various institutes, literary as well as scientific, official as well as non-official.

Facing, as we do to-day, the problem of survival or extinction in this Atomic age, we should not shun the responsibility of trying to check the forces of disruption and to re-unite the shattered fabrics of human society by redoubling the efforts towards the spiritual unification of mankind.

The prophets, seers and spiritual leaders of all nations have invariably enjoined upon us, as our first duty, the practising of tolerance and charity towards our fellow-beings ; but alas, the spiritual significance of charity is almost lost to us. We are pretending to be charitable by patronisingly showing small mercies to our weaker neighbours while exploiting or persecuting them ruthlessly. Charity and culture are but synonymous in our much-vaunted modern civilisation. To rectify these deplorable perversions of human nature which threaten to destroy mankind, all sincere lovers of culture and servants of humanity should now combine to reform and internationalize our national universities, promptly and effectively, so that the coming generation may gain universality of outlook without which the university would be a contradiction in terms. Racial hatred, communalism and its tragic legacies of segregation, brutalities, persecutions and massacres, have tarnished the records of modern man, in this "scientific" age. We are ashamed even to remember to-day "what man has made of man," in this 20th century. Let us try sincerely to make amends, as far as possible, by reshaping our cultural and spiritual life and activities.

So remembering the 2500 anniversary of Mahavira and Buddha, celebrated by the representatives of so many progressive nations, we may hope that, for the permanent Peace of the World and abiding benefit of the entire humanity, the foundation-stone could be laid of the first International University of Non-violence. It may develop its own headquarters, faculties and constituent colleges gradually. But, to begin with, it should make a vigorous and uncompromising declaration of Faith that Non-violence is the universal law of our being ; that through the discipline of Non-violence alone, we may gradually hope to humanize 'the tiger and ape in man', and may pass from the jungle laws to the law of enlightened humanity. There may be occasional lapses and back-slidings ; but we

should have the courage to hold aloft the banner of *Ahimsa*, in the solution of all our national and international problems and struggles which, as we fully realize, could neither be summarily dismissed nor solved in a day. We plead for a new orientation and a new hope in the future of Man. In that spirit and in due humility we submit, in broad outlines, the plan of the International University of Non-violence in India, the land of Jainism, Buddhism, Vaishnavism and other consistent traditions of *Ahimsa*, co-operating through centuries for our common welfare.

SYLLABUS OF STUDY : OUR NEW HUMANITIES

Early history of man is often represented in lurid colours as "Nature red in tooth and claw"; but the parallel movement of co-operation, as against conflict, has not yet been adequately studied with scientific detachment and thoroughness. Prince Kropotkin, in his famous book "*Mutual Aid*", attempted to explain human society in terms of co-operation; and many distinguished thinkers and scientists have contributed to this new branch of study. We are specially indebted to geneticians and biologists, anthropologists and sociologists who throw a new light on the dawn of history. Pre-historic archaeology has also produced most valuable evidences to show that man, even in the early Stone Ages, made substantial progress through co-operative ventures, although conflicts were common in their precarious food-gathering economy. Primitive Man made keen observations of Nature, as reflected in the admirable cave paintings dominated by animal *motifs*. From the paintings of animals, man gradually learnt how to domesticate them in the Neolithic Age when woman takes the lead as home builder, potter and weaver, with other avocations in our social history. The science of Agriculture and Irrigation depended for its development on corporate human activities; and thus the laws of co-operation and not merely of competitive economics could be formulated and developed.

The spirit of awe in early Animistic man, haunted by the sense of the divine presence not only in human beings but even in plants and animals, stocks and stones, could be shown by reference to the standard works on comparative mythology and religion. With the development of primitive Art and Technology the mind of man was ever expanding; and corresponding growth in his ideas could be studied both in the written and unwritten literatures of the various ancient and primitive races. Many of the early terms and concepts of philosophy show their intimate connection with the primitive techniques and animistic beliefs which found its philosophical justification in the Vedic and Vedantic literature; and which inspired an eminent Indian scientist Sir J. C. Bose to conduct his researches embodied in "*Response of the Living and the*

Nonliving". Our vast Jaina and Buddhistic literatures also furnish most valuable evidences of research and speculation on science and culture of the Orient along these lines. These may be studied with reference to similar literatures in China, Iran, Arabia and other Asian countries.

Development of Civilisation

With the emergence of the river-mothered (Nadi-Mātrika) civilisation of the Nile Valley, the Mesopotamian Valley, the Indus Valley, the Hoang-ho and Yangtsi Valley, we enter a new phase of human activity. Most of the books of Ancient History are full of interesting details of their cultural life ; but the contribution of the common man and woman who form the very foundation of the social pyramid, are often unjustly ignored or very inadequately treated. How they came to be degraded to obnoxious slavery, in which men and women could be bought and sold as mere chattel, has not been sufficiently examined and explained, owing to our lack of sympathy for the *common man* and our childish adoration of conquerors and emperors who dominate the whole show. Some compensation has been made however, by a great archaeologist like Sir Flinders Petrie in his "Arts and crafts of Egypt" and by Toyenbu in his "Study of History." Works on those models should be written now to show the positive contribution of the common man and woman to the stock of human civilisation which follow the normal curves of transition from the Ancient to the Classical and thence to Mediæval and decadent phases.

The mediæval age both in Europe and Asia is unfortunately looked upon as the Dark Age ; but we forget that some of the grandest constructions of human mind and hand belong to the Middle ages extending over 1,000 years (500-1500 A. D.). There were Crusades and counter-crusades, and the Hundred Years Wars and Wars of Religion. But we should not lose our sense of proportion by loading the memory of our youths with their gruesome details while not discussing the constructive genius of the mediæval scholars saints and prophets like Śankara, Rāmanuja, Avicenna, Averros, Dante, Nanak, Kabir, and Chaitanya. Some of the grandest specimens of architecture, both in Europe and Asia, belong to the handicrafts of the middle ages. But the work of the mind was not less important ; for we find the principle and the practice of tolerance in your conduct to our fellow beings were gloriously vindicated by the mediæval saints and mystics whose works only recently are drawing our attention. But most of these silent servants of humanity still remain ignored and un-noticed ; for their sayings are not even collected and adequately translated. Sectarianism is no doubt a curse but the positive contribution of many such sects, like the Essenes of the Dead Sea scrolls have yet to be studied, assembled and discussed in details.

Modern Man and the Machine Age

The old yielded place to new, when, in 1492, Columbus discovered the New World while attempting to discover India. Since then, we notice, the Western States have been developing a most morbid propensity of dominating over the less protected and poorly organised Oriental nations. Western colonial zones in Asia and Africa are the veritable storm-centres of modern history. And unless and untill colonial domination and Race hatred give way to a healthy collaboration on a basis of equality between the West and the East, we should ever be on the brink of precipitious wars and periodic devastation of life and society. Brinkman-ship must give way to stable statesmanship.

It is high time the Modern man should apply his mind to the eradication of the root-cause of this war-neurosis which ravages the body-politic of modern nations and sub-nations. For, alas, we are still pretending to believe that absolute domination by brute force and violence is the only solution of the problems. So we have sought to divide mankind into two classes: the dominating powers and the dominated sub nation groups, developing vicious circles of conquests and rebellions, of retaliations and re-conquests, in a state of perpetual wars and chaos of dis-equilibrium. We hoped in the last century that Science would save us by revealing the laws of Nature. But Science has proved to be a double-edged weapon which, in our century, has probably destroyed as much as it has constructed. By lending itself to the ruthless scientific destruction of life and property, Science has almost forfeited its title to go govern our destiny. Modern Science with modern Politics requires purification in order to establish their claims to leadership.

New Humanism.

Humanism of the old type, developed in our traditional schools and universities, has also failed us by the betrayal of the Spirit of Man and bowing to the aggressive and exploiting State which should wither away as Tolstoy hoped. So we are in need of a renovated humanism based on true scientific knowledge checking and enriching one another for the permanent well-being of mankind.

India is the ideal field for the development of this new humanism. Here we have witnessed the dawn of speculative philosophy and of scientific thoughts. Above all, here in India, we have the tradition of centuries of practice of, and not mere theorising on, the principle of *Ahimsā*, the very foundation of individual and group Ethics. What we want is to strengthen further our conviction by utilising the process of scientific research, so as to be able to offer not only to India or to Asia but to the whole mankind, a code of public conduct (*Pancha-Sīla*) and the method of solving human problems in a human way, avoiding the brutalities of war in the past history of man.

Faculties.

So the work of the International University of Non-violence will naturally divide itself into two broad-based Faculties : (A) Humanistic and (B) Scientific. But these should not be watertight compartments ; for we aspire to base our new humanism on scientific research just as we hope to humanise the *enfant terrible* of modern science. There seeme to be a searching of the heart among some of our leading scientists who have publicly denounced the use of Atomic energies in warfare as the worst prostitution of scientific experience destroying the very basis of society. We should give top priority to those branches of scientific research which are conducive to the permanent well-being of mankind ; nutrition and food economy in our half-starved world demanding freedom from Hunger ; sanitation and health sciences should restore energy and joy in life ; the improvement of life and prevention of cruelty to the animal world ; in fact all studies which help to raise the standard of living of All Beings (Sarva-Sattva) who are now half enslaved and mercilessly exploited through the ignoble instincts of stealing and acquisitiveness, which **Jainism** aspired to control by the noble principle of nonstealing (*a-chaurya*) and non-possessiveness (*a-parigraha*).

Thus the sciences of saving Life and of elevating Society will induce the growth of a new Economics and a new Etho-politics which are the main pillars of our new humanism. In this faculty we should marshall fully the data of social evolution of man from the dim prehistoric past to the present ages in order to guide his steps to the future. Anthropology and Sociology would come to our aid ; and we should start from the condition of our brother man in the humblest and the lowest rung of the social ladder—the primitive tribes and clans—struggling for bare existence with the very poor equipments of their economy of food-gathering. From that precarious condition how man developed gradually the more balanced economy of agriculture, trade and commerce, through co-operation ; the surplus and profit motives leading to conscious or unconscious exploitation of man by man, and the attempts to share the profit collectively and to socialise wealth not merely as Wealth of Nations but as the wealth of Mankind. All these stages should be thoroughly investigated. An acquisitive society will automatically develop the aggressive state provoking war and conquest, ruthless domination and violent revolutions in a vicious circle. So we must try to discover the process of educating Man into the conviction of Social Justice, of the eternal sanctity of life and the fundamental unity of mankind. Here the deathless lessons of Mahavira and Budha, of Lao-tze and Confucius, among others, will help us in the task of transvaluating the values. The world does not know yet how much of valuable data in this line of humanistic studies lies embedded and ignored in the Canons of Jainism and Buddhism. Those truths continue to influence the lives of 400 millions of India even to-day.

JAINISM AND THE WORLD MESSAGE OF NON-VIOLENCE

The Jains (about 20 lacs of men and women) belong numerically to the smaller group of Indian religions. But, by virtue of the discovery and affirmation of the universal principle of *Ahimsā* or non-violence, Jainism may legitimately claim a very high place in the Parliament of Religions of Man. Jain scholars are inclined to trace the history of their sect to pre-historic antiquity when their pioneer Rishava Deva or Adinātha, the first Tirthankara flourished. The 23rd. Tirthankara Paraśvanātha (800 B. C.) and the 24th. Tirthankara, Mahāvira belonged definitely to the historic period. Mahāvira was a senior contemporary of Gautama Buddha, the founder of Buddhism.

It was recently found out by some learned Jain scholars that Mahāvira delivered his first sermon 2500 years ago, about the year of 556 B. C., when, on the first day of the month of Śrāvana, Mahāvira preached, from the Vipula mount of Rājagriha (ancient capital of Magadha), his first sermon on Purity Peace and Universal Happiness.

So, that memorable date was celebrated at Rajgir in Behar with due solemnity in July, 1944 when the mortal war clouds of the Second World War began to lift. To enable larger number of Jains as well as non-Jains to commemorate the event, a big Jain Congress was convened at Calcutta, from 31st Oct. to 4th November, 1944 when the Axis Powers were collapsing. Jains of different denominations, together with the representatives of other religions, who believed in the principle of non violence, participated in the Conference with great enthusiasm, and the Vira Sāsana Sangha was duly organised. With the characteristic catholicity of Jainism which first admitted the rights of women, as *Śrāvikā* and *Arjikā*, to emancipation, the membership was thrown open to all men and women—irrespective of caste, colour or creed—who sincerely believed in *Ahimsā* or non-violence as the Law of Gravitation of the universe of Man.

That universe is threatened to-day with devastation nay, total extinction through hatred and war which are ominously pushing the benighted mankind to the deadly precipice of the Atomic Warfare. Our capacity of reconstruction, after the First World Wars, was sadly lagging behind the infernal tempo of co-destruction. Thus humanity will face annihilation unless we all agree about a radical change of front which can only result from a sincere change of heart. There are enough of dodgings and prevarications which have sapped the very foundations of our ethical and social life. Politics, totally divorced from the elemental laws of survival, is threatening mankind with utter extinction. We may go on bluffing for a few years or decades more, but we cannot escape the relentless verdict of History. Many nations, kingdoms and empires have already vanished or have encumbered the galleries of dead antiquities. But if we hope and aspire to continue and to contribute to the stock of human civilisation, we must accept Non-violence as the basic principle of our co-existence.

At this crisis of history and of civilisation India invited to Delhi (1947) the first Asian Relations Conference where some of the most pressing and complicated problems of social, economic and cultural life of the Afro-Asian races were discussed. We could not miss the opportunity offered by that great event and sought the hand of fellowship and collaboration of all our brothers and sisters who believed in non-violence. One need not be a born Jain to accept the principle of Ahimsā. The greatest Personality who lived *ahimsā*, Mahatma Gandhi was not a Jain. In him we find the fulfilment of centuries of Indian spiritual discipline and the promise of a new age of *Maitree* (fraternity) which is the flowering and fruition of *Ahimsā*. The master minds of the East and the West dreamt of that consummation. They live in love and love only and they are not afraid of facing hatred, persecution, even death. In fact the "Crown of Thorns" are ever on their forehead and we can only serve them by striving to live according to their ideals.

So, at this solemn hour, we appeal to all well-wishers of mankind to extend their co-operation in instituting, on an international basis, an organisation worthy of the land of Mahāvira, Buddha and Gandhi. It should be an unpretentious but living and functioning centre of research with Non-violence as the very basis of human society. The workers and sympathisers of this International University of Non-violence would form themselves into groups, both theoretical and practical, differentiated according to the special talents and predilections of the workers. Humanistic studies and Social Sciences would naturally form the two main pillars of this International University. Its headquarters should be in some convenient site in India, but with branches and associate institutions in all the progressive countries in the East and the West. The leading universities of the world should gradually be brought into a line of collaboration : and distinguished scholars, scientists, statesmen and jurists should be invited to spend their sabbatical year in some country congenial to them as Visiting scholars, just as it is done under the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Dependable translation with lucid commentaries, for the benefit of common men and women, should be prepared in order to popularise the canonical texts of Jainism, Buddhism and other Pacifist creeds. The existing universities should be induced to endow special chairs on International Relations ; and their old syllabus of the academic Humanities should gradually be *rehumanised* so as to make the pupils as well as the professors world-minded in the real sense of the term. Then and then only we may expect to get a new orientation on world politics, a renewal of world culture and possibly a new lease of life for our generation.

JAINOLOGY AND WORLD PEACE

Numerically, Jainism is a minor religion of India, yet it antedates Buddhism and offers a solution to many major national and international problems. The special message of Jainism to modern man is that of Ahimsā or non-

violence is to be understood and practised in our relation to all beings (*Sarva Sattva*) [a] terrestrial, [b] aquatic and [c] aerial, as later envisaged by the scientists of the Geo-physical year in the Antarctic.

We are conscious today of our responsibilities to our near relations and countrymen ; but we are still prone to think of our neighbours as enemies inducing strife, war and slaughter. Our private laws are codified and humanised, but our public and international laws with effective sanctions are more often honoured in the breach than in the observance. In the first half of the 20th century, humanity was ravaged by two wars, and we are today faced with the prospects of a third one with nuclear weapons, which may annihilate the human race. How can we feel for *aquatic* or *aerial* creatures, while we are callous about the human race itself ?

For the very survival of mankind and the welfare of all beings, we may profitably study the neglected history and philosophy of Jainism, recorded in the popular *Prakrit* languages, used by the seers and prophets of Jainism, a few centuries before the Buddha who knew Mahavira, the last Tirthankara, as his senior contemporary (6th century B. C.).

India, Ceylon, Burma, China, Japan and Thailand are celebrating the 2500th anniversary of the Mahāparinirvāṇa of the Buddha. The Śakyamuni belonged to the small republic of the Śākya clan, and he greatly appreciated the republican constitution of the Vajji clan who started with the Licchavis, the great Republic of Vaiśālī (the modern Basarh in Muzaffarpur District, north Bihar). Here was born (c. 600 B. C.) within another Kshatriya clan, Nāthaputra Vardhamāna, renowned later on as Mahāvira, the 24th Tirthankara of Jainism. He originally belonged to the Nirgrantha (bondless) sect founded by the 23rd prophet Paraśvanātha, a scion of the King of Kāśhī, who flourished c 800 B. C., when militaristic Assyria was collapsing and Persia was reverberating with the voice of sage Zoroaster exhorting the forces of Good to vanquish the armies of Evil. Rishabha or Adinātha, the first Tirthankara was followed by other prophets of Non violence like Neminātha (believed to be a cousin of Sri Krishna) and they proclaimed Peace as superior to war in the solution of human problems.

Five Leading Ways

Paraśvanātha taught the four leading ways to the crossing of the Ocean of Suffering : (1) Ahimsa or Non-violence ; (2) Satya or Truth ; (3) Asteya or Non-stealing ; (4) Aparigraha or Non-possessiveness ; and the fifth, (5) Brahmacharya or Chastity was added by Mahāvira.

Vardhamāna Mahāvira gave the finishing touches to the solid foundation of Ethics which, if sincerely followed, will save society and individuals from moral disintegration and ultimate collapse. So it is important for us to recognise our indebtedness to the "path-finders" of Jainism, at a time when we are reviewing the ideals and achievements of Buddhism on its 2500 anniversary.

The old Vedic religion degenerated into dogmas and rituals, sometimes involving animal sacrifices. Protesting against this, early Jainism and later Buddhism rejected the Vedas, proclaimed Ahimsā (Non-injury) and tapasyā (self mortification) as effective means of self-purification. But while the Buddhists by and large were relativists, the Jains were totalitarians, and they applied Ahimsa not only to human beings but to all creatures.

The Buddha advised his followers to avoid extremes of austerities, (tapasyā) physical and mental. He preached the philosophy of the "middle path", winning for a while the adherence of millions; and Jainism remains the religion of a minority. But Buddhism, through inordinate expansion, lost its pristine purity, while Jainism set the highest ideals and the most rigid standards of life and conduct.

Buddhism rejected the soul theory of early Brahmanism, developed the recondite doctrine of the "non soul" (*anātma*) and also rejected the dependence on the "oversoul" or God. Jainism, although non-theistic and non-Vedic, maintained the eternity of individual souls and their striving after perfection through rigid discipline and renunciation. (*Kāyotsarga*)

Both Buddhism and Jainism subordinated the emotional and emphasised the rational elements in man. They have thereby given posterity some of the rare *anekānta* system of logic (*syadvāda*) and their noble ethics and philanthropy. These two "revolutionary" faiths are non-theistic, but not anti-religious. They have survived the test of centuries, emerging as the two leading religions of the world, challenging the respectful attention of all interested in the spiritual quest of man.

Between 400 and 200 B. C., we find that the Nanda Kings and the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta supported Jainism, which spread as far as the south of Mysore (Sravana Belagola). Mahavira travelled from Bihar through Anga, Vanga and Kalinga. The most sacred sites of Jainism are Vaiśālī the temples on the Pāraśvanāth Hill in Behar, Rajagriha in Magadha and the rock-cut shrines of Udayagiri and Khandagiri in Orissa. The Digambara and Svetambara sects of Jainism are both represented in the inscriptions of Mathura, where we find grand specimens of Jaina sculpture and architecture. After the first Jaina Council of Pataliputra (1st century) another Council assembled in Vallabhi (Gujarat, about A. D. 500) whence Jainism spread, under the Chalukya Kings, over Kāṭiāwar in the west and through Mahārāshtra, under the Rāṣtrakūṭas to Kārṇāṭaka in the south. The early Chalukyas and the Rāṣtrakūṭas of the Deccan patronised Jainism, which came to be the official religion of the south under the early Pallavas and the Hoysalas of Mysore. In Maharashtra and Karnataka, Jainism exercised a dominant influence for about 1,000 years.

These Chalukya and other Kings of Anhilwada Rajasthan and Mah-Gujrat, were enlightened patrons of Jainism. Their ministers built the magnificent temples of Mt. Abu. We also find a very influential Jain community

maintaining Jain guest-houses Bhāndars and temples. Their libraries containing rare illustrated manuscripts which when fully catalogued and interpreted will add to our knowledge of Non-violence.

Jaina art and culture, religion and philosophy have enriched the life and literature of the Indian people. But while other branches of Indian culture are well represented in our libraries and museums, Jain art and culture rarely attract attention, though they deserve to be specially studied in the Indian universities, very few of which have a special chair on Jainism or Jainology. The greatest principle of humanism—Non-violence (Ahimsa)—is the special contribution of Jainism, which should be a vital part of humanistic studies in India and abroad. To focus the attention of the philosophers and educationists of the world, we, in India, should take the initiative in founding the first International University of Non-violence.

It is no longer the temporary defeat of some or the victory of other power, but the very survival of the human race and civilisation that is at stake now. This was realised by the 29 Asian and African nations, assembled at Bandung in 1955, where the spiritual principles of the *Panch Shila* or five rules of moral conduct, were accepted by the representatives. And now that peace is again threatened by another disastrous global war, we may seek world co-operation in the cause of Ahimsa.

The noblest monument to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi, the architect of Indian freedom would be a University of Non-violence possibly maintained by the Universities Grants Commission and supported by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. It would benefit not only India and Asia but the whole world hankering after peace and security, both denied us by our exploiting economics and bellicose politics. Both these disruptive forces could be controlled, if we could plan a broad humanistic education with Non-possessiveness (*aparigraha*) and Non-violence as guiding principles.

May the world listen to the eternal voice of India !

Ahimsa Paramo Dharma

Non-violence is the supreme virtue.

UNIVERSITY FOR WORLD UNITY

P. H. KUTAR

Works Manger, Tata Iron and Steel Co., Jamshedpur.

You will all agree with me, when I say that we have today,* been treated to a very stimulating and instructive address. We are indeed grateful to the Agrani Sangh for inviting a scholar and speaker of Dr. Kalidas Nag's eminence and giving us all the opportunity of listening to his inspiring and elevating discourse.

A few days ago, I read with interest, the statement of Dr. Nag released by the Associated Press of India, which he made in connection with the session of the Asian Relations Conference. As you already know, Dr. Nag has appealed in this statement, to all well-wishers of mankind to co-operate in instituting an International University of Non-Violence. Dr. Nag has not propounded a sentimental scheme. Nor has he indulged in mere wishful thinking. The world is already full of sententious precepts and pious platitudes about goodwill and understanding which waste themselves into thin air. It was therefore, heartening to find that a very commendable attempt is being made by Dr. Nag, to do something concrete, to propound something definite for spreading the cult of Non Violence, and to launch a plan of campaign for making this approach effective in collective life.

The International University, as visualized by Dr. Nag, would be an unpretentious but living and functioning centre of research, with non-violence as the very basis of human society. The workers and sympathisers of this international university of non-violence would form themselves into groups both theoretical and practical, differentiated according to the special talents and predilections of the workers. Humanistic studies and Social Sciences would naturally form the two main pillars of this international university. Its headquarters should be in some convenient site in India, but with branches and associated institutions in all the progressive countries in the East and the West.

Dr. Nag is also of opinion that the leading universities of the world should gradually be brought into a line of collaboration; and distinguished scholars, scientists, statesmen and jurists should be invited as visiting professors to this university. The purpose of initiating such a university is to make the pupils as well as the professors world-minded in the real sense of the term, in order to have a new orientation on world politics, a renewal of world culture and possibly a new lease of life for our generation.

* On his return from the Asian Relations Conference New Delhi, Dr. Nag was invited by the public of Jamshedpur to deliver lecture on the "International University of Non-Violence", 20th April, 1947, and Mr. P. H. Kutar presided.

Dr. Nag's excellent and timely plan has indeed a far reaching significance. Examined in its global context such a plan provides a sound basis for educating humanity in the paths of Peace.

A World Government is not easy unless we have, as a preliminary, an enlightened public opinion behind it, unless we have the whole-hearted friendliness and co operation of nations to implement it. A Cultural Unity, originating from such a University, is therefore a preparatory step towards finding out a common basis for larger grouping of mankind. The atomic bomb has telescoped history and has made it impossible for us to await long years of acute danger of war, because from that war civilisation and mankind cannot survive. Territorial problems, economic, religious and racial problems, questions of national honour which have hitherto been resolved by force can no longer be so resolved. We have reached the stage where two countries able to hurl simultaneously atomic bombs can be sure of total destruction. War, like duelling must therefore be written out of the possible ways of settling disputes in the future. If we can once convince ourselves and others of the absolute truth of this state of affairs, then perhaps we can view the present situation with some realism and hope.

Coming nearer home and examining a further significance of the University, contemplated by Dr. Nag, we find that it has an equally momentous bearing on the present day situation in our country.

Religious sects are formed in every country and every age, owing to a diversity of historical causes. There will always be many, who, by tradition and temperament find special solace in belonging to a particular sect; and also there will be others who think that the finding of such solace can only be allowed as legitimate within the pale of their own sect. Between such, there needs must be no quarrels. But can there be no wide meeting-place, where all sects may gather together and forget their differences? Has India in her religious ideals no such space for the common light of day and open air for all children of the soil? The vigour, with which the sectarian fanatics will shake their head, makes one doubt it. The bloodshed, which so frequently occurs for such trivial causes, makes one doubt it. The cruel and insulting distinctions between man and man, which are kept alive under the sanction of so-called religion make one doubt it. Still, in spite of all these, when one turns to look back to India's own pure culture—in those ages when it flourished in its Truth—one is emboldened to assert that it is there. The ancient Sages in their wisdom did spread a single pure white carpet, whereon all the world was cordially invited to take its seat in amity and good fellowship. No quarrel could have arisen there. For He, the Author of all things, in whose name the invitation went forth, for all time to come, was *Shantam*—the Peaceful in the heart of thing, *Shivam*—the Good, who is revealed through all losses and suffering: *Advaitam*—the One in all diversities of creation. And His name was this eternal Truth declared in ancient India. He alone sees, who sees all beings as himself.

All these precious traditions we have inherited. All these things are ours by right of legacy and life ; no matter what circumstances surround us now, no matter if we spend our days amid the stir of cities, in the strain and clamour of factory, in the sweat and danger of coal mines, in the hurry and pressure of business.

These things we have inherited. History will record what we make of our inheritance. Many plan the future. But you and I live the future. We are the future. To-day we stand on the threshold of a New Age, we have virtually won Freedom, but we must know how to keep it.

These senseless murders that we witness to-day, these thoughtless destructions, these silly bickerings must stop, if we are to be saved from total destruction. This is a matter which must be taken up by everyone and not merely by a few leaders. It is essentially a job in which the driving power must come from the common men and women all over the country. The task is so great and so urgent that we cannot get it carried through unless we have the power of mass opinion behind it.

We have therefore to mobilise the minds, hearts and wills of people to Unity and Action. Time is not on our side—unless we grasp it. Our ancient Tradition is not on our side—unless we live and recreate it.

God is not on our side—unless we listen and obey.

The history of our country will be written around the choice you and I make to-day. It will be a momentous choice. A New Age of some kind is about to be ushered in. It can be God's idea of a New Age. If not, it will be a new age of the Devil's conception. And we, the ordinary men and women of our nation, we alone, the citizens of destiny, decide.

"Once to every man and nation
Comes the moment to decide
Then it is the brave man chooses
While the coward stands aside
Till the multitude makes virtue
Of the faith they had denied,"

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

By

KALIDAS NAG

"When I was at sea last August, on my voyage to this country (India) which I had long desired to visit, I found one evening, on inspecting the observations of the day, that India lay before us, and Persia on our left, whilst a breeze from Arabia blew nearly on our stern. A situation so pleasing in itself, and to me so new, could not fail to awaken a train of reflections in a mind, which had early been accustomed to contemplate with delight the eventful histories and agreeable fictions of this Eastern world. It gave me inexpressible pleasure to find myself in the midst of so noble an amphitheatre, almost encircled by the vast regions of Asia, which has ever been esteemed the nurse of sciences, the inventress of delightful and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions, fertile in the productions of human genius, abounding in natural wonders, and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, customs, and languages, as well as in the features and complexions, of men, I could not help remarking how important and extensive a field was yet unexplored, and how many solid advantages unimproved; and when I considered, with pain, that, in this fluctuating, imperfect, and limited condition of life, such enquiries and improvements could only be made by the united efforts of many who are not easily brought, without some pressing inducement or strong impulse, to converge in a common point, I consoled myself with hope, founded on opinions which it might have the appearance of flattery to maintain, that if in any country or community such an union could be effected, it was among my countrymen in Bengal, with some of whom I already had and with most was desirous of having the pleasure of being intimately acquainted."

—SIR WILLIAM JONES

In October 1783 a distinguished English Scholar, Sir William Jones (1746-1794), landed in Calcutta to act as a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Fort William in Bengal. A worthy contemporary of Goethe, Rousseau and the French Encyclopædists, Sir William brought an encyclopædic mind to bear upon the problems of intellectual co-operation between the East and the West. In sharp contrast to the pathetic pretension to omni-

science about things Oriental displayed by our Western visitors of to-day, Sir William Jones showed an eagerness to learn and a humility that a genius such as his is capable of. Within the short span of ten years from his landing in Calcutta, he laid the foundation of the new science of *Indology*; and yet he ever sighed, with divine discontent, because of "the fluctuating, imperfect and limited condition of life." Through his exertions a meeting was held on the 15th of January 1784, attended by the elite of the European community of Calcutta: Sir Robert Chambers, the Chief Justice, as Chairman, Henry Vansittart, Sir John Shore, Sir Charles Wilkins and others, who became the founders of the *Asiatic Society* and principal contributors to the pages of the Society's *Transactions*. On that occasion Sir William Jones had the honour of opening the proceedings with a learned "Discourse on the Institution of a Society for enquiring into the History, Civil and Natural, the Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literatures of Asia."

You will investigate whatever is rare in the stupendous fabric of nature, will correct the geography of Asia by new observations and discoveries; will trace the annals and even traditions of those nations who, from time to time, have peopled or desolated it; and will bring to light their various forms of government, with their institutions, civil and religious; will examine their improvements and methods in arithmetic and geometry, in trigonometry, mensuration, mechanics, optics, astronomy and general physics; their systems of morality, grammar, rhetoric and dialectic; their skill in chirurgery and medicine; and their advancement, whatever it may be, in anatomy and chemistry. To this you will add researches into their agriculture, manufactures, trade; and whilst you enquire into their music, architecture, painting, and poetry, will not neglect those inferior arts, by which comforts, and even elegances of social life are supplied or improved.

An *Encyclopædia Asiatica* of the Asiatic Arts and Sciences has not yet been undertaken; but if it should ever have been attempted, it should carry as its emblem the noble words quoted above from the prophetic inaugural address of Sir William Jones.

At the second meeting of the Society, Warren Hastings, the then Governor-General, was requested to accept the office of President which honour he promptly refused with shrewd observations; agreeing, however, to be the patron of the Society, yielding his "pretensions to the gentleman whose genius planned the Institution and is most capable of conducting it to the attainment of the great and splendid purposes of its formation." Thus Sir William Jones was elected the First President of the Society on the 5th of February, 1784, and held that office till his death on the 27th April, 1794.* That was a decade of unique achievements followed by

* Sir William Jones—(1746-1794), d. 1794, April 27. Buried in the "whitewashed pyramid" in the old South Park Street Cemetery. It bears the following noble epitaph written by himself: "Here was deposited the mortal part of a man who feared God, but not death, who thought none below him but the base and the unjust, none above him but the wise and virtuous". (reproduced in the Jones Bicentenary (1746-1946) commemoration volume, 1949 Edited by Kaldas Nag Historical and Archaeological Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

the development of a truly international study,—that of Indo-European linguistics and antiquities. Three centuries ago Vasco da Gama discovered the new geographical route to India and, on the celebration of the tricentenary as it were of that great discovery, the cultural route to the soul of India and the Orient was discovered by Sir William Jones and his learned colleagues.

The Sanskrit *Panchatantra* had already reached Europe through Pehlavi, Hebrew, Arabic, Latin and German translations. Two of the *Satakas* of *Bhartrihari* had also been translated into the Dutch language by the Dutch missionary Abraham Rogers who worked in Palakatta (North of Madras) in 1630 and published a voluminous work : "Open door to the hidden Paganism.". In the early eighteenth century there were literary forgeries and aberrations like the so-called "*Egour-Vedam*" of Roberto Nobili ; but an intrepid explorer like the French Anquetil Duperron had already discovered *Avestan Texts*, which he started translating in 1772, and further published in 1805, a Latin translation of the *Upanishads* from the Persian *Opnekhāt* (1656) of Prince Dara Shekoh, (1617-59) the great grandson of Akbar. Sir Charles Wilkins (1750-1833) was the first Englishman to acquire proficiency in Sanskrit and to publish a grammar of that language in 1779 ; he completed a translation of the *Bhagavad Gītā* and published it in 1785 under the patronage of Warren Hastings. Sir William Jones had illustrious predecessors and successors. His translation of the Ordinances of *Manu*, of the *Gita Govinda* and above all of *Sakuntalā* marked an epoch in the history of Oriental studies. The second President of the Asiatic of Bengal was Sir John Shore, the real author of the Permanent Settlement. The next great scholar was H. T. Colebrooke (1765-1837) who, by his many sided genius, enriched the science of Indology as a President of our Society, writing on Sanskrit grammar, Hindu law and philosophy, on the Vedas and on mathematical subjects, finally emerging as the founder of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (1823).

A new turn to the activities of the Society was given by its illustrious Secretary Dr. H. H. Wilson (1784-1860). He reached Calcutta in 1808 as a Medical Officer of the East India Company and served the Asiatic Society for over twenty years (1811-1833) as the Secretary. He became famous by his beautiful translation of the *Megha-dūta* (1813) followed by his *Theatre of the Hindus* and his Sanskrit-English Dictionary. About a century ago (1833) he was offered the newly founded Boden Chair of Sanskrit at Oxford and consequently left the Asiatic Society in the charge of another great antiquarian, James Prinsep (1799-1840) and his first *Native Secretary*, Babu Ramkamal Sen, the grandfather of the great reformer and orator, Keshab Chandra Sen. In 1829 Dr. Wilson proposed the name of some native scholars who were elected members without opposition ; and within fifty years of the foundation of the Society, two eminent Indian scholars, Sir Radhakanta Deb Bahadur and Professor Bapudeva Sastri were elected Honorary members along with other distinguished European savants.

Starting its career in 1784 as the "Asiatick Society" it was offered in 1829 the privilege of being affiliated to the newly founded Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland ; and in that connection the name "Asiatick Society of Bengal" was first used, although the Society did not accept the change. When Mr. James Prinsep started the Journal in 1832 on his own account, he was not authorised either to use the title "Asiatick Society of Bengal," which came to be accepted only when the Journal became the property of the Society in 1843 after the death of Prinsep.

That bring to our mind one of the most important services rendered by the Society through its publications which may be classified into : (1) Periodicals embodying the researches of the scholars ; (2) original Hindu or Muhammadan texts ; (3) translations of texts ; and (4) separate research memories or monographs. Sir William Jones contemplated the publications of a volume every year entitled *Asiatick Miscellany* but, owing to unforeseen difficulties, regular publications of the Annual could not be guaranteed and the first volume appeared only in 1788 with the title *Asiatick Researches*.

In the very first volume we find papers by Charles Wilkins on the Mongyr Copperplate grant and on the Buddal Pillar with the remarks of Sir William Jones. There was also an account of the sculptures and ruins of the Pallava capital *Mahavalipuram*, as well as translations of inscriptions on the Pillars of Firoz Shah, by Radhakant Sarman. Thus the scholars of the East and the West started the career of a most fruitful and friendly collaboration. Between 1788 to 1839 twenty volumes of *Asiatick Researches* were published ; and the popularity of some of the earlier volumes was so great that a "Pirated Edition" was published in England in 1798 ; and the demand for the volume from the Continent being very urgent, a French translation, with the necessary corrections, was published in two volumes under the title of *Recherches Asiati-ques* (Paris, 1805). The French editor characterised the volume as "La plus riche collection de faits qui existe sur l'Inde, ce pays qui attire les premiers regards de ceux qui veulent étudier l'histoire des hommes."

That shows the great enthusiasm about things Indian prevailing in Europe at the epoch ; and we remember that Mr. Alexander Hamilton, an English officer from India and a Sanskritist, was detained as a prisoner of war and was giving lessons in Sanskrit to cultured circles in Paris, amongst whom we find the remarkable German writer F. Schlegel. The French people have always been deeply interested in the Orient ; Anquetil Duperron published his translation of the *Upanishads* of Dara Shekoh in 1805 ; and ten years after, in 1815, the first Chairs for Sanskrit and Chinese languages were established in the College de France. Chezy was the first incumbent of the Chair of Sanskrit to whom Goethe, shortly before his death, communicated his prose rhapsody on *Sakuntalā*. It was in Paris again that Bopp studied Sanskrit (1828) just as Max Muller did (1843) under Burnouf, completing the magic circle of Indo-Europeans studies, starting from Calcutta with Sir William Jones, passing

through London Paris and Berlin back to Oxford where Dr. Wilson was welcomed as the first Boden Professor of Sanskrit in 1833 and where Max Muller would complete his monumental edition of the *Rig Veda Samhitā*.

From 1829 Captain Herbert was publishing a Monthly under the name of *Gleanings of Science*, in his individual capacity ; for the Society lost all its little savings by the failure in 1828 of Messrs. Palmer & Co., who were its agents. The King of Oudh made a munificent donation of Rs. 25,000 which was deposited with Messrs. Mackintosh and Co. ; but they in their turn failed in 1833, depriving the Society of its entire cash balance ! Luckily in 1834 an old member of the Society, Mr. Bruce, left a bequest of £2,002 to the Society which was invested in Government Securities to which was added, in 1875, a big sum received as compensation from the Government, in lieu of claims the Society had for accommodation in the new Indian Museum buildings.

On the retirement of Dr. Wilson (1833), Mr. James Prinsep (1799-1840) came to pilot the Society during its most difficult days. He came to India at the age of twenty as the assistant Assay-Master at the Calcutta Mint under Dr. Wilson and after serving a few years in Benares, returned to Calcutta in 1830. In March, 1832, he changed the *Gleanings of Science* into the monthly *Journal of the Asiatic Society*. In that journal he was, on the one hand, publishing scientific papers on the Transit of Mercury, on the expansion of Gold, Silver and Copper, and on a compensation barometer invented by him. On the other hand, he was not only publishing valuable papers on Indology but soon gained immortality by first deciphering the *Asokan Inscriptions* of the third century B. C.

A new generation of workers came to co-operate with Mr Prinsep to open new fields of Asiatic research : Dr. Buchanan writing on the statistical survey of Dinajpur, Mr. B. H. Hodgson communicating valuable papers on Nepal and on the hill tribes of the Himalayas and of the Burmese jungles, and lastly the great Hungarian explorer and linguist Mr. Cosma de Koros (1784-1842) who was supported, with an allowance of fifty rupees per month, from 1830 to 1843 for the publication of his Tibetan Grammar and Dictionary. From this time the Society began to collect Tibetan and Chinese manuscripts (xylographs) of which the former numbered 256 and the latter 350 volumes. Moreover, the miscellaneous collection of about 125 Burmese, Siamese, Javanese and Singhalese manuscripts testify, if not to a constructive research programme for Asiatic Culture, at least to an attempt to prepare the ground for the same, with an intuitive appreciation of the value of the study of Indian antiquities referring to the documents of Greater India and other cultural zones of the Orient. Every one must admire the Society's scheme of *Bibliotheca Asiatica*, *Bibliotheca Indica*, and the collection of epigraphic, numismatic and archæological documents, with a view to build up a great Asiatic Museum, no less than the valuable researches in the domain of history, literature, palæography, art and archæology, as well as in the domain

of mathematical, physical and natural sciences : astronomy, meteorology, geology, zoology, botany, geography, ethnology etc. Those varied and learned contributions were classified and presented to us by Dr Rajendralala Mitra, (1822-1891) by Dr. A. F. Hoernle and Baboo P. N. Bose, three distinguished savants of the East and the West, happily collaborating to produce a magnificent survey of the activities of the Society (1784-1883) as the best memento of its *first centenary*. This work was nobly carried further afield by great scholars of the new generation like MM. Pandit Haraprasad Sastri, Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur, Prof. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusan and others, continuing the glorious tradition.

The half a century just completed, from 1883-1933, shows, however, a record not so much of bold excursions into "fresh fields and pastures new," as of an ordered march along the path of conservation and stock-taking of things already explored. While the Society had the privilege of publishing the valuable archaeological reports and articles of General Alexander Cunningham, that work of recording and publishing the latest archaeological finds was taken up by the Central Government through a separate *Department of Archaeology* (1861). So, while the Society published the earlier papers of Mr. George A. Grierson (1851-1941) on *Maithili* and early Bengali texts, his main contributions came to be published in the *Linguistic Survey of India*.

The Society was offered in the early nineteenth century, a few original stones from Java and even a few Javanese manuscripts ; but its interest did not grow that way ; and it was left far behind in *Indonesian studies* by the Dutch savants who had the honour of starting (April, 1778) the *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, another Oriental Society in Batavia, a few years earlier than the Society in Bengal. The Dutch scholars opened a new chapter of Asiatic history through the publications, of the Batavian Society and the Royal Institute of The Hague, of the great Dutch pioneers like Kern, Brandes, Krom, Juynboll, Vogel, Bosch, Callenfels and others.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal had the privilege of aiding the publication of *Dictionarium Annamaitico-Latinum* by A. G. L. Tabara and to collect also a few Siamese manuscripts ; but it could not push farther afield, into the *Indo Chinese peninsula*, the researches of one of its brilliant members Mr. B. H. Hodgson. So the *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient*, founded in 1900, opened a new chapter in the study of ancient Hindu Colonial culture of Champa and Cambodge ; and in the history of Asiatic antiquities in general, under eminent French savants like MM. Finot, Pelliot Coedes, Huber, Peri, Cabaton Parmentier, Marshall and others. The wonderfully comprehensive collection of manuscripts, documents, printed books etc., in the famous collection of Hanoi (French Indo-China) is a veritable epitome of Asiatic culture which few universities of India or any other Asiatic country except Japan can rival.

Lastly, to the credit of the Japanese people it must be said that they have explored thoroughly Asia and her problems from a practical point of view,

Thanks to Buddhism connecting India, China, Japan and the Far East, and due to the exemplary devotion of great Japanese scholars like Prof. Nanjio, Dr. Takakusu, Prof. Anesaki, Count Otani and others, there are regular lectures on Sanskrit, Pali and Indian history and culture in about a dozen universities of Japan. Moreover, there have developed great collections of books and manuscripts on Buddhism in particular and Indology in general, under the auspices of the Imperial Universities of Tokyo, Osaka, Sendai and Kyoto. India owes an immense debt of gratitude to the Japanese Buddhists, for the publications of the monumental Taisho edition of the *Tripitaka*. It is a veritable encyclopædia of Buddhology and Asiatic Culture, comprising 2633 books bound in 55 thick volumes, all collected, edited and financed by our Japanese friends. It has reproduced not only the principal ancient Chinese editions of the Sung ming and Yuan dynasties, but has incorporated over 700 new texts and commentaries found in course of the explorations of Central Asia, the Tun-Huang and T'empyo collections as well as those of the rich temple libraries and private collections of Japan.

Students of anthropology also will feel indebted to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for its valuable contribution to the science. The importance of collecting data on the habits customs and crafts of the people was appreciated by the members of the Society, as we find from their publication of many interesting articles and papers in the Asiatic Researches (since 1888), in the Journal (since 1832) and in the Memoirs of the Society. As early as 1871 Dalton published his researches under the title of *The Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*. The Society formed also the first nucleus of an ethnographical museum transferred (1875) later on to the Indian Museum. As the result of the lead given by the Asiatic Society, Anthropology in other parts of India and the Anthropological Society of Bombay was founded in 1886. In 1891 Risley published his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*; in 1901 he was made the Commissioner of the *Census of India* and in 1905 Risley was also appointed the Director of the Ethnographic Survey of India. Various provincial governments began to publish reports and monographs on the tribes and castes, living within their jurisdictions, on the lines indicated by Risley. The Society published, among other things, *The Origins and Ethnological Significance of Indian Boat Designs* by J. Hornell; *Studies in Santal Medicine and connected Folklore* by P. O. Bodding, and various papers on the tribes of Assam by eminent anthropologists like J. H. Hutton and J. P. Mills (*Vide*: Dr. B. S. Guha: *Progress of Science in India during the past twentyfive years*: Anthropology, pp. 300—335).

The services rendered by the Society to the cause of the preservation and publication of rare manuscripts are unique. Its collection of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic manuscripts (over 32,000) is famous throughout the world. For lack of funds only a few of them could be published in its Memoirs and in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, the latter started by the eminent Bengali savant Dr. Rajendralal Mitra (1822-1891). His mantle fell on his friend and junior

colleague MM Pandit Haraprasad Sastri (1853—1931). He served the cause of Indology for nearly half a century, publishing his notices of Sanskrit manuscripts (since 1890) and his Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts (since 1905), surveying 14,686 manuscripts altogether.

Thus, in the second half of the second century of its existence we find the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal as a great National Institution of International renown; and we may confidently hope that with adequate financial backing and intellectual co-operation, the Society will continue to thrive as the major scientific society of Asia, following its glorious tradition of service of Truth and Humanity.

The birth of an idea is of greater importance than most political developments or military victories; and the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 is important in the history of man as it marks the emergence of a new idea, stated Dr. Humayun Kabir, Union Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, laying the foundation stone of the Asiatic Society building at Calcutta.

Dr. Kabir said that it was no exaggeration to say that some of the most important scientific and cultural achievements in India in the last 200 years, were the direct result of the activities of the Asiatic Society. It was a pioneer in the study of linguistics, anthropology, archaeology, zoology, botany, meteorology and geology in modern India.

The Asiatic Society was the first society established on Asian soil for the systematic and organised study of the history, the antiquities, the arts, the sciences and the literature of Asia. This in itself; was of great importance; but what gave the Society a unique distinction was that its establishment marked perhaps the first occasion when there was a cooperative effort from scholars of many nations for discovering, collecting, understanding and interpreting the culture and civilisation of one great region of the world to peoples of other regions.

Recalling the circumstances in which the Society was formed, Dr. Kabir stated that the elite of Calcutta of those days, including the Governor-General Mr. Warren Hastings and Sir William Jones, cooperated in the task. It was also of interest to note that as early as 1774 Dr. Johnson wrote to Mr. Warren Hastings expressing the hope that he would examine the tradition and histories of the East so that English people could come to know the "arts and opinions of a race of man from whom very little has been hitherto derived".

The Union Minister stated that the establishment of the Asiatic Society might well be regarded as the fulfilment of Dr. Johnson's wish. In this task of revealing the great civilisation of the East to the Western man, European scholars cooperated with the scholars of Asia. Samuel Johnson, Warren Hastings and William Jones were symbolic of the new intellectual curiosity which has taken root in Europe, said Dr. Kabir. There was an immediate response from Indian scholars like Radhakanta Sarman, who materially helped Sir William Jones in his linguistic and antiquarian researches.

Sir William Jones was personally responsible for outstanding contributions in linguistics and archaeology. His discovery of the close affinity between Sanskrit on the one hand, Latin, Greek, Celtic and Iranian on the other, created, said Dr. Kabir, a major revolution in the field of scholarship. It was Sir William Jones who identified the site of Pataliputra which provided a starting point for future archaeological inquiries in India.

One of the greatest contributions of the Society to the understanding of Indian History has been its pioneering work in the deciphering of ancient Indian scripts, including the Gupta and post-Gupta Kutila scripts and the Brahmi and Kharoshthi scripts. Deciphering the latter had made it possible to understand the character and language of the Asokan inscriptions.

As early as 1808 the Society initiated a scheme for the study of Natural history. In 1814, it set up a Museum to house antiquities and scientific specimens. The Society's collections of geological and palaeontological specimens was the nucleus from which had grown the Indian Museum, perhaps the biggest museum in Asia to-day.

POST-WAR PLANS : ASIATIC SOCIETY

I

THE NECESSITY FOR A CENTRAL RECORD OFFICE IN BENGAL

No. 1874.

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,
1, Park Street, Calcutta.

From :

12th September, 1944.

The General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

To :

The Secretary
The Government of Bengal,
Home Department, Writers' Buildings,
Calcutta.

Sir,

I have the honour to state for the information of the Government of Bengal that the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal recently constituted two Advisory Boards,—Scientific and Cultural,—for the purpose of enabling the Council to formulate and consider schemes relating to scientific and cultural matters which should not be neglected by Government in connection with the development of a general plan for *post-war reconstruction* in India.

2. Amongst other projects connected with cultural post-war reconstruction, the Council have recently had under their consideration the question as to the feasibility of further steps being taken in the matter of making records of historical interest more accessible to research scholars. Historians cannot be too grateful to the Government of Bengal for the admirable manner in which they have organized the Historical Section of the Record Office, both as regards the custody and the publication of the valuable archives which it contains. At the same time, the available record-room accommodation at Writers' Buildings is restricted ; and it would probably be found difficult to find space there for historical records of a non-administrative character or to provide adequate reading rooms for research scholars.

3. The Council understand that a number of *pre-Mutiny* administrative records and over a hundred-thousand *judicial records* of the same period still remain in the district record-rooms. Further, from an historical point of view, the ancient archives of the High Court are particularly important. During

recent years representatives of this Society have been asked to examine old documents, sorted for destruction by the Record room staff of the court. Before this system was adopted, there is reason to suppose that many records of great historical interest were destroyed, merely by reason of the inability of the clerks concerned to appreciate their value. For instance, the entire series, of the Index volumes relating to the Sadar Dewani and Nizamat Adalats were destroyed in this way. It is, however difficult, even for the trained scholars appointed for this purpose by the Society, to estimate accurately the significance of documents which have been separated from their *case-bundles* for the purpose of destruction ; and the Council recommend that, until such time as it may be possible to frame a comprehensive scheme for the reorganization of all the historical records of the Province, further destruction of records relating to the pre-Mutiny period should be held in abeyance.

4. In spite of losses by reasons of routine departmental destruction and the ravages caused by insects and natural decay, the High Court record-rooms still contain many thousands of ancient documents of great value. Since 1921 a good deal has been done by the Court as regards the repair and reorganization of the records of the Sadar Dewani Adalat. For instance, the old judgment volumes (in Persian) from 1815 to 1858 have been repaired and to a large extent the corresponding case-files have been arranged. Very little progress has been made as regards the systematic arrangement and repair of the Nizamat records (judicial) or the administrative papers relating to the Sadar Dewani and Nizamat Adalats. The documents in the latter category date from about 1791 and they are extremely interesting. Of even greater importance are the archives of the Mayor's Court and the Supreme Court. The High Court have recently begun to arrange these records and interesting discoveries are being made almost daily. For instance, a few weeks ago a very early Proceedings Book of the Mayor's Court was found. It was of the year 1748 (when Holwell was a member of the Court). It was probably the earliest judicial record in India. A will register of approximately the same period was also discovered, besides a number of documents which throw some light on the famous controversy as regards jurisdiction between the Supreme Court and the Council of the Governor-General, which terminated in the passages of the so-called Act of Settlement of 1781. The task of reorganizing this formidable mass of ancient documents is an immense one. It should be done scientifically and requires to be placed in the hands of an adequate staff of fully trained archivists.

5. After careful consideration the Council are of opinion that the time has now come when it is desirable that the Government of Bengal should expand the scope of the historical section of the Bengal Record Room in order that, under the control of the Provincial Government, it may serve the purposes of a Central Record Office which, as regards this Province, will fulfil some of the functions now performed by the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane in London. To the Central Office thus constituted would be transferred

gradually all the provincial records (judicial and administrative) of historical importance as far as this may be consistent with administrative convenience. An adequate staff would be employed for their care, custody and reorganization ; and research scholars would be allowed accesses to the records subject to proper control and such administrative restrictions as might be considered necessary.

The site selected for a Central Record Office should be in close proximity both to the High Court and to Writers Buildings. Shortly before the war a large plot of land was acquired by Government, immediately to the north of the High Court Buildings. It is understood that the object of this acquisition was partly for the purpose of relieving the congestion in existing Government offices and partly in order to provide additional record-room and office accommodation for the High Court. No better site than part of this plot could be selected for the purpose of a Central Record Office ; and the Council strongly recommend this scheme for the consideration of the Government of Bengal.

6. In conclusion, I am to suggest that appropriate steps should also be taken by Government to ascertain what records of historical importance are in the possession of *private owners*. As an instance of such records, the 72 Hyde and Chambers Note Books may be mentioned. These belong to the Bar Library and cover the period from the end of 1775 to 1798. The members of the Bar have recently taken steps to have these valuable records copied with a view to their publication and have kindly presented a copy of the type-script to the Judges' Library. These books are of great value to the High Court in connection with the rearrangement of the records of the Supreme Court as the old Proceedings volumes from 1774 to 1790 cannot be treated.

It is not unlikely that ancient records of considerable interest may be in the possession of the Nawab of Murshydabad and such houses as the Susang Raj, the Burdwan Raj and the Sovabazar Family. The old archives of this Society are of great interest ; and it is possible that those of such institutions as the Calcutta Madrasa, the Sanskrit College and the Serampore College may be of almost equal importance. The Council therefore suggested that the co-operation of private owners may be invited in connection with this matter. It may be suggested to them that they would be rendering a valuable service to the public by examining their ancient records and by communicating particulars to Government of any papers in their possession, which might be of historical importance. Possibly in certain special cases they might be offered expert assistance in connection with this task.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd. K. Nag,

General Secretary,

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

II

THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL
DEPARTMENT.

No. 1875

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,
1, Park Street, Calcutta.

From :

12th September, 1944.

The General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

To :

The Secretary
The Government of India,
Department of Education, Health and Lands,
New Delhi.

Sir,

I have the honour to state for the information of the Government of India that the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal recently constituted two Advisory Boards—Scientific and Cultural—for the purpose of enabling the Council to formulate and consider schemes relating to scientific and cultural matters, which should not be neglected by Government in connection with the development of a general plan for post-war reconstruction in India.

2. In connection with the general question of the cultural development of India after the war, the Council consider that the claims of the Archæological Department merit very careful attention. It is not sufficiently realized that the reputation of India in the world of learning depends in no small degree on the efficiency with which this department is administered and on the standard of its archæological publications. In respect of its ancient sites and historical monuments, India is one of the richest countries in the world ; but there can be little doubt that the Archæological Department, which is the custodian of an important part of a great national heritage, is financially starved and inadequately equipped for the important function which it has to perform. The eminent archæologist, Sir Leonard Woolley, submitted a number of proposals for the recognition of the Archæological Department in his interesting reports, dated the 18th February, 1939. Owing to the war very few steps have been taken to give effect to any of his recommendations ; but they require detailed examination and such of them as may be found to be practicable and beneficial to India should be implemented as soon as possible after peace has been restored.

3. Sir Leonard Woolley has referred to the importance of the adoption of a systematic plan of campaign directed to the *filling in of large gaps*

in Indian archaeological history. After referring to some of the sites which had been partially explored during recent years, he says :

"But of the cultural history of India not even the skeleton existed. In the North there was nothing to show how the Indus Culture came into being, and between its end and the Asoka period, the next of which anything at all was known, there was a gap of some two thousand years of blank ignorance. But even for those periods which may be called historical, the sequence of cultural history was quite unknown." In this connection, Sir Leonard advocates :

- (1) The preparation of a careful archaeological survey of India ;
- (2) The selection of certain sites, suitable not only on account of the finds that they be expected to yield, but also as training centres for future field-directors and excavators ;
- (3) The association of non-Government bodies, such as Universities and learned Societies, in the work of scientific excavation.

Unless Government are prepared to adopt some definite policy, in connection with these matters such as has been suggested by Sir Leonard Woolley, appreciable progress in archaeological research within a reasonable period can hardly be expected. As he points out : 'The number of ancient sites in India which might repay excavation is almost unlimited.' Sufficient funds are, however, not available for distribution for excavation except at a very small number of such sites ; and, even at the sites where excavation was in progress, Sir Leonard found that, 'thanks to the under-staffing, which is generally recognized and deplored, it meant that work on some of these sites had to be entrusted to men who were not even supposed to be qualified for it' It is partly on this account that Sir Leonard felt that he had no option but to make the following suggestion : "I should recommend as a general policy that there should be none of these small and sporadic excavations which have of late dissipated the energies and the finances of the Department ; even those sites on which work has been begun can safely be left at least until the time when members of the staff have been sufficiently trained to be entrusted with independent charge of excavations—a state of things which is at present far from being realized.'

4. The Council think that that the restriction of archaeological excavation for an indefinite period would be unfortunate from the point of view of education and culture in India, more particularly as regards the progress of historical research at the Indian Universities. They therefore suggest that :

- (1) Some suitable sites, such as Ramnagar and Taxila, should be developed as quickly as possible as training centres not only for the staff of the Archaeological Department but also for field-directors who may be placed in charge of excavation work undertaken by Universities or by learned Societies. In this connection, the Council have been informed

that the Director-General of Archaeology in India has recently taken steps to establish a School of Field Archaeology at Taxila (now in Delhi). They regard this scheme as an excellent one which deserves the fullest measure of support not only from the Central Government but also from the Provinces, the Indian States and the Universities ;

- (2) As soon as trained excavators are available, Universities and public institutions should be encouraged to undertake scientific excavation at suitable sites subject to the expert advice and general supervision of the Director-General of Archaeology, it being understood that no licence to excavate will be given unless a properly trained field-director is available ;
- (3) The co-operation of the Universities should be invited with a view to the endowment of archaeological fellowships. The Council think that with the expansion of archaeological research, suitable qualified students will be required
 - (i) to fill posts in the Archaeological Department ;
 - (ii) for appointment as lecturer-guides in connection with the expansion of the Tourist Traffic which is likely to take place after the war ;
 - (iii) for appointment as curators and assistant curators of provincial or municipal museums.

5. One of Sir Leonard Woolley's most important recommendations is to the effect that a National Museum should be established as soon as possible at Delhi. Such an institution is urgently required and the Council strongly recommend the acceptance of this proposal.

It is, however, almost equally desirable that good archaeological museums should be opened at the headquarters of each province or important Indian States especially at places where Universities have been established where they will be easily accessible to research students. Such museums should be furnished with adequate reference libraries and should illustrate as fully as possible the archaeological history of the areas in which they are located. They should also be supplied with collections of photographs of historic buildings and ancient sculptures situated in other parts of India. Great care should be taken as regards the classification and labelling of the exhibits, as has been done in the excellent archaeological museum that has been established at Madras.

6. In general, the Council agree with Sir Leonard Woolley in thinking that no sufficiently useful purpose is served by maintaining local museums at such remote excavated sites as Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Nalanda and Nagarjunikonda. As he points out : 'the real condemnation of these local museums is that they serve no educational purpose—the public, debarred by distance, simply does not come to them.' Even the Curzon Museum at Muttra, which is housed in a splendid building and contains the best collection of Kushan sculptures in the world, is not sufficiently accessible either to

students or to the intellectual tourist, as there is no adequate accommodation for visitors in the city ; nor is Muttra the headquarters of any really important educational institution. Whenever it is thought expedient to retain local archaeological museums under the direct administration of the Archaeological Department, the Council suggest that steps should be taken by Government for the establishment of hotels, rest-houses or camps for the accommodation of visitors, where such facilities do not already exist.

7. The Council are also of opinion that the science of archaeology in India would be appreciably advanced if a system of *travelling museums* could be developed. The object of such a museum would be to obtain a small representative collection of archaeological exhibits from a particular area and to exhibit them successively for a limited period in suitable public buildings in big cities or at Universities in other parts of India, where they would be easily accessible to research students.

8. There are several excellent historical and archaeological museums at Calcutta, e.g. the Indian Museum, the Ashutosh Museum and the Victoria Memorial. There are also valuable archaeological collections at such places as Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, Peshawar, Lahore, Dacca and at many cities in the Indian States. Some of these collections, however, such as those at Allahabad, are almost entirely unclassified and unlabelled and are therefore of little practical use to the average student. In such cases the expert advice of the Archaeological Department is urgently required.

9. It might not be feasible to bring all the provincial, local or State museums under a central controlling authority ; but the Council consider that the time has now come when a definite policy should be adopted by the Government of India in connection with the development of museums throughout the country, that a first class national museum of archaeology should be established at Delhi, and that all Archaeological museums should be served by expert curators, trained if possible by the Archaeological Department, and to whom the advice of the department would always be available.

10. Much also requires to be done as regards the improvement of the standard of the publications produced by the Archaeological Department. No improvement, however, with regard to any of the activities of the department is possible while it continues to be inadequately staffed and the Council suggest that this is a matter which might appropriately be examined by an expert Committee appointed for the purpose.

11. The Council also desire to draw attention to the existing convention according to which officers of the Archaeological Department are allowed neither to publish articles relating to archaeological subjects nor even to lecture on such matters without the permission of the Government of India. In the opinion of the Council it is a matter of public interest from the point of view of general culture that information with regard to all important discoveries should be communicated to the press and to learned Societies without

impediment or delay and that permission to qualified officers of the Archaeological Department to publish articles in non-Government journals or to lecture to approved learned Societies should ordinarily be granted as a matter of course.

12. In conclusion, the Council desire to point out that in connection with the future development of the science of archaeology in India, it is impossible to deal with British India, the Indian States and such neighbouring countries as Afghanistan and Nepal as separate entities. In their opinion it is desirable that a co-ordinated scheme should be formulated under which all parts of India, Afghanistan, Nepal and even Tibet should co-operate. To this end the possibility might be considered of establishing a Central Archaeological Advisory Board with representation from all parts of the sub-continent in direct cultural contact with British India.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd. K. Nag,

General Secretary,

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

III

PROPOSAL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL MUSEUM AT NEW DELHI.

No. 2422.

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,
1, Park Street, Calcutta,

From :

24th November, 1944.

The General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

To :

The Secretary
The Government of India,
Department of Education, Health and Lands
New Delhi.

Sir,

With further reference to the correspondence ending with my letter No. 1857, dated the 12th September, 1944, I am directed to address you on the question of the desirability of establishing a National Museum of Indian Archaeology, History, Anthropology and Art, at New Delhi.

2. Extensive schemes are now being prepared for the development of science, industry, and education, but few of these appear to include, at least to any great extent, the fundamental subject of culture. Unless something

of this nature is linked with these movements, civilization will find itself in the same predicament, as it was before the present war, and which was one of the *means by which the war was brought about*. It has been truly said that no people can afford to neglect their ancient heritage. But that is what has happened in India, as the starved condition of Archaeological Department, only one example of many, is eloquent testimony. Only the bare edges have been explored of the great contributions that India has made through the ages by her knowledge, her wisdom, and her art, to the sum total of the world's culture. The reputation of India in the world of learning and culture has suffered sadly by reason of this neglect. It is now the absolute duty of all who have India's interest and reputation at heart, to provide a remedy for the correction of the present unfortunate position. An opportunity now presents itself. After the termination of the war there will doubtless be a strong movement to provide India with a suitable War Memorial to commemorate the share which she has taken in the cause of freedom. It is difficult to suggest anything more suitable as a War Memorial than a National Museum at New Delhi. If properly organised it might become one of the finest museums in the world and bear witness to the greatness of India's contribution to world culture which the part that India has taken in the war has done so much to preserve. But it should be something more than a museum; it should develop into a living centre of Indian and even Asiatic culture in the East.

3. A National Museum, if properly constituted and administered, would set a standard of efficiency for all the Provincial and University Museums throughout the country, and it would provide a centre at which the curators of the smaller museums could be properly trained. The method for linking up such museums with the Central Museum would have to be examined. Having regard to the terms of the Government of India Act, as it now stands, possibly the most suitable course to adopt, in connection with this matter, would be to develop the system of grants-in-aid by the Central Government to the smaller institutions, which might be given, subject to certain conditions regarding the training of the staff and the maintenance of such reasonable standard of efficiency as might be imposed by the Government of India.

4. This Council further suggest that it would probably be desirable to vest the control of the National Museum in carefully selected Board of Trustees, with the Viceroy as President. There should be a highly qualified director in charge of the administration should be assisted by expert curators and assistant curators for each of the main sections and sub-sections of the museum. In this connection, it might be necessary to frame a National Museum Act, somewhat on the lines of the Victoria Memorial Act.

A building at Delhi of the kind envisaged in this letter, together with show-cases, fittings, furniture, and other necessary equipment would probably cost a crore of rupees, and the expenditure on establishment, maintenance, and

general administrative expenses might amount to at least rupees five lakhs per annum. Such a sum, at first sight, may appear large, but this Council do not consider that such a sum would be excessive in order to make up for the leeway that has been lost, and to maintain the efficiency of the institution.

6. In the first instance the National Museum at Delhi might comprise the three main departments, or sections, illustrating the allied subjects of (1) Archaeology and History, (2) Anthropology, and (3) Art. To house these collections, and make them intelligible and of education value, the museum building would require to be planned on specialized lines, not only as regards lighting and space, but as regards the inter-relation of these subjects. For instance, a central hall should be provided where, by means of diagrams, maps, and models, a key system should be devised, connecting the subjects with one another. Adequate provision would also have to be made for reserve collection and research workers, offices, a reception hall, a lecture theatre, reading and writing rooms, an information office, library, laboratory, photographic department, and so on. In close proximity to the main building should be adequate quarters for the staff, and particularly the resident guard.

7. As soon as the general scheme for the establishment of a National Museum has been approved it would be desirable to appoint a suitable person as the Director of the institution. This is necessary in view of the fact that the person selected for this very important post should collaborate with the architect in planning the galleries, courts and offices. Any initial mistakes in planning the building will detract considerably from the efficiency of the museum. Further, while the building is being completed much preliminary work will be necessary in connection with the selection and training of the staff and the acquisition of collections. It is also desirable that the director-designate should tour the provinces and visit as many of the States as possible in order to make himself acquainted with various problems for which it may be his duty ultimately to provide solutions.

8. With regard to the general question of the acquisition of collections many problems arise with which it is impossible to deal in detail in this letter. The general policy to be adopted by the Governing Body of the Central museum should be gradually to acquire collections which, in the fields of Anthropology, History, Archaeology, and Art, will illustrate the cultural and historical development of the *whole of India and the countries adjacent* to it from the earliest times until the conclusion of the present war. To this last phase in India's development it might be thought necessary to provide a special gallery. It should be left to the provincial and local museums to acquire collections which will illustrate the detailed cultural history of the localities in which they are situated.

9. The collections contained in the existing Central Asian Museum, New Delhi, may be taken as the nucleus of the Archaeological and Historical Section of the National Museum. Further exhibits may be supplied from the

small existing museums at such places as Mohenjodaro and Harappa which, it is now generally accepted, hardly justify their continued maintenance. Such collections therefore would be transferred to the galleries of the National Museum, as soon as these are in a condition to receive them. In the course of time these would be supplemented by acquisitions from various sources; but until a complete historical sequence of exhibits is available, any gaps could be filled by large photographs or casts specially taken for this purpose.

10. The Art Section would be broadly divided into two divisions, one for Fine Arts, such as pictures, and the other for exhibits of Applied Arts. Cases containing technical processes, tools, and materials used would be a necessary part of the Applied or Industrial Arts Section. The actual organization of the Art Section, i. e. the most suitable arrangement for the display of art objects, is a matter of opinion, whether these collections should be arranged geographically, technically, or by 'cultures'. A suitable first broad division would be into the two productions of (a) Textiles and (c) Hardwares, after which any logical cross-section of the subject may be undertaken. In the Arts Section, collections by private persons might be obtained from time to time on loan, and would substantially add to the value of the institution. State collections might be temporarily lent, and one of the activities of the director would be to arrange for these.

11. The Anthropological Section should provide the background for the historical developments of higher Indian art and culture. It should cover aboriginal life in all its aspects—racial types and affinities, cultural and religious institutions, economic and social practices, and modern primitive or Folk arts. The section should be planned and arranged regionally—under such headings as Himalayan, Sub-Himalayan, Peninsular India, Eastern India, the Burmese frontier, the Andamans and Nicobars, etc.—and at the same time it should illustrate and emphasize the similarity between the various groups. The Ethnographic Section of the Indian Museum, which contains many objects now unobtainable, the nucleus of the collections, but much supplementary material will have to be gathered in the field. Primitive art, which is connected functionally with tribal institutions, cannot be separated from the representation of aboriginal life in the museum and should be represented in the Anthropological Section and not in the Fine Arts Section. The detailed scheme relating to the Anthropological Section should be considered by a committee of anthropologists who have experience of tribal life in India, as well as of modern museums.

12. In connection with the staff, opportunities should be made for promising assistants to visit the museums of Europe and America to study the methods of museum organization in other countries. It is hardly necessary to stress the importance of the following, but they are all essential to a well-found museum: (1) adequate and intelligent labelling; (2) library of books dealing specifically with the articles displayed; (3) photography; (4) preservation of exhibits; (5) guides and personally conducted parties; (6) contact with educational

institutions and learned societies with facilities for visits ; (7) a bulletin of activities, acquisitions, etc. illustrated, to be published at intervals.

13. As a postscript I may add that there has been for some time past a movement in England, chiefly supported by the Indian Society, the East India Association, and the Universities' China Committee, to establish an Oriental Museum in London, which will include the cultural productions of Asia, and specially those of India. Some association between this and the proposed National Museum at Delhi may be considered.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Sd. K. Nag
General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

IV

PROPOSALS FOR THE AMENDMENT OF THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS PRESERVATION ACT.

No. 2466

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,
1, Park Street, Calcutta,
30th November, 1944.

From :

The General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

To :

The Secretary to
The Government of India,
Department of Education, Health and Lands,
New Delhi.

Sir,

With further reference to my letter, dated the 12th September, I am instructed to say that the Council of this Society have recently had occasion to consider the adequacy of the provisions of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (VII of 1904) for securing the purposes of that enactment. This is a matter in which this Council have a particular interest and responsibility ; as it was in an address to this Society in February 1906 that Lord Curzon first formulated his policy for the preservation and conservation of the great historical monuments of India.

2. One of the primary objects of the statute, as originally enacted, appears to have been to secure the protection of ancient monuments' as defined in Section 2(1) of the Act; but its provisions were inadequate for the purpose of protecting areas of historical or archaeological importance, in which there was reason to believe that ancient monuments or antiquities might be discovered after scientific excavation. In order partially to remove this defect the Act was amended in 1932; and a new section was substituted for the original Section 20, whereby Government were empowered to declare certain areas to be 'protected areas'. Several notifications appear to have been issued from time to time under the provisions of the new section, e. g. in connection with the highly important area in and about Rajgir in Bihar.

3. In this connection, I am to enclose a copy of judgment delivered in November 1943 by Mr. Salisbury, the Sessions Judge of Patna. (See Appendix A.) It will be seen that the learned Judge has held in effect that under the rule-making power conferred on Government under Section 20B of the Act, the owner or occupier of land in a protected area cannot be prevented from excavating in that area for the purpose of building a house. Having regard to the language which has been used by the Legislature in Section 20, this Council are of opinion that it would be difficult to dispute the correctness of this decision. At the same time, they are of opinion that it is essential in the interests of archaeology in India that Government should be vested with adequate legal power to prevent indiscriminate building in areas of historical or archaeological importance. Such powers are particularly necessary for protected areas at such places as Rajgir and Nālandā where growing villages are situated in close proximity to monuments and sites of the greatest national importance.

4. Having regard to the considerations mentioned above, the Council recommend that a new section, on the following lines, be substituted for the existing Section 20 of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (as amended by Act XVIII of 1932):

20 (1) If the Governor General in Council is of opinion that any area should be protected in the interests of archaeological or historical research, he may, by notification in the Gazette of India, specifying the boundaries of the area, declare it to be a protected area.

(2) From the date of such notification, except as provided in this Act or in rules made under this Act, no person shall (i) make excavations of any kind in the area or undertake therein any of the operations mentioned in Section 10A (1) or (ii) do anything on the surface of the area, by building operations or otherwise, in any manner likely, in the opinion of the Director-General, to interfere with archaeological or historical research in that area.'

5. The reasons for omitting the first part of Section 20 (2) will be discussed below under the heading 'Effective preservation of antiquities'. The

second part of this sub-section appears to be redundant as any rights of the owner or occupier of the land, which have not been expressly curtailed by the Act or rules framed there-under must necessarily remain intact. If however, a declaratory section with regard to this matter is thought desirable, something to the following effect may be inserted in the general clauses at the end of the Act : —

'Except as provided in this Act or in rules framed thereunder the rights of an owner or occupier for an ancient monument or protected area shall not be affected.'

6. The following new section may be inserted after Section 20A, clause 2(2) of which may be cancelled :—

'20AA. If any owner or occupier of land included in a notification under sub-section (1) of Section 20 proves to the satisfaction of the Central Government that he has sustained loss either by reason of such inclusion or by reason of the exercise of the power conferred by Section 20A, the Central Government shall pay to such person compensation for such loss.'

7. The following clause may be inserted after Section 20B (1) (c) :—

'c (1) prescribing the conditions under which operations of the nature mentioned in Section 20 may be undertaken by or on behalf of the owner or occupier of land in a protected area.'

8. Certain other points in which the provisions of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (and the rules framed thereunder) require amendment have been discussed in Chapter III of Sir Leonard Woolley's report.

This Council strongly support the recommendations summarized in paragraph 30 of the report, which are designed to encourage archaeological research by Indian and foreign learned societies and, at the same time, to safeguard Indian interests in this matter, provided that in any rules which may be framed in connection with this matter under Section 20B, the power is reserved to the Governor-General in Council to prevent the removal from India of any article which in his opinion is of unique or special national importance. With regard to the other points raised by Sir Leonard Woolley in Chapter III, the Council are in general agreement with his views subject to what is stated below.

9. The definition of 'ancient monument' does not appear to be sufficiently precise. I am therefore to suggest that in definition in Section 2(1) of the Act the words 'and relates to a period prior to 1858 A. D., be inserted after the words 'artistic interest'.

10. The expression 'Antiquities' has been defined in Section 2(2) of the Act but this Council consider that if this has not already been done, a suitable rule should be promulgated under Section 23 of the Act for the purpose of specifying the particular classes of antiquities, which it is necessary to protect. The scope

Facilities for excavation
by learned societies.

Effective preservation of
antiquities.

of the rule should be sufficiently wide to include not only objects of the nature mentioned in Section 18 of the Act, but also such objects as weapons, armour, pottery, coins, furniture, books, pictures, and manuscripts appertaining to a period prior to 1858.

11. This Council agree with Sir Leonard Woolley in thinking that the Act should contain a clause clearly enunciating the principle that *buried antiquities* are national property. This principle has already been accepted by the Legislature as regards protected areas under Section 20 of the Act. Neither the finder of antiquities nor the owner of the land in such an area can now claim ownership in any antiquities found therein, even if no steps are ever taken by Government to acquire the area. It is only logical and reasonable that this principle should be applied wherever such antiquities may be found; as the mere finding of such objects may indicate that the area in which they have been discovered requires protection under Section 20. In so far as it may relate to antiquities, the Treasure Trove Act (VI of 1878) has not only become partially obsolete but its provisions are cumbrous in their application. The best course to adopt under existing conditions would be to withdraw antiquities entirely from the scope of the Treasure Trove Act and to bring them within the purview of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. In this connection, I am to say that this Council think that the terms of the clause suggested by Sir Leonard Woolley, in paragraph 31 of his report, for the purpose of enunciating the principle of national ownership of antiquities are unsuitable, as they would exclude antiquities relating to a very important period in the history of the Mughul Empire. Further, as regards more recent periods, antiquities relating to the early association of India with the Western world may have considerable historical interest.

12. I am also to say that this Council are of opinion that suitable statutory rules should be framed under the Act for the purpose of requiring finders of antiquities (including officers of the Archæological Department) in a non-protected area or monument, to make an immediate report regarding such discovery to the Collector who, in such cases as may be prescribed, would communicate to the press, or to certain specified learned societies, the facts relating to any important find and, if necessary, report the same to the Director-General. The Collector would also take steps, if necessary, for the provisional protection of the site in which the antiquities had been found. Antiquities other than coins and small objects, which might be stolen, should not ordinarily be removed from the site by the finder until the spot in which they had been discovered had been inspected by an officer of the Archæological Department. There should be a summary enquiry by the Collector for the purpose of deciding whether or not the objects found were really antiquities within the terms of the Act and any appeal by an aggrieved party should lie not to the Chief Controlling Revenue Authority but to the Director-General of Archæology.

13. This Council therefore suggest that a series of sections on the following lines should be inserted in the Act :—

'16A(1) Notwithstanding anything contained in Act VI of 1878 or any other law, all antiquities which were buried in the soil, at any time prior to the year 1858, shall be the property of the Crown and shall be deemed to be in the possession of the Central Government and shall remain the property of and in the possession of that Government until ownership or possession thereof is transferred in accordance with rules made in this behalf.

(2) If any dispute is raised by any person who claims to be the owner of any alleged antiquity unearthed from the soil, whether by accident or during the course of excavations or operations under Section 20 or 20A of this Act, the Collector shall, after such summary enquiry as he may consider necessary, determine whether the object is or is not an antiquity within the meaning of this Act; and make such order as he thinks fit for the possession of such article. Any person dissatisfied with the decision of the Collector may appeal to the Director-General whose decision shall be final and conclusive.'

It would probably be desirable to insert a clause in the Act for the purpose of repealing the provisions of the Treasure Trove Act in so far as those provisions relate to 'antiquities.'

The proposed new sub-section 16A(1) will replace the first part of the existing Section 20(2) which, as pointed out by Sir Leonard Woolley in paragraph 31 of his report, seems to imply that antiquities only become the property of Government after the publication of a notification declaring an area to be a protected area.

14. With regard to this matter it is necessary that a special rule-making clause should be inserted in the Act providing *inter alia* for the following matters :—

- (i) The terms and conditions under which unearthed antiquities may be alienated or loaned by Government ;
- (ii) The relinquishment of cult objects to authorized persons ;
- (iii) The rewarding of finders of buried antiquities and persons who give information regarding the discovery of such antiquities ;
- (iv) The procedure to be followed by the finder in reporting to the Collector the discovery of antiquities unearthed by accident ;
- (v) The procedure to be followed by the Collector after a report has been made to him of the discovery of antiquities unearthed by accident ;
- (vi) The procedure to be followed by the Director-General deciding appeals under Section 16A(2).

This section should also provide that any person committing a breach of any of the rules under (iv) above or who unlawfully removes, secretes or

alters any antiquity to which Sections 16A relates or attempts to do so should be punishable with a fine which may extend to five thousand rupees or with imprisonment up to one year or with both.

15. I am further to suggest that the scope of Section 18 of the Act should be extended to 'antiquities' generally. In certain cases it might be necessary to take steps under this section to prevent the dispersal of valuable private collections of ancient manuscripts and objects of archaeological and historical interest, to which the terms of the present section would not directly apply. Before such collections are dispersed Government should be afforded an opportunity to acquire them for the Central National Museum.

16. In Section 19(1) the words 'or is of opinion that, in the interests of archaeological or historical research, it is desirable that such object should be exhibited in a National or Provincial Museum' may be inserted.

To Section 19 2(a) the words 'for a period exceeding six months before the date of the order' may be added.

For Section 19(2)(b) may be substituted the words 'anything with regard to which the owner is able to satisfy the Collector that there are reasonable grounds, personal to himself or to any of his ancestors or to any member of his family, why the object should be retained by him'.

17. This Council do not consider it necessary at present to amend the law in the manner suggested by Sir Leonard Woolley in paragraph 33 of his report, except in the manner suggested in paragraph 15 of this letter. Any system of licensing dealers in antiquities would be very difficult to enforce; and the present law, if properly applied, is already adequate for the purpose of preventing the removal from India of objects of national importance. This Council are also of opinion that the formation of private collections should be encouraged and should not be made onerous by irksome regulations. At the same time, it should be regarded by officers of the Archaeological Department as part of their duty to keep in close touch with dealers in and collectors of antiquities; and to inform the Director-General whenever they receive information to the effect that any object of particular archaeological or historical importance has come into the market. This duty would be particularly important if and when a National Museum of Indian History and Archaeology is established at New Delhi.

Functions of the Director-General of Archaeology in India.

18. The Director-General of Archaeology in India is not in terms given any executive authority under the provisions of the Act although he is allotted certain functions in the rules promulgated under Section 20B. This Council incline to the view that this is an anomaly which should be rectified. They therefore suggest that the following clause be added to Section 2 :—

' "Director-General" means any officer authorized by the Central

Government to perform the duties of Director-General of Archaeology in India.

The Governor-General in Council may, by rules framed under Section 23 of this Act, vest the Director-General with such powers not inconsistent with the provisions of the Act as in the opinion of the Governor-General may be necessary for carrying out any of the purposes of this Act.'

In some cases duties which under the Act must be performed either by the Commissioner or by the Collector might be performed more conveniently by the Director-General. The Central Government should therefore be empowered also to frame rules allotting all or any of these functions to the 'Director-General' whenever such a course may be considered desirable in order to give effect to the purposes of the act.

19. Although protection is afforded to public servants by Section 24 of the Act in respect of acts done in the exercise of powers conferred by the Act, the only express power which has been conferred upon officers of the Archaeological Department is to enter upon and make excavations in any protected area under Section 20A(1). In order to carry out the purposes of the Act it is necessary that such officers should inspect ancient monuments, whether such monuments are protected or not, and they should be empowered to enter upon private property for the purpose of ascertaining whether such property contains buried antiquities which may be the property of the Crown. This Council recognize that these are functions which require to be exercised with considerable tact and careful discretion especially in the case of buildings used for religious worship or which are in private occupation. On the other hand, without some such authority, much of the work of the Archaeological Department may be infructuous and many monuments and antiquities of national importance may be irreparably damaged or lost.

20 This Council therefore suggest that a clause on the following lines be inserted in the Act :—

'2A. For the purpose of ascertaining whether the provisions of this Act (or rules framed thereunder) are being followed or should be applied, the Director-General or any officer of the Archaeological Department authorized by him in this behalf, may, subject to rules framed by the Central Government under Section 23, enter and inspect any monument which he may have reason to believe to be an ancient monument or any area which in his opinion may contain *buried antiquities*.'

I am to point out that the principle underlying the proposed section has already been partially adopted under Section II of the Act.

21. It is also necessary that the Director-General, or any officer authorized by him, should be given authority to photograph monuments and antiquities (or make copies of antiquities) in the interest of archaeological research.

For this purpose a further section on the following lines may be inserted in the Act :—

'21A. The Director-General or any person authorized by him in this behalf may, subject to rules framed by the Central Government under Section 23, enter any of the monuments or areas mentioned in Section 2A for the purpose of causing any such monument or any portion thereof or any antiquity contained therein to be photographed, copied or reproduced by any process suitable for the purpose.'

22. The rules framed with reference to the proposed Section 2A might provide (if thought necessary) that, in the case of those Muslim tombs or Hindu temples, entrance to which is restricted to members of those communities, the inspection should ordinarily be conducted by a Muslim or a Hindu officer, as the case may be. Further, in the case of buildings in private occupation, the inspection should ordinarily be preceded by a request for permission to visit the premises at a time suitable to the occupier or owner.

23. In paragraph 32 of his report Sir Leonard Woolley recommends that by an addition to Section 20 of the Act, the Archaeological Department should be empowered to excavate on the basis of the temporary occupation of a site for not more than three years. In this connection, I am to point out that Section 20A as framed appears to contemplate excavations for a limited period and that ordinarily the necessity for acquiring an area under Section 20C would not arise unless it were considered necessary to leave the excavations permanently open.

24. In these circumstances the best course to follow would be to add a further clause to Section 20B (immediately after the clause suggested in para 7 above) in the following terms :—

'c(2) prescribing the conditions under and the period during which land may be occupied for the purpose of archaeological research and excavation under Section 20A.'

25. In the opinion of this Council the powers which have been conferred on Government by the act as regards 'protected monuments', are so restricted as to be almost useless for the purpose of ensuring the proper preservation of many buildings of the greatest national importance. The main effect of a protection notification under Section 3 of the Act appears to be to authorize the Collector to endeavour to persuade the owner of the monument to enter into an agreement with Government for its preservation. After having wasted much valuable time in attempting to obtain an agreement the Collector will often find that further negotiations are useless. He may then, if necessary advise Government to acquire a secular monument under Section 19 of the Act, but in the case of a temple or a mosque, he can do nothing. The present position can only be described as lamentable. Many buildings of India which are used for religious observances are ancient national monument of

Extension of the right to excavate in private land.

Further steps required for the protection of ancient monuments.

the highest importance and interest ; but, even within recent years, irreparable damage has been done to these great buildings either through neglect on the part of their custodians or a misguided passion for indiscriminate and unscientific *rebuilding and restoration*. There can be little doubt that much of this kind of damage which has been perpetrated, in the case of the Jagannath Temple at Puri and in some of the great temples in South India, could have been avoided if operations for repair, rebuilding and re-decorating had been conducted under the expert supervision of officers of the Archaeological Department.

26. This Council are strongly of opinion that this vital defect in the Act is one which should be removed by the Legislature with all possible speed in order to preserve what must be regarded as a very important part of the great cultural heritage of India. What seems to be required is an amendment of the purpose of forbidding the owner or custodian of a protected monument (whether such monument be religious or secular) from undertaking any structural alteration, repair or re-decoration in respect of such monument without the expert advice and supervision of an officer of the Archaeological Department. For this purpose a new section on the following lines might be suitable :—

'8A. Notwithstanding anything contained in this Act or in any other law the Governor-General in Council may direct that no structural alteration in, repair to, or re-decoration of any protected monument shall be done by any person except under the supervision and advice of an officer of the Archaeological Department and in accordance with rules framed under Section 23 of this Act. Such rules may also empower the Director-General, in cases in which he is of opinion that alterations in, repairs to, or restoration of a protected monument, or the restoration or repair of any portion of internal or external decoration of such monuments, are necessary for the purpose of maintaining it or in the interest of archaeology or historical research, to take such steps as he may consider necessary or desirable for such purposes. Such rules may also prescribe the method by which the whole or any portion of the sum spent for the purposes aforesaid may be recovered from the owner of the monument.'

27. A consequential amendment of Section 9 will also be required and a penalty involving a fine up to five thousand rupees or imprisonment for six months should be imposed on any person who disobeys a direction under the proposed section, or the rules framed in this behalf

28. This council are of opinion that most of the penalties for which provision is made in the Act, as it now stands, are not sufficiently deterrent and they make the following suggestions with regard to this matter :—

Penalties.

- (i) The breach of a rule made under Section 10A may involve very serious consequences, and clause (3) of this section should authorize

the imposition of a fine extending to at least two thousand rupees or imprisonment up to six months or both.

(ii) In Section 15(2) 'one hundred rupees' may be substituted for 'twenty rupees'.

(iii) The following section may be substituted for the existing Section 16 of the Act :

'Any person who destroys, removes, injures, alters, defaces imperils a protected monument and any owner or occupier who contravenes an order made under Section 7, sub-section (1), shall be punishable with a fine which may extend to five thousand rupees, or with imprisonment which may extend to six months or with both.'

(iv) The penalty under Section 18(4) should be increased to a fine of one thousand rupees or imprisonment up to three months or with both.

(v) It should be provided that a breach of any rule or condition of a licence under Section 20B should also be punishable with imprisonment up to six months, as an alternative or in addition to the fine of five thousand rupees. Provision should also be made of a summary order by the Magistrate directing the removal of any buildings which may have been erected in a protected area in violation of any rule made under the proposed new clause 20B c (1)

(vi) Section 23 should be amended in order to provide that any person committing a breach of a rule made under this section shall be punishable with a fine which may extend to five thousand rupees or imprisonment up to six months or with both.

29. Further, I am to say that it would be greatly appreciated by this Council if they could be given an opportunity to express their views with regard to any Bill which may be drafted for the purpose of giving effect to these proposals before such Bill is actually introduced in the Central Legislature and if they could be afforded a similar opportunity to record their opinion with regard to statutory rules or notifications which Government may purpose to issue under any section of the Act as it now stands or as hereafter amended.

30. In conclusion, I am to say that this Council trust that the Government of India will regard these matters as deserving of immediate attention in connection with the general question of postwar reconstruction. The importance of the preservation of the monuments and antiquities of India to the cultural life of the country can hardly be exaggerated. The existing law is inadequate for the purpose and, if this important part of India's national heritage is to be preserved

Conclusion.

to future generations, it is imperative that drastic steps should be taken for its effective protection.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Sd. K. Nag,
General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

VI

PROPOSAL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA.

No. 2744.

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,
1 Park Street, Calcutta,

From :

20th. December, 1944.

The General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

To :

The Secretary
The Government of India,
Department of Education, Health and Lands,
New Delhi.

Sir,

I am directed by the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal to draw your attention to the condition of the study and practice of architecture in India. A glance at the more recent structural performances in most parts of the country will show that architecture as an art is in a most deplorable state. Important buildings in such cities as Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, indicate a lamentable ignorance of the first principles of the building art, and in the lesser towns the position is equally distressing. Rarely is any attempt made to consult a qualified architect, even if such an expert is available, the custom being to entrust the design and construction to an ordinary building-contractor whose knowledge of architectural practice is negligible. The result is that everywhere one is confronted with incongruous groups of buildings, each structure æsthetically bad, devoid of character, the whole, individually and collectively, entirely discreditable to the country in which they have been erected. The effect of this degraded structural environment on the mentality

of the populace cannot of course be precisely estimated ; but there is little doubt that its reactions are largely responsible for the disastrous decline in public taste within recent years. Such a state of affairs would be regrettable in a people possessed of no specially notable aesthetic history ; but in India, which has an architectural heritage second to none, the present position may be regarded as intolerable. For not only are many of the ancient and mediæval monuments in the country acclaimed as of surpassing merit, but the influence of these architectural productions extended in the historical period over a large part of Asia ; so that such stupendous masterpieces as the Borobudur in Java and the Angkor Vat in Combodia owe their origin and high artistic and structural character to the powerful stimulation afforded by the achievements of the Indian School of Architecture. Finally, there is the Taj Mahal at Agra, which several leading authorities have pronounced to be the most superb structural creation executed by the hand of man.

2. With these facts in view, the Council are of the opinion that the encouragement of the study of architecture, so that the subject may again occupy the proud position it long held in this country, should be treated as an important aspect of any cultural development that may be in contemplation. Initial steps have been already taken by a body of experts who have devised a scheme for a School of Indian Architecture and Regional Planning, which they feel would go a long way towards attaining the desired object. A pamphlet dealing with the scheme in detail is attached* and will fully explain the aims of such an institution. This proposal is already receiving the consideration of the authorities of the Calcutta University. While certain details in the scheme may require modification and adjustment, the Council are generally in favour of the proposal ; but they are of the opinion that the subject is of wider importance than here indicated, and that it should be organized on an all-India basis, with a central institution in Delhi and branches at such provincial capitals as Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. By these means it is felt that the architectural consciousness of the people will be aroused, that in the course of time a national form of the building art will gradually evolve, and that the cities and towns of India will produce a style of structure that will again be a delight to the eye.

3. From the attached pamphlet it will be seen that the type of institution which its promoters have planned, would consist of two departments, one of Architecture and the other for Regional Planning, and would be affiliated to a University. The course would extend over a period of seven years and give a standard of instruction equivalent to that of the Royal Institute of British Architects or the Institute of American Architects. In addition to the

* This pamphlet has not been reprinted. Any one who requires further information with regard to the suggested course of instruction should apply to the Registrar of the Calcutta University or to Mr. Sriis Chandra Chatterjee, 49 Malanga Lane, Calcutta.

cost of a suitable building, properly to equip such an institution a sum of Rs. 45,000 of non-recurring expenditure has been estimated, while the annual recurring expense for the maintenance of the staff and establishment has been calculated at Rupees one and a half lakhs. An endowment for scholarships has been recommended ; and when the institution is in full working order, some 200 students could be trained. The fees have been worked out at an average Rs. 50 per mensem.

4. The course of instruction will include an Entrance Examination to be held annually for admission to the school, permitting successful candidates to undergo a training of two years in a Pre-Architectural Course. Those who qualify in this preliminary course will be admitted into the Architectural Department for a further period of study extending to five years. In addition, a Regional Planning course has been suggested which will take up another period of two years. Examinations will be held annually for the following degrees :—

- (1) Degree of Bachelor of Architecture.
- (2) Degree of Master of Planning.
- (3) Degree of Master of Architecture.

The Degrees will take the form of diplomas under the seal of the University signed by the Vice-Chancellor and conferred on the occasion of the University Convocation.

5. The Council trust that the scheme, thus presented, will, in principle, if not in detail, meet with the most earnest consideration with a view to its ultimate fulfilment. They feel that it may serve as the beginning of a movement of great importance, and one which will have marked repercussions on the social life and cultural outlook of the country. The Council are of the opinion that the adoption of the scheme will lead to something more than an abstract affinity with the records of the past and that it will result in a substantial and practical intellectual understanding of India's historical achievements in the field of architecture, an understanding which it is hoped will aid in the development of a definite style of architecture fully expressive of the national character of the people and the country in which they live.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that the scheme takes full advantage of the experience of Europe and America while at the same time, it is closely in accord with both the conditions and the character in India. In the words of a well-known American architect and planner 'I can say to you sincerely that if you can possibly bring it about, you will have a school superior to anything in the Western World ; for the committee that formulated it evidently was using the best thought and development that we have painfully evolved by experience of years, and in various places'.

6. On that Committee were Mr. Sris Chatterjee and Mr. Percy Brown, leading experts on Indian architecture, and fully qualified architects and

planners of the Services Architects Organization, who brought the experiences of the leading Schools of Architecture and Planning with them from Europe and America.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Sd. K. Nag,
General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

VII

THE NECESSITY FOR A NATIONAL CULTURAL TRUST

No 228

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,
1, Park Street, Calcutta.

From :
The General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

26th January, 1945.

To :
The Secretary
The Government of India,
Department of Education, Health and Lands
New Delhi.

Sir,

In several of their previous letters to the Government of India, this Council have endeavoured to emphasize the necessity for developing the cultural side of Indian life in connection with post-war reconstruction. They fully realize the value of scientific, economic and industrial development on which so much thought is now being concentrated ; but they feel that, unless steps are taken simultaneously to develop the cultural life of the people, there is a danger that India may lose spiritually more than she is likely to gain materially in the race for post-war prosperity. So far, the Council have directed the attention of the Government of India to a few aspects of this problem. They have pointed out the importance of providing permanent records of India's cultural history, from the earliest times, in National and Provincial Museums. They have also stressed the necessity for preserving the ancient monuments of India and have discussed the question of the effective utilization of such monuments in connection with cultural education by making them more accessible to Indian travellers or visitors from other countries.

(2) The Council feel, however, that so far they have only touched the fringe of this vital problem. In the past, India's contributions to world culture have been of inestimable value, especially in the fields of literature, religions, philosophy, architecture and the fine arts. The great traditions of the past still remain; but, unless prompt steps are taken there is an imminent danger that they may be submerged and lost in the flood of twentieth century materialism. The question therefore arises as to what steps, if any, should be taken to utilize everything that is best in India's ancient culture in connection with post-war reconstruction. Although the Council feel that cultural, as opposed to academic and technical education, should ordinarily be left to non-official agencies and that learned Societies and the general public should be invited to take an active part in the matter, they are nevertheless of the opinion that, under present conditions, some encouragement and assistance from the Central Government is essential.

(3) In the first place, an organization should be established, which might be known as the National Cultural Trust. Although it is desirable that this Trust should be in touch with Government it should be as far as possible non-official and autonomous. At the inception of the scheme it might be necessary for Government to endow the Trust with sufficient funds to enable it to fulfil its proper functions but, for its main regular income, it would have to rely on financial support from the public. This Council believe that all Indians of rank, wealth and education are proud of their great cultural heritage and they have no doubt that the requisite propaganda will secure the income necessary to ensure the success of the project.

(4) The main functions of the National Cultural Trust would be :—

- (i) To encourage cultural education and research, with particular reference to the preservation and development of traditional Indian culture in relation to such subjects as literature, sculpture, painting, music, dramatic art and dancing.
- (ii) To acquire for the nation, sites, monuments, manuscripts, pictures or other objects of importance from the point of view of Indian national culture.
- (iii) To advise the Government of India and Provincial Governments with regards to cultural matters which are beyond the scope of the ordinary school or college curriculum.
- (iv) To co-operate and assist in the development of the activities of Indian Universities in the purely cultural field.
- (v) To co-operate with the learned Societies of India in order to encourage and expand the cultural side of the work now performed by them.
- (vi) To publish suitable popular literature in connection with cultural matters.

(vii) To maintain close touch with all parts of India (including the States) by holding periodical conferences.

(5) With regard to the first of these points I am to say, that the Council have under their consideration a scheme for the establishment of a National Academy of Art and Letters, with regard to which the Government of India are being addressed separately. It is indeed that this Academy should function under the immediate control of the National Trust. While the Council do not contemplate that this Academy will assume any direct administrative control or responsibility, in respect of similar institutions in the Provinces or the Indian States, they expect that it will maintain a high standard of efficiency and state, which other smaller Academies in the country will seek to achieve. It will be a centre not merely for research and an institution in the fine and liberal arts, but also for the training of persons deputed for this purpose by the Provinces and the States. The advice of experts from the Academy would be available if acquired by the Governing Bodies of local cultural institutions ; and, provided the Council of the Academy was satisfied that any such local institution had attained a reasonable standard of efficiency and deserved encouragement, would be open to them to recommend to the Trustees that it should be given financial assistance in the form of a grant-in-aid from the funds of the National Trust.

(6) The second function proposed for Trust would bear some resemblance to the work which is performed by the National Trust in England. The ultimate use to be made of the acquisitions would depend on their nature.

(7) As regards the third point, it is intended that the National Trust should be concerned with the control or administration of museums. These would remain at present under the Central and Provincial Governments assisted by the Trustees of the National Museum in the manner indicated in this Council's letters Nos. 2422 and 2736 dated 24th November, 1944, and 20th December, 1944, respectively. Further the Archaeological Department would continue to be administered as at present, with the assistance of the recently constituted Archaeological Advisory Board. Except with regard to these matters, the Council hope that, in due course, the functions of the National Trust would gradually approximate to such as are performed in some European countries by the Department of Fine Arts. Apart, however, from its relations with the National Academy and items 2 and 6 mentioned in para. 4, the Trust would perform most of its functions not by the method of direct administration but as an advisory body, with authority in suitable cases to allot grants-in-aid, to endow fellowships or scholarships, or otherwise to assist the Central and Provincial Governments or the States in the cultural development of India.

(8) The relations between the Trust and the Universities would naturally vary according to the prominence given to purely cultural education in the Universities concerned. The activities of most of the Indian Universities are necessarily restricted by financial difficulties ; and the average student, confined

as he usually is to a rigid scientific or literary curriculum, has opportunity to interest himself in culture in the wider sense of the term. On the other hand, cultural research of great national value is often undertaken at the Post-graduate stage in some of the Universities. What seems to be required at present is to encourage the formation of organisations such as exist in English and American Universities, to foster the interest and activity of students in cultural matters outside their ordinary curriculum, and the publication in popular and attractive form of the results of cultural research. This is a field in which the help and co-operation of the National Trust could not fail to bear fruit. Further their help in widening the scope of University education by endowing University Extension Lectures might have a very good effect.

(9) The assistance of the learned Societies of India would be of the greatest importance to the National Trust, especially in connection with the development of the popular side of the movement. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and its sister Societies in other part of India are not merely groups of scholars associated for the purpose of scientific or cultural research. Probably the majority of the members of these bodies are ordinary intellectual people who are not professional scientists or educationalists, but who find stimulus and recreation in culture and learning. In any cultural revival the influence of such bodies, if properly directed, might be of inestimable value to the country. In fact, in connection with the scheme which is now being outlined, the learned Societies would be in effect the agents of the National Trust within the areas from which the majority of their members are drawn. In a small way the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal is endeavouring to further the cause of culture by holding weekly Discussion Meetings (which are open to the public) at which well-known people are invited to speak on various scientific or cultural topics of interest to educated Indians or visitors to India. These talks have become popular not only with members of the Allied Forces but also with the ordinary residents of Calcutta; and the interest which they have aroused is reflected by a considerable increase in applications for permanent membership of the Society. Possibly this side of the Society's work might be further developed by the publication of a number of popular hand-books on the history, religion and literature of India or with regard to some of her ancient cities and provinces. It might also be possible to expand the very important work on which the Society has been engaged for many years, in connection with research and the publication in the *Bibliotheca Indica* of ancient treatises of unique value. Further, in any cultural survey which may be undertaken, at the instance of Government or the National Trust (if and when constituted), this Council would always be prepared to take a part; and they are only too anxious to assist the cause of cultural reconstruction in any way in which their help may be required. The Council have little doubt that most of the other learned Societies of India would also be ready to co-operate to the best of their ability.

(10) As regards the sixth item mentioned in para. 4, the Council feel that there is at present much scope in India for good *popular literature* (both for young people or for adults) on such subjects as Indian art and architecture, history, archaeology and the religion and ancient customs of the country. There is also a scarcity of good books for the intellectual traveller. It would be an important function of the National Trust to remedy this deficiency by the establishment of a good Publication Department. In this matter help would probably be forthcoming from the Universities and learned Societies.

(11) The seventh of the suggested functions of the National Trust calls for little comment. Such conferences should be held as frequently as possible in different parts of India, for the purpose of keeping the Trustees in touch with the views of the leading people in all the chief cultural centres of the country. The sessions should be arranged to coincide with public holidays, in order that there may be as little interference as possible with the professional work of the people who are asked to attend the conferences.

(12) It would of course be desirable to constitute the proposed National Trust by a special Act of the Central Legislature. The Trust would require a permanent Secretariat with its headquarters at New Delhi or possibly at Calcutta. The Board of Trustees should contain representatives from British India and the States and should include businessmen and members of the learned professions.

(13) Finally, I am to suggest that the Government of India should appoint a Committee of Enquiry for the purpose of making a general survey of those branches of *traditional* Indian culture, which are still alive or are capable of being revived for the welfare of the entire community. The survey should deal with such subjects as vernacular literature, religious philosophy, the drama, architecture, painting, sculpture, the decorative arts, music and dancing. Although the Committee should not be too large it should be representative of the cultural opinion in India as a whole, including the Indian States. It should also contain representatives from some of the leading learned Societies of India. The main Committee might find it convenient to entrust the survey with regard to particular subjects to small sub-committees.

(14) After completing their survey the Committee should submit their recommendation to the Government of India on the following points :-

- (a) Methods to be adopted for preserving traditional Indian culture in localities where protective measures are necessary for this purpose.
- (b) The general development of cultural life in India with regard to the subjects mentioned in para. 13.
- (c) The Committee's views might be also ascertained with regard to this Council's proposal for the formation of a National Cultural Trust and the financial implications of the scheme. They might be invited to offer suggestions with regard to the scope

and activities of the proposed organization or to put forward any alternative suggestions for cultural reconstruction in India.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd. K. Nag,

General Secretary,

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

VIII

PROPOSAL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL ACADEMY OF ART AND LETTERS.

No. 229

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,
1, Park Street, Calcutta,

From :

26th January, 1945.

The General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

To :

The Secretary
The Government of India,
Department of Education, Health and Lands
New Delhi.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to para. 5 of this Council's letter No. 228, dated 26th January, 1945, and to say that, as part of their proposals for the advancement of the cultural arts in post-war India, the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal desire to place before you a scheme which they venture to think may form the nucleus of a cultural movement with wide implications. This proposal envisages a Central Institute, established in Delhi, which would have as its object the encouragement and stimulation of the visual arts and the literary aspirations of the country as a whole. Such an institution might be designated 'The National Academy of Art and Letters', and would be planned, in the first instance, to develop educationally, the study and practice of what are considered the basic elements of cultural life. The subjects specially selected for this purpose are as follows :—

- (a) The Graphic and Plastic Arts, such as Painting and Sculpture.
- (b) The Applied Arts, Decorative, Industrial and Commercial. Textiles, weaving and embroidery; Metal work, wrought, cast and ornamented.

- (c) Indian Languages and Literature.
- (d) The Dramatic Art.
- (e) Music.
- (f) Dancing.

2. This Academy would be financed partly by fees and partly by funds from the National Trust and maintained in a building either attached to or in close association with the proposed National Museum and School of Architecture, as all these aspects of learning form an inter-related cultural whole. Here it may be stated that the Council are of the opinion that the Institutions they have so far proposed, might be designed and built in conjunction with one another, planned as an entity, and so co-ordinated both intellectually and structurally, as to resolve themselves into one systematized organization with one object and aim.

3. If this principle is accepted the most suitable position for the range of buildings comprising this organization is the next consideration. A site which, for a variety of reasons, commends itself to the Council is the area within the Fort at Delhi, which, when the present unsightly barracks are removed, would provide ample space for a group of buildings of the kind proposed. These buildings would be designed in a style to agree with their surroundings, so that there would be nothing incongruous in the architectural scheme. Moreover, the Council feel that on sentimental grounds there is much to support such a proposal as, within the Fort at Delhi, itself a production of Islamic vision and indigenous workmanship, the various schools of art of India were amalgamated by means of the intellectual toleration of many rulers of the Mughal dynasty. A monument in an architectural style, incorporating both Hindu and Muhammedan ideals, would record a period when by a broad-minded imperial patronage the arts became unified. Further, the environment may be regarded not merely an appropriate one but as an inspiration.

4. As regards the actual composition of the proposed National Academy of Art and Letters, the building that would find accommodation for the purpose might resolve itself into three main divisions. In the central department would be salons and studios for the cultivation of the arts of Painting and Sculpture, and work-rooms for the Applied Arts. There would be a spacious vestibule to this portion of the building for the display of selected examples produced by students, and where sales might also be effected. Here also would be the office of the Registrar, and a reception room. On each side of this central building would be wings, on one side for the provision of suitable rooms for instruction in the Dramatic Art, Music and Dancing, while the other side would provide accommodation for a Library and the Department of Languages and Literature. In the latter wing would also be a large hall for the purpose of art exhibitions, concerts, and displays of dancing.

5. In this connection, a system of art Exhibitions might be considered firstly in the provinces, where, at each local centre, an exhibition of regional

art, both Fine and Industrial, could be undertaken. Then from these provincial exhibitions, a number of the finest examples might be selected for display in a Salon or Academy, held annually in the exhibition hall of the National Academy. Such an exhibition of the best art work that India can produce, drawn from all sources, with awards for those of exceptional merit, would not only stimulate the art effort of the country, but would also be a means of bringing the result of this movement to the notice of the public.

6. At this stage the Council do not propose to develop in detail the scheme of this centre of learning ; but the following outlines of the manner in which effect may be given to the various departments concerned, may explain their views.

7. **The School of Art.** The artistic sense, as shown among the villagers by their Folk Art, and the higher classes by their Classical productions, has been notable in India from the earliest times, and has been maintained fairly consistently throughout the course of history. This inherent aesthetic consciousness may be regarded as a definite national asset, and of great value in any scheme for the encouragement of cultural ideals. An Art Department therefore should find an important place in the National Academy, in the form of a School for the teaching and stimulation of the country's art. This School may have the following three main objects :—

- (i) Instruction in the Fine and Applied Arts.
- (ii) A teachers' department, in which students in-training could be instructed in the methods of art education.
- (iii) Means for the co-operation and substantial encouragement of the existing Art Schools in India.

With regard to (i) in the *studios* for the instruction in the Fine Arts, the subject of painting and sculpture would take the first place, but engraving, lithography, and other arts of a like nature would also be taught.

In the *workshops* for the practice of the Applied Arts, equipment and material could be provided for students who take up these subjects. The decorative arts play an important part in raising the standard of environment.

With reference to (ii) the *training of teachers*, so that the art instincts of the people throughout the country may be stimulated, is an essential feature of the scheme. By these means public interest in the arts may be created ; and this can be brought about by Art becoming a definite subject in the curriculum of elementary and secondary education. What is aimed at is not the practice of drawing, which is already undertaken in most educational institutions, but a training of the aesthetic sense ; the stimulation of artistic judgment of taste assisted by the exhibition of good examples ; an acquaintance with the historical development of Art and especially with notable examples and the highest achievements of the past.

Regarding (iii), as the existing Art Schools throughout the country are all supported by either Provincial or State Governments, the present scheme cannot

propose any definite share in their administration except to the extent suggested in para. 15 of this letter.

8. *Indian Languages and Literature* : This department would include some of the principal features of the Academy's activity. Its main functions would be as follows :

- (i) Research in connection with the ancient and mediæval literature of India particularly with regard to history and religious philosophy.
- (ii) The translation of ancient texts of importance with reference to the cultural history of India.
- (iii) Instruction in the classical languages of India, such as Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit ; Arabic and Persian.
- (iv) Courses of instruction with regard to the ancient and modern literature of India. In this connection, lectures would be arranged with regard to the various religions of India and the development of the principal schools of religious philosophy.
- (v) Instruction (both conversational and literary) in the most important modern languages of India. Special courses would be arranged for visitors to India.
- (vi) The publication of books for instructional purposes connected with the above-mentioned subjects.
- (vii) The maintenance of the Library of the Academy. This Library should be well equipped with all the standard books relating to the subjects in which the Academy provides instruction. In this connection it might be desirable, by legislative enactment, to compel all publishers in India to send copies of new publications to the Librarian of the Academy, who would distribute the books to the appropriate libraries, e. g., Scientific works to the National Institute of Sciences and Anthropological and Archæological works to the Library of the National Museum.
- (viii) The preparation and publication of bibliographies relating to matters within the purview of Academy.
- (ix) To submit reports to the Council of the Academy for the award of prizes for literary productions of exceptional merit.
- (x) To maintain a bureau for the purpose of giving Information when required by members of the public regarding literary matters.

It should be emphasized that facilities for research in all subjects would specially be provided.

9. *School of Dramatic Art.* — This department would specialize in providing a training for the Stage, speech training, elocution and voice production. Students would be encouraged to write Plays, and those approved would be staged in the theatre hall of the Academy. There should be a small Workshop Theatre with appropriate equipment for the School of Drama.

In this connection, a project for a National Theatre might be considered, with a building large enough to accommodate an audience of from 1,200 to 1,500.

10. *Music.* The purpose of this department is the promotion by means of study and practices of vocal and instrumental music. The historical development of the art would also be studied. Its syllabus might be designed on the following aspects of the subject ; (a) Indian and Western Music, (b) Development of the Scale, (c) *Rāga*, the Basis of Melody, (d) *Tāla*, or the Measures, (e) Musical Composition, (f) Musical Instruments of India, (g) Kirtan, Baul, etc.

Halls for music should be specially designed, and made available to students for private performances and recitals.

11. *Dancing.*—The aim of this section is to create a higher standard in Dancing in general, and the teaching of Dancing in particular ; also to bring it into close relationship with the associated arts such as Music, the Drama, and the Fine Arts. It will provide facilities for the encouragement of new and creative dances, and will hold periodical auditions for the recognition of students of superior talent and promise. Its course might include : (a) Elements of Technique, (b) Folk Dancing, (c) Kathākali (South India), (d) Bharata Nāṭyam and Sadir Nautch (South India), (e) Kathak (North India), and (f) New Dance forms of India.

12. It is perhaps premature at present to make detailed recommendations with regard to the constitution of the proposed Academy. The Council think, however, that it is important that its Governing Body should be representative of all the best elements of Indian cultured opinion. In order to achieve the purpose which they have in view, this Council think that the National Cultural Trust should be empowered to frame regulations with regard to the general activities of the Academy but, subject to these regulations, the institution would be administered by a Governing Body consisting of Fellows, a Council and a Director.

13. The number of the Fellows should be restricted to about 100 persons in order that membership of this Body may be regarded as a distinction. They should be persons of acknowledged eminence and should include representatives of every branch of Indian culture. The method to be followed in appointing the Foundation Fellows and in filling vacancies will be a matter for subsequent consideration.

The Fellows will meet periodically, at various cultural centres in India, for the purpose of exchanging views with regard to the promotion of cultural education in general and the interests of the Academy in particular. Resolutions of an advisory nature relating to cultural matters, which are passed at such meetings, will be forwarded to the Trustees of the National Trust for their consideration. As regards resolutions relating to the Academy, it would be the duty of the Council to give effect to them, after reference to the Trustees,

if necessary, in case of difficulty. At their Annual General Meeting the Fellows would elect the Council of the National Academy.

14 The Council would consist of about 20 members, including the Director of the Academy, who would be a member *ex-officio*. A sufficient number of seats on the Council should be allotted to Fellows resident in or in the neighbourhood of Delhi in order that it may always be possible to secure a quorum. The main functions of the Council would be :—

- (i) To manage the affairs of the Academy and for this purpose to frame such Rules as may appear to them to be necessary for its proper administration, provided that such Rules should not be inconsistent with any Regulations framed by the Trustees of the National Trust. All Rules so framed should be reported for the information of the Fellows at their next meeting.
- (ii) To superintend the publication of periodical or other works published by the Academy.
- (iii) To prepare and submit to the Annual General Meeting of the Fellows a report on the general concerns of the Academy. This report should be submitted to the Trustees of the National Trust with any recommendations which the Fellows might consider it necessary to make with reference thereto.
- (iv) To take such legal proceedings as might be necessary in the interest of the Academy.
- (v) To hold examinations in the subjects in connection with which the Academy provides instruction and to confer diplomas on successful candidates.
- (iv) To make recommendations to the Trustees of the National Trust for the affiliation of other cultural institutions to the National Academy or for the making of grants-in-aid to such institutions.
- (vii) To award prizes for literary works of exceptional merit.
- (viii) Subject to confirmation by the Trustees in the cases of the Director and the Principals of the main teaching departments of the Academy, to appoint all members of the teaching or ministerial staff of the institution.

15. The Director would be in immediate charge of the administration of the Academy subject to the control of the Council. The First Director would be appointed by the National Trust and subsequent appointments would be made by the Council subject to confirmation by the Trustees.

16. Although the Council of the National Academy would exercise no direct administrative control, in respect of similar institutions in the Provinces or the States, it would endeavour to secure the co-operation of the Governing Bodies of those institutions for the purpose of promoting the efficiency of

cultural education in India according to a co-ordinated plan. This object might be secured by suggesting that Fellows of the Academy, or *experts* in particular subjects appointed by the Council, should be invited to inspect local institutions and give such advice as might be necessary. Further, it might be possible to achieve a reasonable standard of efficiency by developing the system of grants-in-aid in suitable cases, by the Academy undertaking the training of teachers deputed for this purpose from other parts of the country, and by arranging for experts to deliver special courses of lectures at the principal cultural centres of India.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Sd. K. Nag
General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

IX

CONSTITUTION OF NATIONAL PARKS.

No. 235

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,
1, Park Street, Calcutta,

From :

26th November, 1945.

The General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

To :

The Secretary
The Government of India,
Department of Education, Health and Lands,
New Delhi.

Sir,

I am directed by the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal to address you on the subject of the constitution of National Parks and National Monuments in India as a desirable aspect of post-war planning, to which the Society is devoting considerable attention from the point of view of cultural development in India.

2. The National Park system has been developed particularly in the United States of America which now possess a network of National Parks often associated with a National Monument. The legal basis of the structure rests partly on the powers of the President to declare a Monument, which may often

be a natural feature and its environment, as a National Monument, and partly on the powers of the Legislature to create National Parks. The so-called National Monument may comprise an area of well over 1,000 acres, while National Parks extend to a magnitude in the order of hundreds of square miles. The Parks are maintained under an organized service and provision is made for touring, camping, enjoyment of national beauty, athletic pursuits, especially winter sports, and local amusement.

3. While National Parks of the American type are not existent in Great Britain the preservation of historic buildings and relatively small areas of scenic interest is ensured to some extent by the National Trust which was first established in 1895 and acquired legislative recognition in 1906. The U. K. National Trust has considerably more restricted scope than the American National Parks organization ; its object being the acquisition of places of historic interest or natural beauty by gift, lease or purchase, in order to ensure their preservation as a national asset. Unlike the American National Parks and Monuments, the U.K. Trust functions entirely on voluntary funds and sale proceeds received from property vesting in the Trust without a grant from Government. In recent years, however, as the operations of the English National Trust have extended by acquiring large areas of scenic beauty on the coast of England, there has been some approximation to the ideal of the American National Parks and there has for some time been a movement in Great Britain advocating the inauguration of National Parks.

4. Among the recommendations of the report of the Land Utilization Committee in rural areas (Scott Committee, 1942) was the constitution of a National Parks authority for Great Britain. The Committee recommended that the establishment of National Parks in Britain was long over-due. They recommended that delimitation of the Parks be undertaken nationally, and that a body be set up to control National Parks under a Central Standing authority or other appropriate central authority. They viewed with appreciation the work of the Forestry Commission in the establishment of National Forest Parks and the magnificent work of the National Trust. This Committee contemplated in particular the preservation of the coast of England and Wales through a National Park scheme and the provision of smaller regional open spaces by bringing the remaining common land of the country into a national scheme. This recommendation has recently been endorsed by Mr. W. S. Morrison, Minister of Town and Country Planning, who has declared the call for National Parks to be in the forefront of the Committee's recommendations. (Paragraph 178 of the report of the Scott Committee.)

5. This information which has been designedly blocked in on broad lines without specification and other legislative details constitutes a general background against which the case for National Parks or a National Trust in India also should be considered.

6. Among the objects of a National Trust or a National Park organization in India would be :—

- (a) The preservation of places either of natural beauty, or of special interest as centres of wild life, of historic associations, including ancient monuments and their surroundings, wherever these could serve the purpose of public recreation ; and control of the use made of these areas, with or without direct maintenance, in conformity with these objects. The Type of places would range from large areas of scenic beauty to limited areas associated with ancient monuments such as might be properly laid out as a park and place of quiet recreation, on the model of certain monuments in Delhi.
- (b) Along with the preservation of these areas would go the responsibility for facilitating access by the public and, at the same time, controlling such access, so that it did not result in the deterioration of the places selected.

7. The Council recognize that having regard to the varying conditions of climate and the incidence of such diseases as malaria in areas of scenic beauty and historical interest throughout India, a wide and detailed scrutiny of the suitability of the potential sites for these Parks and Monuments will be an essential preliminary to the formulation of actual proposals for their constitution. It would therefore be premature at this stage to express views as to their actual location : merely by way of example the hill area of Sikkim, familiar already to many travellers, tourists, mountaineers and naturalists, might be cited as suitable, with the co-operation of the Sikkim Durbar, for a National Park of the type which has already gained worldwide acceptance in such places as the Yosemite Valley in California

8. The immediate aim therefore of this letter is to urge that India's natural endowment of scenery and wild life, and its age-long heritage of great monuments claim protection, from the widest cultural point of view, for the benefit of its people now living and for those who are to come ; and to impress Government of India the desirability of talking up the question on lines which, as indicated in some detail above, have proved successful elsewhere in the world.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd. K. Nag,

General Secretary,

Royal Asiatic Society of Benal,

X

PROPOSALS FOR A SURVEY OF ART TREASURES THROUGHOUT INDIA AND FOR THE INSTITUTION OF A DIPLOMA IN FINE ART.

No. 1579

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,
1 Park Street, Calcutta,

From :

29th, March, 1945.

The General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

To :

The Secretary
The Government of India,
Department of Education, Health and Lands,
New Delhi.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to this Council's letter No. 228, dated the 26th January, 1945, and to enclose herewith for the consideration of the Government of India a letter from the Offg. Principal of the Government College, Lahore, which contains certain very important suggestions.

This Council agree that there is an immediate necessity for a Survey of Art Treasures throughout India, with a special reference to those objects of an artistic character stored in State *Tosha Khanas* and buildings used for similar purposes ; and they think that this matter should come within the terms of reference of the Committee of Enquiry, the constitution of which they have recommended in para. 13 of their letter of the 26th January. They are also of the opinion that it is essential that the co-operation of the Political Department should be invited in connection with this matter.

The Council also consider that Mr. Dickinson's proposal regarding a Diploma in Fine Art, merits careful consideration. On this point they think it is desirable that the functions of the Universities should be carefully co-ordinated with those of the National Academy of Art and Letters (see this Council's letter No. 229, dated the 26th January, 1945). While the Council are in general agreement with Mr. Dickinson's suggestion with reference to this proposal, they consider that it should also be regarded as an essential qualification for a Diploma in Fine Art that a candidate should possess a good working knowledge of at least one Indian classical language.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd. K. Nag,
General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Copy

Calcutta,

26th February, 1945.

From :

E. C. Dickinson, M.A. (Hons.) Oxon,
Offg. Principal,
Government College,
Lahore.

To :

The General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Sir,

In a recent discussion with the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Edgley, Chairman of the *Cultural Advisory Board of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, several points arose in connection with letter No. (8) of the Society's pamphlet No. II, on *The Necessity of a National Cultural Trust* which it may serve a useful purpose to develop a little further.

While the present writer finds himself in complete general agreement with the proposals laid down, two aspects appear to arise which so far have scarcely received perhaps sufficient attention and which found specific reference in to-day's discussions with the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Edgley.

These two aspects in particular would appear to take up their positions under two headings : (1) *Immediate Necessity for a Survey of Art Treasures throughout India*. And, (2) *Necessity of a Diploma in Fine Art*. I would beg your permission to develop them *ad seriatim* :

A Survey of Indian Art Treasures.

It would appear highly desirable (see para. 13 of the Society's letter dated 20th Jan. 1945, i.e., No. 8) that one of the objects of the proposed *Committee of Enquiry* should be to make a survey, for purposes of identification and conservation, of art treasures throughout India without further delay.

It will be at once recognized that the outstanding problem that arises in this connection is that of the Indian States.

It is felt therefore that if any concrete results are to emerge at all, the immediate aid of the Political Department of the Government of India must be enlisted. Nothing can result otherwise.

It would appear to be absolutely essential that the Political Department should be approached at an early date by the *Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* in order to sound it upon the establishment of a *liaison* between the future *National Cultural Trust* and the Political Department with a view to implementing all vital matters concerned, particularly with a view to information that will convey (a) the precise nature of any art treasure, particularly in sculpture and painting, and (b) the conditions under which such treasures are conserved.

Again it would be suggested to the Indian States that where conditions obtain, the nature of which appears very haphazard or even neglectful, the N. C. T. through the Political Department, would send a properly accredited agent who would be empowered to place his special knowledge at the service of the Durbar to advise on proper conservation, cataloguing, valuing, and even possible publication in the case of any peculiarly unique examples of Indian art.

For some such step as the above there is already extreme urgency; and the initial hindrance, as the present writer sees it from personal experience, is apathy and suspicion on the part of the controlling Durbars. Apathy is almost universally prevalent, and when aroused through some enquiry from some outside person, leads to immediate suspicion, followed by a kind of 'gone to ground' attitude, with result of course that the second State has become worse than the first.

But if the Political Department can be persuaded to take a hand, a good deal will have been done to allay suspicion and establish matters on a plane of mutual respect and confidence.

It has become a byword in after-dinner conversations to record tales of the extraordinary and untimely disappearance of all kinds of indigenous art endeavour. To the writer's own knowledge collections of paintings in certain States have been depleted by half. Where they have disappeared no one knows of course. Much has gone to America. In a record kept by a dealer in Old Delhi, a lot of Indian paintings were being bought up by an American officer and going to some insignificant and remote township, never to be heard of again! The present writer was given access to this record. The prices offered were so handsome he found competition impossible.

This much can be said however, that the supply is growing steadily less, and will soon have totally disappeared. Kangra paintings are a case in point. The market no longer exists because the supply is finished. It makes all a very tragic tale for Indian Art.

Much art treasure does, however, still remain in Indian States but with no attention paid or regard of any kind at all. They lie for the most part neglected, uncatalogued, already prey to the deadly fish-insect, white ant, dust and dirt, most paintings being tied up in bundles. In one major Punjab State some fifteen or more years ago, there was an auction of such bundles. They were disposed of by weight.

The present writer feels he must unhesitatingly affirm that by another decade nothing will be found remaining of the rich poetic expression of the spirit of man as it drew its life and inspiration from the inspired Vaishnavite literature of the Punjab Hill States and of Rajputana one hundred, two hundred years ago. A priceless social and cultural document day by day is rapidly disintegrating before our eyes.

It is the writer's supreme conviction that only speedy intervention by the Political Department can preserve this past inspired heritage from the dust

heap, by making immediate tactful but firm representation to all Indian States, large or small. Size of the State is no criterion to the importance of collection. In the present writer's knowledge some of the smallest often prove the most interesting. But the story is one and all the same : total neglect on the part of State officials, neglect and often abysmal ignorance.

Where an official of the State is appointed to be in charge of the collection, as in one particular instance known to the writer, it may be a clerk on Rs. 40 a month and that only part-time, for which he receives a noble extra of Rs. 5 p. m. In the particular case in mind he was unable to read the Hindi inscriptions at the back of many paintings.

There is no need to labour the case further. But unless this extremely tragic state of affairs can be remedied officially, one of the most fascinating and moving pages of India's cultural contribution in terms of plastic art, a page of which the world is even now only half conscious, will be a page beyond the power of anyone any more to read.

Necessity of a Diploma in Fine Art.

The problem of recruitment of personnel to the N. C. T., in the likely event of rapid increase in extent and scope of N. C. T. responsibilities, is a problem that also has to be faced up to without much unnecessary delay.

It is here that the Universities of India may well be called upon to take a hand by instituting a Diploma in Fine Arts, as has recently been done at Oxford.

An Adequate Syllabus.

It would appear very desirable that the N. C. T. should give the universities some very precise inkling as to the nature of the syllabus in Fine Arts they would feel as most satisfying their peculiar requirements.

To the present writer, such a syllabus should certainly envisage a very liberal term of reference, thereby avoiding the peril of what a recent famous art critic has described as the danger inherent in the 'single-track' mind, 'one of the most pitiable objects in the modern scene'.

Four Essentials.

(1) The first essential in a candidate wishing to qualify for a Diploma in Fine Art would be a thorough grasp of the main significances in terms of schools and movements gathered from the most comprehensive study of both Indian and Western art.

(2) Secondly, it should be regarded as most essential [that a really comprehensive understanding should be obtained of the first principles of art, aesthetics and appreciation,

(3) Thirdly, and this must be regarded as most vital, there should be provision made for a most thorough correlation between art and the written word of tradition both in its religious and literary implications. It may be illustrated thus :

Supposing lectures on Rajput Painting are instituted ; then in no wise should it be regarded as sufficient that the lectures be confined to purely aesthetic consideration. Masterly handling of compositional and polychrome effects will not fully assess the precise merit of the artist ; because, in Indian painting in particular, the problem of conveyance of the emotional content of a picture must also be assessed, or, in other words, of the religious or literary inspiration cogent to the picture's profoundest essence. The injunction of the modernists that no picture must be allowed to tell a story, will help us very little in assessing Indian art, any more than it would in evaluating the art of the Italian primitives. There is the essence of a great *faith behind Indian art* wherever we find its most superb achievement. The modernist's criterion therefore will send us away completely unaware of the secret of Fra Angelico. Paintings which have missed this quality of profundity must be regarded as counterfeit art. Witness the pitiable atrocities, perpetrated almost a quarter of a century ago now, in honour of the Lord Krishna and still finding a place of honour in many houses of the rich in many Indian provinces. A more pitiful disaster overtaking a great art tradition it is difficult to imagine. Yet that is our to-day's position.

This aspect in drafting a proposed syllabus is therefore most vital and to neglect it is to jeopardize the whole future ; for the neglect of it has resulted in the barrenness of so many schools of art in India to-day.

That is the third essential then in any Diploma syllabus literature and art must be made to correlate.

(4) Fourthly, it would appear very necessary that holders of a Diploma should have qualified in at least one modern European language other than English. The reason for this is not far to seek. Some of the most splendid and stimulating and scholarly books relating to the history of Art and Aesthetics are either in French or German, particularly relating to the Orient.

For most these remain closed books. A member of the archæological staff at Taxila told me how painfully he was trying to go through Foucher which he felt was essential to his contact with Gandharan studies and discoveries. This book even now has not yet been translated into English, and yet is one of the essential text-books for many members of the Archæological Department.

One of these modern languages therefore, it is most desirable, should be regarded as an essential desideratum in the case of Diploma holders.

I do not think it is necessary to labour further how urgent it has become that a Diploma in Fine Arts should be held by future employees of the N. C. T., or, for that matter, of Museums, some of which possess art Galleries, Schools

of Arts and Crafts and schools of Art, and even art Industrial concerns throughout India.

Unless it is recognized that the history of art and aesthetics is as valid in the completeness of a general culture as say, the history of literature, or of politics, or of science, it is hopeless to expect the likely student, besieged on every side by *bread and butter studies*, to take up another study, equally complex and exacting, in a spirit of pure love and sacrifice.

I trust therefore that it may now be gathered that the staffing of the future N. C. T. may come ultimately to depend either upon the Universities or upon the *Academy of Fine Arts* which it is proposed to be established as cited in letter No. 9, in so far as its functions relate to Fine Arts.

It is believed, however, that the universities are likely to be within reach of a far greater student public than would the *Academy of Fine Arts*. A Diploma, conferred by the Universities, would therefore be much helpful not only in enriching and raising the general level of cultural attainment among students but vastly improving the cultural prestige enjoyed by universities themselves. It is not too much to hope that, if the idea of a Diploma is implemented, in the course of time, a general cultural level in citizenship may also be looked for throughout India. It cannot be gainsaid that it is sadly needed.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd. E. C. Dickinson,
Offg. Principal,
Government College,
Lahore, Punjab.

XI

PROPOSAL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT DEPARTMENT FOR ANTHROPOLOGY IN INDIA.

No. 1812

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,
1 Park Street, Calcutta,

From :

19th April, 1945.

The General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

To :

The Secretary to the Government of India,
Department of Education, Health and Lands,
New Delhi.

Sir,

In continuation of this Society's letter No. 1875, dated the 12th of September, 1944, regarding the formation of Scientific and Cultural Boards of

the Royal Asiatic Society for formulating schemes for post-war reconstruction of Science and Culture in India, I have the honour to approach you with regard to the needs and development of anthropological research in this country. The Society has already made known its views on the expansion of the Archaeological Department and the formation of a National Museum at Delhi (*vide* letters Nos. 1875 and 2422, dated the 12th and 24th November, 1944).

2. In the development of anthropological research in India, the Royal Asiatic Society is interested, not only as the most important learned Society in this country, which has been directly and indirectly responsible for the growth of scientific and literary researches in India, but also because the Ethnographical objects and skeletal materials which form the main collections of the Anthropological Section of the Zoological Survey of India, originally formed *part of the Asiatic Society of Bengal's collections* and were transferred to the Indian Museum, when that body was founded in 1875, due mainly to the efforts of the Asiatic Society. It may be recalled that as early as 1814 the Asiatic Society, through the interest and self-sacrifice of its members, began collecting materials relating to the customs, habits and *racial peculiarities* of the inhabitants, along with Archaeological, Zoological and Geological objects, and established a small Museum in its room. When the main building of the Indian Museum was built in 1875, these were transferred and formed the nucleus of its collections. While separate departments were established for Geology, Botany and Archaeology, which took charge of the collections and rapidly developed and increased them, the Anthropological objects were shifted from one department to another (including the Industrial section), and were finally incorporated into and formed part of the combined Zoological and Anthropological Section, until this Section was reconstituted, in 1916 as the present Zoological Survey of India. At the time of the formation of the Zoological Survey of India it was envisaged by both the Trustees of the Indian Museum and Dr. Annandale, who was then Superintendent of the Section, that as soon as sufficient interest developed in anthropological research in the country, Anthropology should be separated from the Zoological Survey of India and established as an independent department.

As long ago as 1933 Col. R. B. Seymour Sewell, F. R. S., before relinquishing his position as Director, Zoological Survey of India, recommended the creation of a separate Anthropological Survey commensurate with the great importance of this science. Since then the rapidly growing interest in anthropological studies in this country, as shown by the establishment of a department of Anthropology in the Calcutta University, and its inclusion as a subject of post-graduate studies in the Universities of Bombay, Lucknow and Mysore; and the creation of faculties for anthropology in the Universities of Allahabad and Hyderabad, makes it even more clear that an independent Anthropological Survey of India should be established.

3. The importance of Anthropology in this country lies not merely in the theoretical advancement of knowledge with regard to the racial features, customs and modes of life, of its past and present inhabitants ; but in the fact that in *a country comprising the major racial stocks of Man*, speaking over 200 languages and observing customs which range from the most primitive simple semi-nomadic life to the highly developed complex institutions of the advanced peoples, an accurate knowledge of the life and modes of behaviours of the various sections of the population is of great importance. For, its practical application will lead to the dissipation of ignorant prejudices, to the removal of antagonisms which foment sectional strifes and animosities, and to the laying of a secure foundation for the harmonious and peaceful existence of its inhabitants which alone can lead to the country's progress and prosperity.

4. The existence of a population, of over 25 million *aboriginals* and a much larger number who are still on the fringe of tribal life, is a problem whose happy solution in the Indian body politic can only be accomplished on the basis of objective and systemic studies of their habits and institutions. This is a matter which is being increasingly understood in colonial administration and by countries which have a mixed population. In the address, recently delivered in London on 'The Role of Anthropology in Colonial Development' on the occasion of the Centenary meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute, the Right Hon'ble Lord Hailey (one of the most distinguished members of the Indian Civil Service, and now in charge of the African Survey for a systematic study of the languages, customs and social behaviour of the African tribes under the Colonial administration of Great Britain) demonstrated the absolute necessity of obtaining scientific and objective accounts of tribal life and institutions for administrative purposes and for regulating adjustments to changing conditions without disruption and complete disintegration of their cultures. In this connection, he deplored the scanty use that has been made of Anthropology in the administration of the 25 million Indian *aboriginals*, and drew attention to the urgent need of undertaking systematic and dispassionate studies of tribal cultures and life in India. So far, excepting for financial assistance in publishing works on tribal life, as in Assam, or encouragement in offering facilities, researches in the social and religious institutions of the primitive people have been confined to the interest and efforts of individual officers such as Hutton, Mills, Grigson and others. But neither the Central nor the Provincial Governments have made any attempt to plan and carry out systematic investigation into the habits and cultures of the primitive inhabitants of this country, although India was one of the first to institute an Ethnographical Survey in the beginning of this century under the leadership of Sir Herbert Risley, which however was closed after only a year's work even before the preliminary survey was completed.

5. The want of interest in anthropological work on the part of the Indian public, and the lack of a wise and sustained policy on the part of the Government have resulted in the failure to assemble a representative collection of objects of Indian life and customs in the Museums of this country, such as have been made in the great Museums of Europe and America. In fact, the ethnographical collections in the Indian Museum are almost in the same state as when Dr. Anderson wrote about them in 1867, and they have increased very little over those originally transferred from this Society in 1875. Some of European and American Museums already possess larger Indian collections than those found in India itself, which is a state of affairs at once deplorable and no longer to be tolerated.

6. The Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain has repeatedly drawn the attention of the Government of India to the importance of making adequate provision for systematic studies on the rites and customs of the Indian population; and at the joint meeting of the British Association and the Indian Science Congress, held in Calcutta as recently as 1938, a resolution was adopted on the motion of Prof. H. J. Fleure, F. R. S., for the certain of a separate department of Anthropology under the Government of India.

7. In countries, such as the United States of America, with a large number of primitive tribes, and where conditions somewhat similar to those in this country exist, there are not only large well-staffed institutions exclusively devoted to anthropological researches, such as, the Peabody Museum of Harvard and Yale and the Heye Foundation of New York, and separate department of Anthropology in all the big Museums, such as, the Natural History Museum of New York and the Field Museums of Chicago, but the Federal Government at Washington has also under it a large and modern department of Anthropology under the title of the Bureau of Ethnology, for carrying on systematic surveys of the customs and institutions of the Red Indian tribes.

8. In this country, on the other hand, except during the shortlived Ethnographical Survey in 1905—1919, there has been no provision for anthropological studies under the Government of India, apart from one single officer attached to the Zoological Survey of India. This is utterly inadequate for a country like India with its vast population, including over 25 million Aborigines. It is evident that in the post-war programme of scientific research and development, adequate provision for systematic research on Anthropology should be made.

It is suggested, therefore, that an independent department of Anthropology be established, having its own scientific staff and funds for research. It should undertake and carry out a broad based research programme in all branches of the subject in co-operation with the Anthropology Departments of the Indian Universities. The programme should include the biological, physical and cultural aspects of the subject, as determined by the department in consultation with the Universities from time to time.

10. Arrangements will also be made for the training of personnel by the establishment of suitable courses leading to post-graduate degrees and diplomas in the subject to be given by the Universities.

11. That such a department will be of great utility to Administrators in general, particularly to those dealing with popular and labour movements and with the aboriginal peoples, needs no emphasis. It is, therefore, hoped that early steps will be taken for the establishment of an independent department of Anthropology and that the Government will place sufficient funds at its disposal for carrying out its research programme.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Sd. K. Nag,
General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

XII

CERTAIN PROPOSALS RELATING TO THE CONSTITUTION AND FUNCTIONS OF THE NEWLY CONSTITUTED INDO-IRANIAN STANDING COMMITTEE

No 1824

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,
1, Park Street, Calcutta.

From :

20th. April, 1945.

The General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

To :

Sir Olaf Caroe K. C. S. I.
External Affairs Department,
New Delhi.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to your letter D. O. No. D.530-P. W. R. 45 dated the 12th. March 1945, addressed to the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Edgley, in which you ask for the advice of this Society as to the best method of realizing certain proposals made by the recently constituted Indo-Iranian Standing Committee at New Delhi for the purpose of establishing a learned Indo-Iranian Society and working such a Society into the existing framework of the learned Societies in India.

2. In reply I am to say that these proposals have been carefully considered by the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. They are anxious to co-operate with the Standing Committee with the object of encouraging the development of Indo-Iranian relations in the cultural and scientific fields and they regard the objects which the Standing Committee seek to achieve as being of very great importance.

3. Council agree with the Standing Committee that the most convenient location for the headquarters of the proposed Society would be Delhi. They assumed that this Central Society would maintain intimate relations with other societies in India with similar objects, such as the *Iran Society of Calcutta*; as it would be mainly through the agency of such societies that the purposes of the Central Society would be accomplished. It is essential that the Central Indo-Iranian Society should be served by a competent secretarial staff, that it should possess a first-class library relating to all matters connected with Iran, and that there should be an efficient Information Bureau on the premises of the Society. For this purpose it would probably require substantial grants from the Governments of India and Iran, as subscriptions from members would be inadequate to ensure the efficient functioning of a body such as the Standing Committee have in view.

4. As regards the constitution of the proposed Society I am to suggest that there should be a Council of twenty members constituted as follows:—

- (1) Five to be elected annually by the general body of the members,
- (2) Two nominees of the Iranian Government,
- (3) Two nominees of the Government of India,
- (4) Two nominees of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (one for culture and one for science),
- (5) One representative of the Iran Society of Calcutta,
- (6) Two representatives from other Indo-Iranian Societies,
- (7) Four representatives of the other learned Societies of India (including the Inter-University Board),
- (8) Two representatives of the Indian States.

The Council would elect its President and appoint the permanent officers of the Society.

5. The main functions of the Society would be;

- (1) The strengthening of cultural and scientific contacts between India and Iran;
- (2) The promotion of learning and research with regard to Iran;
- (3) The exchange of scholars, scientists and men of affairs between India and Iran;
- (4) The publication and exchange of literature relating to Indo-Iranian matters; and
- (5) The promotion generally of the objects mentioned in Agha Ali Motamedy's speech at the inaugural meeting of the Indo-Iranian Standing Committee.

6. I am further to say that this Council are of the opinion, that the achievement of the objects in view might be furthered not only in the case of Iran but also as regards other neighbouring countries such as Nepal, Afghanistan, China, Tibet, Ceylon and Java by the exchange of Delegations and Missions, in connection with such subjects as Archæology, Agriculture, Scientific and Literary Research, Museums Fine Art, etc.

7. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal is prepared to reciprocate with the proposed Indo Iranian Society in every possible way likely to promote and improve scientific and cultural relations between India and Iran ; and would be glad to arrange immediately for courses of lectures to be delivered in the Society's Hall on suitable subjects relating to Iranian culture and history.

8. In conclusion, I am to say that these proposals have been discussed by representatives of this Council with the Council of the Iran Society of Calcutta and that they have the support of both Councils.

XIII

PROPOSAL RELATING TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF EXISTING CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

No. 3708

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,
1, Park Street, Calcutta,
5th January, 1945.

From :

The General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

To :

The Secretary
The Government of India,
Department of Education, Health and Lands,
New Delhi

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of a Report (Paper A) which was recently submitted to this Council by the representatives whom they appointed on the 24th March, 1945, for the purpose of undertaking certain negotiations in England with a view to the development of cultural relations between India and the United Kingdom. The previous history of this matter is indicated in i) the resolution of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, dated the 24th March, 1945 (Paper B) and (ii) the note (Paper C) which was prepared in connection with the meeting held on the 24th July, 1945, under the auspices of the Royal Society in London.

2. The report of the Society's representatives (Paper A) was considered at a meeting of this Council on the 27th November, 1945, when it was adopted, and the recommendations contained therein were unanimously accepted. In accordance with these recommendations, the Council propose to take early steps to constitute a permanent Joint Committee on Cultural Relations, to represent learned opinion in India as a whole, which will be in a position to

deal directly with the corresponding Committee in England, as far as possible on the basis of *reciprocal exchange*. It is proposed that the first meeting of this Committee should be held in Calcutta as early as possible, when an Executive Committee of not more than seven persons will be elected, and there will be a general discussion with regard to the formulation of a suitable scheme for the development of cultural contacts between India and the United Kingdom with regard to such matters as :

- (i) The exchange of eminent scholars between India and the United Kingdom,
- (ii) The extension of facilities in British and Indian Universities for the study of subjects relating particularly to such matters as British and Indian literature, history and art,
- (iii) The exchange of literature relating to the subjects mentioned in (ii),
- (iv) The provision of the requisite facilities for research scholars in England and India particularly with a view to enabling them to make suitable contacts in the countries which they intend to visit, and
- (v) The encouragement of scholars to undertake special courses of study in such cultural institutions as Museums and Art Galleries for the purpose of applying the results of their investigations to the improvement of the organizations of the National Collections in their own countries.

3. If the Indian Committee agree with regard to the general lines of a suitable scheme for cultural exchange and to co-operate for this purpose with the British Committee, the next step would presumably be that they would empower their Executive Committee, to draw up and adopt a detailed scheme, for the purpose of implementing any general directions that may be given by the Indian Joint Committee on Cultural Relations. At this latter stage it will of course be necessary for the Executive Committee to consider carefully the financial implications of the scheme which will probably have to be financed either directly or indirectly by the Government of Great Britain and of India

7. This Council think that the Indian Joint Committee on Cultural Relations should have power to co-opt and that its initial constitution should be as follows :

6 members representing the Indian Universities nominated by the Inter-University Board,

3 members nominated by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,

2 " " " Indian Science Congress Association,

2 " " " All-India Oriental Conference,

1 member " " History Congress,

1 " " " Indian Historical Records Commission,

1 " " " Archæological Advisory Board,

1 " " " Imperial Library,

- 1 member nominated by the Trustees of the Indian Museum, Calcutta,
 1 " " " " Victoria Memorial Calcutta,
 1 " " " " Victoria and Albert,
 Museum, Bombay,
 1 " " " " Madras Museum, Madras,
 4 members " " Government of India, in consultation with
 the Crown representative, to represent
 the Indian States,
 1 member " " Government of India,
 1 " " each Local Government to represent
 learned opinion in each Province,
 4 members to be invited by the External Affairs Dept. of the Govt. of
 India to represent Afghanistan, Nepal Ceylon and Burma,
 6 " " nominated by other learned Societies in India,
 The Educational Adviser to the Government of India,
 The Director-General of Archaeology in India,

5. This Council are of the opinion that the scheme, as outlined in the Report of their representatives is one of great importance and that its adoption may lead to valuable developments in the field of learning both in India and in England. The incidental expenses in connection with the inauguration of the scheme are likely to be considerably in excess of any sum which the Society would be in a position to meet from its own funds, particularly in connection with travelling allowances and secretarial expenses. In this circumstances I am to enquire whether the Government of India would be prepared to meet the expenses connected with the travelling allowances of the members who attend the inaugural meeting of the Committee and the subsequent meeting or meetings of the Executive Committee and also to place an initial grant of Rs. 5,000 at the disposal of the Society towards the incidental secretarial expenses connected with the scheme.

XV

PROPOSAL REGARDING THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW BUILDING FOR THE SOCIETY

No. 10 Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,
 1 Park Street, Calcutta,
 3rd January, 1946

From :
 The General Secretary,
 Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

To :
 The Secretary
 The Government of India,
 Department of Education, Health and Lands,
 New Delhi,

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith for the information of the Government of India a pamphlet prepared in connection with the approaching

Bi-centenary of the birth of the Founder of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, for the purpose of demonstrating the urgent necessity which has arisen for the construction of new premises for the Society, if it is adequately to continue and develop its services to the public in the fields of learning and research. In the opinion of the Council it is impossible to stress too strongly the importance of the services rendered in the past, by the Asiatic Society of Bengal to the cause of science, history, literature, art and archaeology. As regards the post-war period, the various proposals for cultural reconstruction, which this Council have recently submitted to the Government of India have shown how much remains to be done in preserving the cultural heritage of India and how necessary it is that the urgent needs of the country in this respect should not be overshadowed by other public requirements. This Council are of the opinion that this Society, which is the mother of so many other learned bodies in India, may have before it a great future of public service in the promotion of cultural activities in this country ; and this opinion seems to be reflected in the recent increase in its membership which is larger to-day than at any previous period in its history.

2. As shown in the enclosed pamphlet one of the main difficulties with which the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal has to contend is that the *old building* which serves as its headquarters in Calcutta is totally unsuitable to enable it to perform its proper functions. In this connection, I am directed to call the attention of the Government of India to the following points :—

- (i) The present building is 137 years old, and the cost of repairs, necessary to render it capable of meeting the needs of the Society, for more than another decade, would be prohibitive and uneconomical ;
- (ii) The collection of Oriental manuscripts which the Society holds on behalf of the public is one of the finest in the world. It consists of nearly 37,000 manuscripts in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Tibetan and other Oriental languages. The rooms in which this unique collection is accommodated are quite unsuitable for the purpose ; and unless air-conditioned rooms can be provided and other precautionary measures can be adopted, as recommended by the Archaeological Chemist in India, there is imminent risk that the whole collection may suffer irreparable damage in the near future and gradually disintegrate ;
- (iii) The Society possesses a valuable library of about 80,000 volumes, many of which have to be stored in dark and damp rooms which have been condemned by expert opinion as unfit for the accommodation of books ;
- (iv) Owing to its unique position among other learned Societies in Asia, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal is frequently called upon to assist other learned bodies, particularly during the period

of their infancy and growth ; and its premises have gradually come to be regarded in Calcutta as a cultural centre for many important branches of learning, in much the same way as Burlington House has become the home and focus of so many learned societies in London. While this Council are ready and indeed anxious to do their utmost to foster the growth of other learned bodies, they are greatly handicapped by the inadequacy of their existing premises ;

- (v) The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal has a membership of 716 persons including scholars from all parts of the world. The present premises do not provide proper amenities for the members. The reading room accommodation is inadequate and suitable arrangements cannot be made either for facilitating research or for enabling more than a very small proportion of the members to meet for the purpose of discussing problems connected with science, literature, history and other branches of learning ;

- (vi) The Society has no proper lecture-theatre and its office accommodation is insufficient.

3. In view of the above-mentioned considerations, I am to enclose herewith a plan for a four-storied building which, it is believed, will satisfy all the immediate requirements of the Society and will enable it to fulfil in Calcutta the functions of a cultural centre similar to those which are focussed in the Burlington House in London.

4. The question of providing a new building for the Society has been considered on many occasions, during the last 43 years ; but so far, it has been found impossible to make the requisite financial arrangements. The Council are of the opinion that the matter can no longer be postponed ; and they feel that, in view of the importance and urgency of the project, there could be no more suitable occasion than that of the *Bi-centenary of the Society's Founder* for approaching the Government of India for financial assistance to enable them to continue the great work which Sir William Jones began.

5. In 1911 the Government of India contributed a sum of Rs. 40,000 to the Society's funds towards the cost of a new building. This was credited to the Building Fund in which a further sum of Rs. 65,000 was subsequently placed. The latter amount represented the compensation received from Government, on account of the acquisition of part of the Society's property for widening Park Street. A sum of Rs. 84,370 was spent from the Building Fund in connection with an extensive renovation of the Society's premises in 1924, as it had not been found possible to finance the project for an entirely new building. At present the sum to the credit of the Building Fund amounts only to Rs. 2,120, against which a bill from Messrs. Martin & Co., for recent repairs is outstanding. On the other hand, the Society's permanent reserve is

Rs. 2,67,000. This has been invested and, as will be seen from the enclosed budget for 1956, yields an annual income of about Rs. 10,730. In addition the Society receives an annual income of about Rs. 10,200 on account of 'advertising'. Most of this item of income is derived from an advertising firm which has been allowed, temporarily to display posters on part of the Society's property. The income under the head 'Rent' consists of rent from shops which have been leased to tenants on part of the Society's premises. The three last mentioned items together bring in a revenue of about Rs. 31,000 annually without which it would be impossible to balance the Society's budget which shows a figure of more than Rs. 50,000 on the expenditure side. These figures indicate that it would certainly not be safe for the Society to sell its investments. As regards the items for 'advertising' and 'rent', these sources of income will disappear to a large extent, at any rate, while the new building is under construction; although it may be possible ultimately for the Society to obtain some revenue as rent in respect of such portions of the new building as it may not require for its own purposes. Some income on this account will probably be derived from other societies which may wish to be accommodated in the new building.

6. Anxious as this Council are to do all that is possible to further this important project, their financial resources are such that they have no option but to apply to Government for a large measure of financial assistance. Apart from the cost of furniture and equipment, which will be considerable, the proposed new building will cost at least Rs 16,00,000. While a separate application is being made to the Government of Bengal for a grant of Rs 6,00,000 towards the total estimated cost of the scheme, this Council are also compelled to ask the Government of India for a grant Rs. 6,00,000 and for a loan of Rs. 4,00,000, free of interest against the security of the Society's property in Calcutta. The amount though large is a comparatively small price to pay for the continuance and development of the activities of a Society that has done so much for the encouragement of Oriental learning and for the preservation of India's great cultural heritage.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Sd. K. Nag,
General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

BICENTENARY OF SIR WILLIAM JONES

(1746-1946)

In the darkest days of the Second World War the corridors of the Asiatic Society of Bengal reverberated with the variegated voices of many nations : Indian, Chinese, British, American and others, in the interval of their pressing duties, military or civil, sought the hospitality of our society, founded in 1784, by Sir William Jones, one of the greatest linguists and humanists of the modern age. A soldier-poet, Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature, paid a significant poetic homage to Sir William :

How far his Harrow from Hindusthan ?
Viewing the Hooghly, I reflect a thought
I sense you shared. Bengal was not our plan ;
Yet it provides still solaces unsought.

In 1944 we celebrated the 160 anniversary of the foundation of the foundation of the society and remembered that, as early as 1941, our Council thought of celebrating the centenary of the death of our illustrious Secretary James Prinsep (1799-1840). But the Global War forced the postponement of all such cultural activities till 1945 when, with victory, we began sending our invitations to learned societies with the dawning of Peace. We took advantage of the birth date of Sir William Jones and made our Annual meeting of 1946 to synchronize with his Bi-Centenary celebration (1746-1946).

Its success, as attested by the warm messages printed in this volume, gave the touch of poetic justice to the career of Sir William who was a Poet and Scholar rolled in one. He was one of the earliest to compose poems dedicated to the deities of the Indian pantheon. He was also the first to forge the link of cultural collaboration of the East and the West, by demonstrating the genetic relation of Sanskrit with the languages of the West. The sixteenth century, Italian Catholic Scholar Sasseti apparently studied Sanskrit, calling it a pleasant musical language and equating Deo with Deva. In the 17 century, the protestant Dutch missionary, Abraham Rogerius published in 1651, the translation (with Sanskrit text) of our poet Bhartrihari in Europe, for the first time. So we find many missionaries and laymen of South India, Portuguese, French and Belgian, studying a little Sanskrit ; and mixing with Tamil there was produced the faked *Ezour Vedam*, the target of Voltaire's criticism. So Anquetil du Perron (1734-1806) visited India before Sir William Jones and provoked the latter's sarcastic criticism of the premature handling of Sanskrit texts.

As early as 1725, we find the German missionary (translator of the Bible into Tamil) Benjamin Schultze emphasising the similarity between the *numerals* of Sanskrit, German and Latin. Sixty years after, in Feb. 1786, Sir William

Jones, in his third Annual Discourse on the History and Culture of the Hindus, made the following epoch-making observation :—"The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin and more exquisitely refined than either ; yet bearing to both of them, a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of Grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident ; so strong indeed that no philologer could examine them, all three, without believing them to have sprung from a common source which, perhaps, no longer exists ; there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanskrit ; and the old Persian might be added to the same family". That was the epoch when, along with a veritable revolution in the study of linguistics, there was a revolution in our notion of the Age of the Earth. Hutton, in his *Theory of the Earth* challenged in Mosaic account of the Creation (Book of Genesis) and the "custodians of the Pentateuch were alarmed by the prospect that Sanskrit would bring down the Tower of Babel".

To anticipate the danger they pilloried Sanskrit as a 'priestly fraud' (vide Hogben : *The Loom of Language* pp. 170-181). With the firm conviction of a Scientist, elected in 1772 to the membership of the Royal Society, Sir W. Jones affirmed "I can only declare my belief that the language of Noah is irretrievably lost".

Another remarkable Englishman Horne Tooke in his "*Diversions of Purely*" (1786) anticipated Bopp and other champions of Comparative grammar. The German traveller Pallas, worked out the project of the mathematician philosopher Leibniz (1646-1716) and published his *Comparative Vocabularies of all the Languages of the World* (1787). This uncritical work was soon superseded by the German Grammarian philosopher Adelung's *Mithridates* or general Science of Languages, published in four volumes (1806-1817). Meanwhile, our Asiatic Society of Bengal, under the inspiring lead of Sir W. Jones (who died 1794 prematurely at 49) and his worthy successor H. T. Colebrooke and his colleagues, published many valuable articles, Sanskrit texts, Grammars, Dictionaries etc., together with the monumental *Asiatique Researches* (1789-1839). But all such publications were temporarily shut out of service, by Napoleon's Continental Blockade.

Napoleon, however, rendered an unconscious service to Orientalism by taking with him, on his expedition to Egypt, some of the leading scientists and savants. They brought to Europe, the famous Rosetta Stone (now in the British Museum) which was discovered (1799) on one of the branches of the Nile by a man in the French army working under Napoleon. This tri-lingual inscription helped Champollion (1790-1832) to decipher the Egyptian hieroglyphs. So we have the satisfaction this year (1949) to felicitate the members of the XXI International Congress of Orientalists in Paris on their meeting, at the 150

anniversary of the discovery of the Rosetta Stone, which linked up (as we find today) the civilisation of the Nile Valley with that of our Indus Civilisation (3rd millennium B.C.).

What the French scholars have done for Egyptology, the British Sanskritists, like Wilkins, Jones and Colebrooke have done for Indology. Our former President Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765-1837) laid the foundation of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (1823) a year after the famous *Société Asiatique* of Paris (1822). Our learned Secretary James Prinsep* (1799-1840) before his premature death, satisfactorily deciphered the Asokan inscriptions; and thus, through his studies of Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics, Prinsep initiated a new era, in the Scientific study of Indian History and culture.

Sanskrit and Indo European languages apart, our Society through its learned members, have pioneered the study of many other languages and cultures of Asia, through our Journals and proceedings, Memoirs and the *Bibliotheca Indica* (originally styled *Bibliotheca Asiatica*). Even Chinese characters were printed here in Bengal, by Jones; and Marshman helped Rev. Taberd of Cochin China, to print (1838, his Annamite-Latin Dictionary.

So Tibetan grammar and dictionary, were published by our Society, helping the researches of that celebrated Hungarian Csomla de Koros (1784-1842). His works were followed up by Rai Bahadur Sarat Ch. Das, Dr. Satish Ch. Vidyabhusan and others. Our first Indian President Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, who published our first Centenary Review in 1884 and rendered yeoman service to the cause of Indian Archaeology and Fine Arts as well as textual criticism, by drawing into a line of collaboration eminent Pandits like Satyavrata Samasrami, Haraprasad Sastri and others. Among the languages of the middle East, Persian and Arabic received generous attention.

Thus, while presenting this Bicentenary Commoration Volume to the public, we may humbly profess that, in spite of inevitable fluctuations of fortune, we have tried to keep up the tradition of Sir William Jones and served the cause of Science and Culture in general and of Asian civilisation and languages in particular.

KALIDAS NAG
Editor.

Our Society celebrated, in December 1959, the 160th Anniversary of the birth of James Prinsep (1799-1840) to whom I paid a special homage mentioning the recent discovery in Kandahar, of two rare Asokan inscriptions in Greek and Aramic of 3rd century B. C. Thus the words *Yona Kamboja* appears now to be used by Asoka, in the real administrative sense, as Folks inhabiting the Maurya Empire extending from the Bay of Bengal to Iran.

(Vide : *Journal Asiatique*, Paris 1958)

PRECURSOR AVICENNA

By

KALIDAS NAG

When the Roman Empire came to be divided, into Western and Eastern with the transfer of the capital to Constantinople in 300 A.D., we faced the opening of a new chapter of history. The barbaric Teutonic nations of the west, by their combined attacks, brought about the collapse of the western Roman Empire (450 A.D.). But the Byzantine empire continued, for one thousand years, to be the carrier of Christian civilization in the Mediterranean world.

Meanwhile in 600 A.D. there appeared on the horizon the Prophet Mohammad (570-632 A.D.). He inaugurated a new epoch, in the history of the east and the west, by organizing a theocracy and a church militant called Islam. By 700 A.D. we find the Arabs or the Moors conquering the vast world stretching from the Indus Valley in the east to Egypt, North Africa and Spain to the west. These Bedouins of the desert were, however, not merely destructive; they were constructive as well in their approach to earlier civilizations like that of their cousins of the Jewish group of Palestine, and also that of the Persians whom they converted totally. The Sassanian Empire of Iran (225-650 A.D.) was the meeting ground of the Byzantine culture on the one side and of the Sino-Indian civilization on the other. The vast legacy of these cultures was inherited and mobilized by the Arabic speaking peoples who, in due time, took the lead in cultural developments, especially under the Abbaside Caliphate (750-1100 A.D.) The so-called *Arabian Nights*, which came to be a "world classic," was a veritable symbol of cultural collaboration of the Arab people with the Hindus, the Persians, the Chinese, and other civilized nations. The Moslem fleet was active all along the Arabian Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Caspian and the Black Sea, and over the entire Mediterranean basin. Some scholars are of the opinion that the Spanish-Arab navigators even crossed the Atlantic to reach the New World. That is how we find great works of geography from Yaqubi, Masudi, Abulfeda, and other precursors of Ibn Batuta (1304-1378), the great Arab traveller who visited India and China.

The Arab-Moorish empire (700-1500) developed a wonderful civilization in Spain, where some of the rare books of Aristotle and other Greek scientists and philosophers were assimilated or translated into Arabic and from Arabic into Hebrew and Latin. Cordova and Granada of Moorish Spain were the centers of learning, with libraries and laboratories in the Dark Age of Europe, when pioneer scientists like Roger Bacon and Pope Sylvester used to come to Spain for advanced studies in mathematics and philosophy, alchemy, and chemistry.

Similarly, in the Middle East we find that, along with many important libraries, there were two observatories, one in Damascus, Syria, and the other near Baghdad in Iraq. Thus the cultural attitude of Islam gradually came to be modified, and a liberal religious philosophy (like the Mu'tazila) was adopted with the conviction that God's action towards Man was regulated by justice and reason. These rationalists came to be persecuted, later by reactionary groups both Moslem and Christian.

Ma'mun the Great (813-833) was a great patron of learning who encouraged translation from Sanskrit, Persian, Syriac and Greek. As the result of this cultural collaboration, we find a galaxy of talents in the Near East who were the real precursors of the early Renaissance in the age of Dante (1265-1321). Dante refers to the works of the two outstanding Moslem philosophers : Avicenna and Averroes (Ibn Rushd).

In India the multi-pattern thoughts, religious as well as philosophical, came to be synthesized by the great philosopher, Sankara (8th century A.D.), preaching absolute monism of the Vedanta. The metaphysical rigidity of this philosophy of non-dualism (*Advaita*) was enriched by the importation of the emotional content of salvation through faith, preached by Rāmānuja and his successors (11th to 15th century A.D.) of the devotional (*Bhakti*) school.

So, in the new literature of Persia and Arabia of this momentous epoch, we find three outstanding personalities : (1) Ferdosi, the author of the great Persian epic, *Shahnameh*, the Book of Kings, literally weighed in gold in the court of Sultan Mahmud. Then in the department of historical scholarship, we find (2) Al Biruni, who visited India with the troops of Sultan Mahmud and yet found time to study Sanskrit and to write a magnificent survey of Hindu geography, astronomy, literature, and philosophy in his Arabic volume *Indica*. His possible collaborator and kinsman of Bokhara, (3) Avicenna made monumental contributions to the three independent sciences of medicine, philosophy, and pedagogy. Probably in his age a philosopher was expected to be a doctor as well, ministering to the needs of the body and of the soul. Thus we find that Avicenna's researches into medicine and philosophy were translated into Latin and came to be used as text books in the universities of Germany, where Albertus Magnus (1193-1280) was a worthy disciple of Avicenna. Many works of Aristotle and other Greek philosophers were luckily studied and preserved by Avicenna and his successor, the Spanish born Arab philosopher Averroes. From their Arabic versions of the Greek scientists and philosophers, Greek thought, came to be incorporated into the Scholastic philosophy of medieval Christendom which found its first poetic voice in Dante and its great theological philosopher Thomas Aquinas.

Avicenna, with his two illustrious contemporaries, Biruni and Ferdosi, appeared in an age when the Indo-Iranian thought from the East and the Graeco-Roman thought from the West flowed freely into the apparently desert regions and formed the oases of philosophy and mysticism which enriched the

history of mankind till 1200 A.D., when we find the last embers of Islamic free thought flaring up in the supreme creations of Ibn Rushd born in Cordova in Moorish Spain. (Vide : Renan : Avicenna and Averros).

Avicenna himself recorded in his autobiography that he learned mathematics from a Hindu green-grocer and felt gradually drawn towards the sciences of medicine and philosophy. European scholars have traced some of his medical and philosophical doctrines to Galen, Hippocrates, and Aristotle. But we should also remember that, ever since the dynamic march of Buddhism through the whole of Asia and the Mediterranean world, Buddhist missionaries as medicine-men were relieving human suffering, with the blessings of the great (Ayurvedic) healer *Bhaiṣajya-Guru*, the incarnation of the Buddha as physician. Many Indian medical texts (c.f. Bower Manuscript) were translated as much into Chinese as into Persian and Arabic. So we should now try to re-discover the Oriental precursors and collaborators of Avicenna and his followers.

Hindu medicine, as is well known, attended equally to the three main sources of remedies : (a) vegetable, (b) animal, and (c) mineral. The History of Hindu Chemistry by Dr. P. C. Ray and the *Indian Medicinal Plants* by Major B. D. Basu opened our eyes to the Indian contributions to the positive sciences and ideas which were well known to the Moslem scholars under the enlightened Abbaside rulers and their successors.

So the thought-pattern of Avicenna interpreted so far from the exclusive Aristotelian angle—must be reviewed with reference to his nearer Oriental precursors and collaborators like Al Kindi, Nahli, Farabi and others. I give below a general table of knowledge, based on the works of Avicenna, that have luckily survived :

1. Compendium and Commentary on Greek Science and Thought (from Plato, Aristotle, Galen, etc, to the neo-Platonists of Alexandria)
2. Astronomy, medicine and mathematics (both Hindu and Hellenic).
3. Euclid's Geometry and Ptolemy's Almagest.
4. Canons of medicine (used as texts down to 17th century in European Universities).
5. Logic (the mainstay of studies for the Schoolmen of the Middle Ages).
6. Metaphysics : Human faculties or perceptions.
7. Guide to Wisdom (which Avicenna wrote in prison)
8. Texts on Mysticism and Psychology.
9. Alchemy or the Elixir of Life
10. Rhetoric and Poetry, including a Poem on the Soul.

Such an enumeration of his works and the subjects of his study probably gives only a vague idea of the nature of the unique personality and the profound philosophical outlook of Avicenna. We cannot help admiring his passion for

the universal which marked him as one of the early *pioneers of the Renaissance*, finding its fullest expression in the middle of the fifteenth century when the virile Turkish people conquered Constantinople (1453) and scattered the ancient Classics all over Europe. The Turkish people also claim Avicenna as one of their own, and there are many books in Turkish on his life and systems. Islam has been a great carrier of Eastern science thought and culture to the West and *vice versa*; therefore, I appeal to all synthesizers of human knowledge, to plan and publish a new East-West Encyclopedia for the better understanding of mankind. The European commentators of Avicenna has naturally emphasized the Western (Graeco-Roman) context of his works. But it is high time that we now pay more attention to the scientific and philosophical texts and trends of his Oriental predecessors (20 already acknowledged by Avicenna) and contemporaries. I could not visit his birthplace, or that of his astronomer friend Biruni; which is now in the Soviet zone. But I met many scholars in Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Egypt during my last voyage (1950-51), who are re-editing and re-discovering our great pioneers like Avicenna.

A large collection of books and manuscripts in the East was destroyed in the age of political chaos, but a considerable part of them were luckily transferred, as the Byzantine manuscripts were transferred to Italy and to the various libraries of Europe. Most of them have not yet been translated into any of the European languages and are therefore ignored by the scholars, not to speak of the common man; but many of them have been catalogued by the French, the German, the Italian, the Spanish and the English experts.

I appeal to the various libraries and universities to come forward and to publish, in a spirit of collaboration, inventories of such important books and manuscripts in their collection; these would throw considerable light on the history of the cultural relations between the East and the West. I propose, on this millenary of Avicenna, a master of the three disciplines of philosophy, medicine, and education, that a Golden Book, of the Renaissance of the East and West, may be prepared and published, for the benefit of the common man and for better understanding between the nations.

In the history of human thought Avicenna will occupy an outstanding place. Born Persian, and mastering the belles lettres of Iran, he studied the Koran and emerged, like his fellow countryman Biruni of Kharazm (Khiva), as a master of Arabic prose and of Arabian philosophy. He ransacked the libraries from Khiva to Quazvin, Rey, and Esfahan, finally dying in Hamadan (1037). Persian and Arabic books apart, he must have handled Hindu, Syriac, Hebrew, and other Oriental texts, before settling down to the analysis of Greek medical and philosophical works. In his *Shafa*, a Book of Recovery, we find his equal alertness in physics and mathematics, logic and metaphysics. He analysed the nature and function of abstract ideas. But in systematizing Aristotle, he was influenced by neo-Platonic theories: this explains the deep mystical vein in some of his writings. In fact, Avicenna was attacked by Ghazali for bringing "mystic"

theology into philosophy ! His idea of the permanence of Soul might have been derived from Hindu or neo-Platonic thought. Avicenna aspired to harmonize philosophy with some sort of as *universal religion* in which God is the "Moral Governor" of the Universe. Some parts of his commentary on Aristotle created difficulty, nay, conflicts in the minds of his Christian admirers. Such trends became more aggressive in the age of his successor, Averroes, who discarded boldly all reactionary thought, Moslem or Christian and affirmed the unity of intellect and the universality of scientific laws, which he grasped, like Avicenna, through studies of mathematics, medicine, law, and philosophy. Averroes's last days ended in persecution ; for while Avicenna and the Jewish Maimonides softened the differences between Aristotle and Orthodox Christian theology, Averroes came into conflict with the Church (Islamic and Catholic), which prohibited such works "until purged of all errors."

I remembered Averroes in Cordova and Avicenna in Esfahan and Hamadan. I participated in the millenary of Ferdosi and of Biruni organised by our Iran Society of Calcutta. Now I offer, on behalf of India and Greater India, our homage to the great Doctor-Philosopher Avicenna, and I thank my friends of America for bringing me out this year to lecture on Asian Civilization at Macalester College, thus permitting me to honour in the New World a great man of the Old World.

INDIA AND IRAN

Presidential Address at the Annual General Meeting of the Iran Society, March 1957

I beg to convey, at the very outset, my hearty thanks to the members of our Council, for the sustained interest they have shown in the progress of the Iran Society.

As a learned Society it has served the cause of Indo-Iranian understanding and goodwill by propagating our common ideals of Asian Unity and also by publishing two monumental volumes commemorating the Millenaries of the encyclopedist Al-Biruni and the philosopher—scientist Avicenna. By these two erudite volumes, apart from our splendid Journal *Indo-Iranica*, the Iran Society has won its permanent place in the *apadana* or audience-hall of Iranology.

In my short annual address I wish to share with you, my learned colleagues, the dream of building in our permanent House—a Hall of Indo-Iranian Art and Culture through the ages. The dream flashed upon my subconscious self while I was walking (1950-51) through the ruins of Persepolis and the Persian monuments of the later epochs. I remembered how, about two centuries ago, the pioneer French Iranist, Anquetil du Perron came to India in search of the Vedas and translated for the first time, the *Zend Avesta* and the *Oupnekhats* for which credit goes to our friends of Bombay and specially to the Zoroastrian Parsees of Western India. We hope that the Bi-centenary of the Indian visit of Anquetil, will be celebrated by the Asiatic Society of Bombay just as that of William Jones was adequately done by our Asiatic Society of Bengal.

In eastern India—from Patna to Calcutta—we should be surprised to find manuscripts and archaeological monuments of rare value, attesting to the close cultural relations of Iran and India. The archives of the Bengal Asiatic Society, of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and of the Khuda Bux Library, Patna, among others, will open our eyes to many invaluable cultural links waiting to be tabulated into a *Catalogue Raisonné* for the benefit of the public.

Half a century ago, Dr. Spooner, of the Archaeological Survey of India, wrote enthusiastically on "The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History", while excavating the Asokan sites near Kumrahar, Patna. Time has made ample reduction in his inflated theories; but new archaeological evidences have, since then, come out to strengthen Dr. Spooner's hypothesis. The architecture, sculpture and minor arts of the Maurya-Sunga period (300—150 B. C.)—even after ravages of centuries—show striking parallelism, with those of Achemenian Iran. When Cyrus founded that dynasty in 558 B. C., we in India were in the dynamic age of Mahavira and Buddha. Our Indian merchants then were travelling as far as Babylon—via Persian Gulf, as recorded in the famous *Baveni*

Jātaka. Darius and his son Xerxes ruled over three continents from Greece in the west to Sind in the East. Alexander of Macedon got some information about Iran and India from Herodotus and Xenophon. He conquered Iran and savagely burnt Persepolis (330 B. C.), invaded India (327 B. C.) and died in Babylon (323-B. C.). His Asiatic Empire fell to the lot of his General Seleucus of Syria; and Chandragupta Maurya, as it is reported, got Arachosis from Seleucus, after a trial of arms, and thus extended the western borders of India to Eastern Iran. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador in Pataliputra, compared its glories with "the splendour of Susa and Ecbatana". I remembered these facts while visiting those places in 1950 and I returned to India with the urge to to visualize, in a gallery of comparative arts, the real and abiding exchange of culture between India and Iran.

The Asoka gallery, of our Hall, when well furnished will prove this truth with reference to the Mauryan remains of architecture and sculpture, the inscriptions, pillars and other objects which should be compared with their Iranian prototypes, influenced already by the earlier Mesopotamian and the later Hellenic motifs. The Indo-Greek (Bactrian) and Indo-Parthian rulers of North-West India and Afghanistan (old Arachosia) were the carriers of Graeco-Iranian culture to India, not yet fully appreciated by our Indian scholars who visit little of Iran and less of the Hellenic East which therefore must be well represented in our galleries by plaster casts and authentic photographs. The inscriptions of Behistun and Naksh-i-Rustam offer striking parallels in the epigraphic documents of Iran and India. So the *Kharoshthi*, (right to left style of writing in the Asokan and post-Mauryan epochs, proves beyond doubt, that India and Iran closely collaborated down to the Indo-Scythian period in the history of (the 1st and 2nd Centuries A. D.). The Sarnāth Pillar of Asoka, which gives free India her national emblem, is the most convincing proof of Iranian infiltration into Indian art, not only in the floral and animal motifs but also in the delicate stone polish and in colossal proportions. The lotiform bell-capital of Asokan pillars and such other motifs are derived from Western-Asia via Iran, like many other art symbols, not forgetting the imperial Lion figure which was the ancient Solar symbol of Iran naturalized into the semi-solar myths behind the great Buddha, a spiritual successor of the Iranian sage Zarathustra. Mauryan art therefore, is the crucible in which we rediscover in plastic forms, the arts of Iran and Elam, Mesopotamia and Egypt. Along that cultural route travelled—as Asoka ordered in his Edicts—his messengers of good-will via Kandahar, Syria and Cyrenaica (north Africa) to Macedon and Epirus facing Italy.

This Hellenic East become a Roman Province from 146 B. C. and we find the emergence of Romano-Indian or Hellenistic arts after the Greco-Buddist art of Gandhara and Arachosia. The Andhra-Kushan coins, sculptures and architecture show, along with the Hellenistic, many Iranian traits ignored so

far by Indian archaeologists who will be convinced if they visit only the Museum of Teheran. Its grand collection offers many parallels with those of Taxila and Peshwar, of Kashmir and Afghanistan. Both the Aakas of Bactria and their successors of Acythic origin, the Kushans, absorbed much from Iranian culture which was thus introduced to infuse a new life into Indian art and culture. In their coins we find, along with the Hellenistic divinities, the figures of *Mithra* and of *Buddha*. Sun temple has been discovered near Kabul. So Fire worship prevailed in some Zoroastrian temples discovered in Taxila. Iranian administrative titles and officers like the *Kshatrapas* or *Satrapas* are found in the inscriptions of this Indo-Scythian epoch which ended with the collapse of the Andhra and the Kushan empires with the rise of the Sassanian empire in Iran. Before the Arab conquest of Iran (650 A. D.), the Sassanian rulers vanquished even the Roman might and influenced the whole Middle East from Palmyra to Peshawar; and this Irano-Hellenistic art newly discovered in Hadda, Begram, Bamiyan and Foundvkistan—entered Central Asia and China, through old Arachosia, Afghanistan, Kashmir and Khotan. From the Sassanian invasion of India (241 A. D.), to the Arab Muslim conquest of Iran—for full four centuries—Sassanian Iran was the cultural rival of Eastern Roman Empire, just as Mithraism once rivalled early Christianity in Rome, the heart of the Western Roman Empire. Mazdaism and Manichæism have left documents which should be studied closely now with the Mahayana Buddhist and early Christian texts emerging in a new light by the recent discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The pre-Islamic Pahlevi literature of Iran not only attested to the revival of the Avestan studies but also prepared the ground for Iranian epic poets like Daqiqi and Firdausi. The millenary celebrations of Firdausi, of Biruni and of Avicenna, have, between 1934-1954, opened our eyes to the prolific exchange of culture prevailing between Iran and India; and it should be shown to the general public by displaying, in a gallery, the illuminated manuscripts, sculptures and paintings of this period. The French Archaeological mission in Afghanistan and the German, British, Russian and Japanese missions in Central Asia have made sensational discoveries of art and archaeology mostly taken out of India and Iran to London, Paris, Berlin, Tokyo, Leningrad and Moscow! When we bring them back to our museums and galleries, if not the originals at least the replicas and reproductions, we shall then understand how India was enamoured of Persian Art and literature from the age of Amir Khusru to Hafiz, how Babur loved Iranian art, sedulously cultivated by his descendants like Humayun and Akbar, Janangir and Shah Jahân. Torn pages from the art-albums of those artist—rulers have been traced in different places of Europe and America. But still we have in Iran and India such a grand collection of illuminated M. S. S. and paintings as to fill many galleries. While in Isfahan, I was thrilled to find excellent mural paintings depicting Humayun's visit to Iran and also the exploits of Nadir Shah. The Indian Museum, Calcutta. Museum of Lucknow, Delhi, Hyderabad and Deccan, many, if explored care-

fully, yield Indo-Persian paintings and art objects which will provoke Iranian scholars to study them for years in India. Our octogenarian veteran historian Sri Jadunath Sarkar and his disciples have discovered, edited and published Persian historical and literary manuscripts of rare value not only to the Indian but to the Iranian scholars also. They carry on gloriously the tradition of Raja Rammohun Roy (1772-1833) who was an expert Persian scholar as attested by his Persian monographs and also by his periodical *Mirāt al Akhbār* which linked up modern India with Iranian Asia. Since then the freedom movement in India, Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey and other countries of the Middle East was furthered by many now forgotten Persian 'Underground' periodicals and pamphlets which should be rediscovered during the centenary (1857-59) of our first War of Independence.

To discover and display such a variegated and vast materials for the education of the common man we must have a permanent building with an Exhibition Gallery and with a Safety Vault to protect rare manuscripts, books and *objets d'Art*, according to the resolution of the Unesco. How many priceless documents of art and culture have been totally destroyed and lost to mankind by invasions, wars and sudden catastrophes! So I pleaded, for years, for their safe custody, and I appeal now to our State Governments as well as to the Central Government to come forward to help the Iran Society in building up worthy Iran House with a special Gallery of Indo-Iranian Art and Culture. We hope that Maulana Azad and the learned Iranian Ambassador Dr. Hekmat will also guide our steps so that we may receive necessary aids from the India Government and from the enlightened Government of Iran in erecting the first permanent centre of Indo-Iranian Culture. Outside Iran, our India is the only country where for nearly a thousand years, history, poetry and other branches of literature have been composed in Persian which was our main court language down to 1835. So Persian music and pictorial arts have found their most congenial soil in India. May that glorious chapter of cultural collaboration therefore soon find its concrete form and depository in a permanent Iran House in this historic city of Calcutta.

DUPERRON AND IRANOLOGY

By

KALIDAS NAG

Read At The Fourteenth Annual General Meeting of the Iran Society, (1958)

In my parting address to the Annual gathering of the Iran Society, I extend my hearty thanks to my colleagues and offer my best wishes for the continued prosperity of the Society.

Iranology, naturally very dear to our Iranian cousins, has, in the last two centuries, come to be a cultural discipline of world significance. Outside Iran, India and Afghanistan made special contribution to the study and development of Persian which has been cultivated also by some of the leading nations of the West like France, Germany and England. In that connection, I was provoked to explore what the French *savants* have done in the development of Iranology.

As General Secretary (1942-46) of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I was privileged to organize the Bi-centenary (1746-1946) of the birth of Sir William Jones who, I found, entered into a vigorous polemic with A...D or Anquetil Duperron signalized by the only paper written in French, by Jones, as we find in his *Collected Works*. I shall refer to that academic controversy in the context of the life and studies of Anquetil Duperron.

Abraham-Hyacinthe Anquetil Duperron was born in Paris, on the 7th December, 1731 and he died in Paris on the 19th January, 1805. Out of 73 years of his life, he devoted nearly 50 years in exploring, studying and publishing the classics of Iran and India where his name should be specially remembered. He smuggled himself into a French boat, sailing from France to Pondicherry (1754) and thence came to Bengal where he tried to learn Sanskrit and the *Vedas*. But the British under Clive wanted then to capture Chandernagore whence Duperron's friends smuggled him out; and just before the historic Battle of Plassey (1757), he actually visited the camp of Nawab Shirāju'd-Dawlah and his Hindu and Muslim Generals. Meeting the French General Bussy in South India, Duperron finally reached Surat (where his brother was an officer) the stronghold of the Parsees and the Dasturs who were the real custodians of the *Avesta* which Duperron, since his early days in France, wanted to copy, edit and translate. After a series of adventures, he completed the study (and compilation) of the *Avesta* in 1759 at Surat.

After return to France in 1763, when Voltaire was publishing (1764) his articles on "Zoroaster" in the *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, Duperron published for the first time (1771) in Europe, the entire *Avesta* with his notes and

commentaries. He impulsively attacked Dr. Hyde of Oxford ; and the brilliant Oxonian, William Jones (already renowned at 30 as a Persian scholar) retaliated by writing a scurrilous criticism in French, attacking Duperron's edition of the *Avesta*. But his immortality was assured, before, the death of William Jones in 1794. Duperron is not only remembered today as the Pioneer Iranist, but also as the first man to inform the West about our Great Epic, the *Mahā-Bhārata*. His knowledge of Sanskrit might have been defective, but after the publication of the *Avesta*, Duperron was consulted by many European scholars and collectors as the then leading authority on Iran and India in Europe. He refuted the theory of Montesquieu on the so-called "Asiatic despotism" by publishing in 1778 a book on "Oriental Legislation". He published also (1786-87) his "Historical and Geographical Researches on India."

In this epoch, Duperron made another epoch making contribution by publishing, in 1786, the first draft of his translation of the *Opnekhāt* (Persian translation by Dārashikūh). His friend Col. Gentil (French Resident at Fyzabad) sent him several manuscripts of the Persian translation of the *Ūpanishads*, (made in Delhi in 1656). So its ter-centenary should be celebrated by our Iran Society, along with the bi centenary of Duperron's cultural mission in India.

It was during the last quarter of the 18th century that Duperron prepared for the western world the *Avesta* and the Latin version of the *Ūpanishads*. On account of these publications the eminent French orientalist E. Burnouf, while making a critical study of the *Yama*, paid a glowing tribute to Duperron as the pioneer in Iranology.

Duperron sailed away from France at the age of 23 with a copy of his favourite Montaigne and a Hebrew Bible, but he was lucky to offer to the Christian west a new Bible—the *Avesta*, for which he was eulogized by Michelet—the Master Historian of France—in his *Bible of Humanity*.

In Surat Duperron worked hard in collaboration with his Parsee friends and the two opposite groups of the learned *fire worshipping* priests or *Dasturs*, some conservative, some reformers : Manecharji from whom he got a rare Pehlevi-Persian Lexicon in the first, and Darab and his cousin Kaus his principal teachers in the second group. The history of his collaboration with the native Parsee scholars has been carefully recovered by Duperron's biographer Raymond Schwab and also by the venerable Dr. J. J. Modi, whose papers on the subject, have been incorporated in the biography. Dr. Modi luckily recovered from Colombo, a rare manuscript of the *Avesta*, with the notes of Duperron, which he presented to the National Library of Paris ; and if searches are made even now, some other manuscripts of the *Avesta* (in Bombay) and the *Ūpanishads* (in U. P.) may be found to be connected with Duperron who has been justly honoured recently (February 12, 1958) by the members of the Cama Oriental Institute with Sir R. P. Masani as the President of the Duperron Memorial meeting. The Cama Institute manuscript of the *Avesta* is very precious because, on its margin, we can read today the handwritten

notes of Duperron who was abused in England and Germany, for his wrong reading and defective translation.

In 1763, on his return from India (via England where 17th century fragments of the Avesta were found) to France, Duperron was elected to the French Academy and continued to publish many important works down to his last days. Duperron wrote (1800) to Salvaster de Sacy, a noted scholar of Persian who acquired 130 Oriental manuscripts in 1805 for 6000 francs: "If God grants me a few years more of the use of my right hand which often refuses to serve, I may promise to complete in five volumes a Zend-Latin-French Dictionary".

The French Revolution came like a Deluge to upset the world and equally the life of a modest scholar like Duperron. Duperron did not fare well either in the Napoleonic Era; for he could not gain official patronage (like his brother); he had indeed refused to swear loyalty to the first consul, who was soon to be the Emperor.

He closed his eyes finally (19th January, 1805) like an Iranian *faqir* or an Indian *yogi* as Prof. Sylvain Levi aptly observed. He worked "for the glory of the Supreme Being (*Etre Supreme*) with whom, I a humble creature, struggled to remain closely united," echoing the mystic realisation, as it were of the *Upanishad* which galvanized Schopenhauer (1788-1860) and so many western thinkers.

The German orientalists attacked Duperron in the early days but his works were given world-wide publicity by two eminent Germans: Schopenhauer for the *Upanishads* and F. Nietzsche through his "*Thus spake Zarathustra*". Philologists like Geldner, Bartholomy and an even-growing number of German scholars made ample amends by making the Indo-European Vedas and the Indo-Iranian Avesta, the subjects of their life-long studies. After Sir William Jones's attack, the Oxford University and its famous Press invited the German Sanskritist Max Muller to publish the *Rig-Veda Samhita* and also the *Upanishads Zend-Avesta* in the famous 50 volume series 'the Sacred Books of the East'.

For the latter work Max Muller had to seek the co-operation of the French Iranist James Darmesteter (an adept of the Zend and the Afghan languages) who personally visited India and the Fire temples of Bombay (1886-87) conducted by the eminent scholar J. J. Modi who wrote on Zoroastrianism for 40 years (1893-1933).

Thus from the comparative study of the *Yasna* by Burnouf to the complete modern translation of the Avesta by Darmesteter, France worked for the whole of the 19th century to justify the pioneer Iranist Duperron. He offered not only a new Bible (non-Hebrew) from Asia, but, amidst many inevitable blemishes of the first explorations, opened such a glorious field, of comparative religion and linguistics, growing out of the intensive study of the Vedas and the Avesta. These are to-day the very indispensable sources of Indo-European philology and culture, as I realized during my student days in Europe. Prof. Antoine Meillet's

searching analysis of Indo-Iranian languages and Prof. Paul Pelliot's lectures at the College de France on "Iranian influences on Central Asia", opened my eyes to a new Iranian horizon of Asian history, as I acknowledged in my recent work "*Discovery of Asia*" which, it is now my pleasure and privilege, to present to our Iran Society through my very dear friend and colleague Dr. M. Ishaque with whom I had the great joy to participate in the Millenaries of Immortal Firdausi, of the savant Al-Biruni and of the Physician-philosopher Avicenna.

The Commemoration Volumes of Al-Biruni and Avicenna shine like two grand portals to the *Apadana* of Iranology, as I hinted in my last annual address. But now the Society has earned by its devoted efforts to claim public support, official as well as non-official, to its plan of building a permanent House of Indo-Iranian culture in this historic city of Calcutta. With my friend Mr. S. N. Modak whom I congratulate on his re-election as the next-President) and other colleagues, I pressed our claims to a plot of land from the Corporation of Calcutta. The learned Mayor Dr. Triguna Sen, D. Sc. (Munich) and the Chairman of the Standing Town Planning and Development Committee, gave us a very sympathetic hearing. We eagerly expect a favourable reply from the Corporation. So I fervently appeal to the members of the Iran-Society and to the enlightened public to help adding to the Building Fund, so ably built up by our Hony. Secretary who assures us that he will be ready to spend Rs. 50,000/- for buildings as soon as the Corporation makes a free gift of land. I solemnly pray that the Iran House be soon erected, so that it may stand as a permanent link between Iran and India.

Long live our Iran Society !

6 March, 1958.

CANADA AND USA

By

KALIDAS NAG

While attending the British Commonwealth Conference in Sydney, just on the eve of the Second World War, I was pleased to get invitation from the Canadian delegates to visit Canada. But the War upset all calculations and I had the pleasure to visit Canada in 1958.

The International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom (founded 1900) invited me, with other European delegates, to participate in their 16th Congress held at the University of Chicago (August, 1958). As the principal speaker, representing Hinduism,—with four other speakers for Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam,—we were given all facilities of travels—by sea or air—from our home bases. I was informed that from London I shall travel with about 120 European ladies and gentlemen, sailing per S. S. *Saxonia* the charming Cunard Liner. It was a fine ship, offering us excellent meals and good books on America and a splendid relief map of Canada, which all of us were so eager to see on voyage in the glorious autumn season.

The ship touched France and then Ireland to take some catholic passengers, while our fellow delegates—mostly Protestants were roused by the news that the (USA) Nuclear Submarine *Natilus* plunged into the Pacific near Alaska, crossed the vast Arctic Ocean *via* North Pole and emerged into the Atlantic near Greenland in a record time. God Poseidon seemed to have grumbled with USSR who soon took noble revenge by launching the first man-made planet round our Earth's orbit. In the South, USA and USSR, UK and Australia, with others, were rediscovering and mapping Antarctica (one or two ?), the vast continent explored in this International Geo-physical Year. My cabin-mate, a Cambridge Don, explained to me the vast significance of these discoveries and adventures. On the other hand the Philosophers and Theologians in our party, nodded their heads sceptically and questioned as they said: 'What are all these worth' if Man misuses Science to destroy the Human species and Civilisation, only a 100 years after the publication of Darwin's *Origin of the Species*.

Threatening fog enveloped our brave ship *Saxonia* which seemed to toss and tremble for 24 hours, aimlessly (as we apprehended and remembered how, through collision with Iceberg, the ship *Titanic* was lost in 1912).

Luckily for us the sun dispersed the fog, brightening gloomy faces; and we went up the deck to gaze on the Belle Isle the beautiful island which made gesture to us, as it were, showing that the historic estuary of the mighty river

St. Lawrence was near ! I stopped studying books and applied henceforth my mind to watch Nature's glory and grandeur of gigantic Canada—the —friendly neighbour and sentinel of the Arctic for the United States—which I visited from the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts, but never from the Arctic where Canada is attending to her sector of the Arctic Circle while the USAR scientists are planning to pump the warm water of the Pacific into the cold Atlantic Ocean, changing thereby the frozen Arctic Zone probably into a vast fertile food-producing region. Granted good-will and peace, the narrow strategic Behring Sea may develop into a great causeway of friendship and co-operation between the USSR on the one hand and Canada-USA on the other.

Pre-historians and anthropologists have proved beyond doubt that the Palae-Siberian men from Asia and their culture, crossed *via* the Behring zone into Alaska and Canada to the present USA and Latin America. Hence we find the Esquimos and Amerindians of the Stone Age, followed by the Mayas of Mexico and the Incas of Peru, over 2,000 years ago. Some Canadian scholars have recently supported the Buddhistic hypothesis of some Chinese Buddhist monks sailing (5th century A.D.) in frail boats, to the New World, leaving traces of Buddhist sanctuaries in Mexico. There is little doubt now that, long before Columbus, the Scandinavian Norsemen, sailing in their Viking boats (one still to be found in the Oslo Museum Norway), plundered England, occupied Iceland and even built a colony in South Greenland which was partly warm and really green in the 10th century A.D. But, due to climatic changes and movement of glaciers and Ice-caps, from the North to the South, Greenland colonies were abandoned, leaving some relics down to late 15th century when Columbus and Cabot were preparing to discover America of our geography. We should not forget, however, the Scandinavian pioneers that landed, centuries ago, on the Atlantic sea-board of Canada and USA.

Columbus was so much obsessed by Marco Polo that, anywhere he touched the New World, he identified that place with some part of Asia of the age of Kubla Khan ! Thus a part of the West Indies was identified by Columbus (following Marco Polo), with Cipango or Japan ! He thought that the Panama coasts were Malay Peninsula ; and the name India (Indios) and Indians were written large in so many zones and races of Canada and USA ! From Henry VII to Elizabeth, there were several expeditions ; and after three voyages (1576-78) Frobisher discovered Baffin Land and the mouth of the Hudson Strait. Gilbert occupied Newfoundland in 1583 and wrote his *Discourse* to prove the existence of the North-West Passage to trade with Asia. In 1553 a company (later known as the Muscovy Co.) sent out ships to discover the alternative route of the North East Passage, along the coast of Siberia (where Buddhist Lamaseries flourished for ages) and thence, to the White Sea Zone and Russia, half Asian in race, economy and culture.

John Cabot discovered Newfoundland. (14 June 1497), and his son Sebastian Cabot also was a great explorer. England and France would be the

major competitors for their empires of the New World which, however, was arbitrarily partitioned and settled, by the Papal Bull of 1493, between Spain and Portugal forming the two original Oceanic empires. In 1530, when Thorne was writing his British "Declaration of the Indies," the French explorer Cartier entered (like us) the St. Lawrence river valley, reaching Quebec (still speaking French) and Montreal. The French also were trying to find the North-West passage to Asia, but the river could not oblige them. The French and the British, however, established contacts with the American Indians, developing the fur-trade which, with other factors, led to the White Colonization of Canada. The Red Indians were doomed however to segregation liquidation and neglect, both by Canada and USA who built a White New World out of their old settlements, overrun by the Catholic Bourbons and the British and Dutch Protestants.

The long Anglo-Spanish Wars from 1585 to 1605, provoked colonizations of the British, French and the Dutch in the New World. Under Raleighs' lead, the British settled in fertile Virginia (growing tobacco plantations) in 1607; the French colonized Quebec in 1608 and the Dutch settled in New Amsterdam (New York) in 1614.

From 1620 onwards the English Puritan emigrants settle in New Plymouth, New Hampshire and Newfoundland (1610), the last bringing much money from Cod fishery, furs and beaver-skins. Thus the New England merchants, from Quebec to New York, exported their surplus foodstuffs to the rich plantations of further South. In 1602 the competing Dutch Syndicates strengthened themselves by forming the Dutch East India Co., but preferred to build their empire in Indonesia (1600-1950). Many other European nations supplied man-power and talents to America. The Boston-New York sector began to handle huge business, so that they became rivals even of London which began grumbling!

Mercantilism and Colonial wars became for two centuries, (1739-1939) the orders of day. Sea-power and mercantile-cum-political imperialism led to the greatest period of Oceanic wars. England fought the Bourbons of France and Spain (1739-1760) when Canada and North America became completely British, although French language, law and culture continued in Quebec, New Orleans and a few other places. But the growing sense of economic self-sufficiency and new nationhood demanded freedom from the trammels of the British Parliament. As the result of the Seven Years War (1756-63), the slogan "no taxation without representation" brought about the Wars of American Independence, (1776-83) which drove the British out of USA to Canada and all those who were pro-British and monarchists in their sentiments. Edmund Burke's speeches, on American Taxation and Conciliation, were delivered apparently in vain; and the Bourbons were engulfed by the Wars of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. Like Alaska purchased by USA from Tzarist Russia, rich and big French possessions, along the Mississippi,

were won by the Louisiana purchase. The French lost Quebec and Montreal in 1759 just two centuries ago.

All these historic events came to my mind when I was floating along the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador and then passing through the St. Lawrence I viewed Quebec. Since 1605 the French were building up there permanent settlement in Acadia or Nova Scotia which will celebrate soon its Bi-centenary. The French explorer Champlain selected and built up Quebec as a natural fortress and Montreal as its sister-city where the Rapids of the St. Lawrence river began. Acadia was ceded by the French to the British in 1713. Its area is 21,068 square miles with a population of 702,000 and revenue (1956-57) of about 60 million dollars.

Quebec is 594,860 sq. miles with a population of 4,055,681 (1951) out of which 3½ million are Roman Catholics who manage three universities: Laval founded in 1852, Montreal in 1876 and Sherbrooke in 1954. Catholic schools in larger number have 34,000 teachers while the Protestant schools with 355 teachers attend to 3,640 teachers. This Catholic French-speaking part of Canada works harmoniously with the Protestant English-speaking people, both sharing prosperity under a liberal and Federal Dominion Constitution.

But in 1837 there was almost a Franco-British rebellion averted by the wise Report of Lord Durham who warned: "I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single State, found a *struggle, not of principles but of races* (French and British)". Alas, out of such a desperate situation, so many nations have suffered from Civil War or partition (as in India). But Canada was lucky and offered us thereby an example in peaceful negotiation leading to Federation (which probably would be achieved also in the case of India and Pakistan, after a century).

Canada leads the way in self-government, in political unification and in developing a foreign policy, independent of England and the powerful neighbour USA. Holding the Polar route, and the Arctic Ocean, Canada now is the main buffer-state between Soviet Russia and the United States; so Canada may yet play a great role as a "peace-maker" between the "Individual Capitalism of USA and the State capitalism of the USSR," according to President Eisenhower's phraseology.* If better sense prevails to end the "Cold War" epoch, the two Polar powers, USSR and Canada (with their secret reserves of Uranium and other strategic minerals), may remove coldness from the souls of many nations; and they may warmly co-operate to make the UNO really a

* We have had relations with Europe because of our political and economic ties, with China and Japan because we are a Pacific power; with the USSR because of Geography. The world-wide connections of the USA arise almost exclusively from the obligations she had to assume as the greatest power in the world."

—Mr. Ford: Canadian Ambassador to Colombia.

fraternity of United nations. With the warming of the Arctic Ocean, Canada and USA may come closer to vast China of 600 million souls, and a new North Eastern Passage may be opened by submarine (*Natilus* type) and jet planes and missile-letter Post Offices. In this age of planet-making and inter-stellar researches in floating Laboratories of Astrophysics and Astronomy, the tempo of progress will be quickened beyond imagination. How to divert now this demoniac tempo towards destruction into constructive fellowship to conquer disease, death and poverty, still ravaging more than half of mankind.

These ideas convulsed my mind as I surveyed the superb yet sombre seascapes and landscapes† of Canada, passing from Montreal and Toronto (in Ontario: area 412,582 sq. miles; population 5,404,933) to the Canadian Niagara-Falls (which I saw before from USA side). It presented to us a wizardly geological formations and horizons where the majestic flow of the down-rushing river hides underneath the 'eating of the bedrock shells', some of the oldest in America. Ontario's metropolis, Toronto (population 1½ million) is much bigger than Ottawa (population 340,460). Among the 5 universities of the State the biggest is the University of Toronto; it was founded in 1827 and has over 14,00 Professors attending to over 12,000 students. The Royal Ontario Museum has some rare collections of art and anthropology—especially of the American Indians (over 1 lac) and the Esquimos who appear even today, defying the Iron Curtain, in USSR Arctic zone as also in that of Canada.

In Toronto I was welcomed as a guest of our Unitarian friends Mr. and Mrs. Denison. The wife is a talented painter whose sketches I admired in her home-studio. Mr. Denison was once a Mayor of Toronto now as the Controller building up a progressive Socialist Party, growing in importance in the midst of huge capitalistic developments. From Mr. Denison I got some idea of the Labour Unions and Party Government there. Canada, still belonging to the British Common-wealth, calls its Upper House—not House of Lords—but Senate following the USA; just as our Indian patriots since 1885 called their biggest organization, the Congress not Parliament. The constitutional relations between UK and Canada were settled largely by the British North America Act of 1867, functioning now over 90 years.

British Columbia, on the Pacific Asian coast, was established as a separate colony in 1858. So we got some publicity materials on the Centenary of that State, in 1958, celebrated with Royal glamour surprising the majority of Republicans in USA. Dr. Tagore visited Vancouver in 1929 and Lester Pearson is the first Canadian to win the Nobel Prize.

† Cf. *The Unknown Country* by Bruce Hutchinson.

"My country is hidden in the dark . . . It is all visions and doubts, hopes and dreams. Who can know our loneliness on the immensity of prairie, in the dark forest and on the windy sea rocks? All around blackness, emptiness and silence!"

Newfoundland joined as the tenth province of Canada (31 March, 1949) and after a peaceful treaty with Norway (1931), Canada now "holds sovereignty in the whole Arctic sector, north of the Canada mainland." Just as Norway avoided near war with Sweden over their boundaries and are living together peacefully, so, we found perfect peace maintained between USA and Canada having thousands of miles frontiers. So that, I and my fellow delegates seldom noticed the change of climate (including that of the Customs) and landscapes between Detroit (half Canadian) and Chicago; the venue of our Congress of Religious Freedom (IARF.)

Canada to USA

As we passed from the shores of Lake Ontario to those of Lake Michigan I was welcomed by a hospitable Unitarian couple Dr. and Mrs. Pulman, of Detroit. They know a good deal about India through their contact with the Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta and their genuine appreciation, of our great pioneer Raja Rammohun Roy and of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

They showed us the gigantic Industrial plants of the Ford Motor Co. which manufactures about 50 per cent of the total USA motor cars. The total number of plants are 353 (1954) employing 346,079 workers paying them \$1,739,924,000 in wages and salaries.

Our Unitarian friends kindly came up to the Chicago University to listen to my address on "Hinduism." They asked me to come again, after Queen Elizabeth II opens soon the lockgates and dams; so that, as soon as we reach the St. Lawrence river post of Montreal, the ocean-going liners could be safely taken from lake to lake, Lake Michigan on which stands our lovely multi-storied Hotel Windermere.

Thanking my guests, I entered Chicago where I saluted in 1953 the spirit of Swami Vivekananda, who came in 1893 to attend the Parliament of Religions. Swami Visvananda then kindly showed me the Chicago sites associated with Vivekananda legend. To celebrate the Golden Jubilee, as it were, of the Parliament of Religions (1893), the IARF demanded to hold their Congress of Religious Freedom in Chicago. In the interval of the session I revisited the wonderful collection of the Field Museum as well as the Library and the galleries of the famous Oriental Institute.

I need not give a gist of my address on "Hinduism" which (minus my oral commentaries) was published after my return to Calcutta in *The Modern Review*, November, 1958. I delivered two lectures at *Ramakrishna Institute of Culture*, developing my plan of publishing books from Free India, under the Institute's plan with the Unesco, to foster mutual understanding of the East and West. I found, in 1952-53, as a Visiting Professor of Asian Civilisation in St. Paul, Minnesota, that the Ford Foundation financed the publication of the Great Books of the West. Such a foundation and the Unesco may be

approached, now by India, for publishing another and much-needed series entitled "Great Books of the East", supplementing the work of Max Muller's *Sacred Books of the East*, planned nearly a century ago. India is the major partner of the Afro Asian Federation and has a background of literary tradition of centuries, thus permitting India to sponsor and publish the series, from the standpoint of comparative religion, literature and culture.

My friend and fellow-delegate Sri J. N. Das, Secretary, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, wisely remarked :

"The learned addresses delivered by the five Presidents (representing Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam) were no doubt pregnant with philosophical thoughts as well as historical view-points. But it is difficult to say how far they could help to show how the religion, that each president advocated, could meet the present-day needs of the world ;... really there is only one religion for all, i. e. Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man."

Asia is the veritable cradle of all the major religions of the world, as I affirmed in my address and I appealed for world support in propagating Peace and Understanding through Religion and the publication of Asian Classics to be named the *Great Books of the East*.

Presidential addresses apart, the five principal speakers were invited to participate in a *studio symposium* on Unity through Religion which was given the widest publicity by the Columbia Broadcasting and Television Co, serving from coast to coast.

After the Chicago Congress, the delegates were taken charge of by the special committee showing us the most important sites and monuments of the USA. They took us to the earliest Chapels of New England where the Pilgrim Fathers (1610) held their first prayers and Thanks-giving ceremonies. The Harvard School (now the richest University and Divinity School) was founded in 1635 in Cambridge Mass. A century after was born George Washington (1731) originally of British Parentage and a British officer, who fought (1776-1783) against the despotic British Government and won freedom for America. We saw his Virginia home with a special guest room—for his noble French ally General Lafayette. The 18th century Manor house so well preserved, elicited our deep admiration. Not only military glory but spiritual devotion, freedom of thought and literary creations were also unfolded to us as we were taken to visit the Chapels of the great Unitarian Minister Channing (born 1782, a junior contemporary of Rammohun Roy), the sylvan home of Emerson in Concord where came also Thoreau who influenced Gandhiji in his plan and principal of Passive Resistance.

Coming to Boston I was deeply touched by the historical and spiritual atmosphere of the place, the cradle and the headquarters of the American Unitarian Association. Its new President Dr. Dana McLean Greeley gave us all help and a cordial reception. So the Rev. Dr. E. W. Kuebler, newly elected

President of the International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom, gave us his friendly co-operation. When, from the USA I came back to England to meet my friends of the British Unitarian Association (Gordon Sq., London), I was glad to hear that Dr. Kuebler personally attended the consecration of the old Unitarian Church Centre, the Essex Hall, destroyed by bombing in the last war.

But before leaving America I thankfully remembered the generous hospitality, so characteristic of American men and women, and their genuine sympathy for the young Republic of ancient India. We were touched also by their profound admiration of the ideals for which Mahatma Gandhi sacrificed his life, as among the loaded tour-cum cultural programmes, our American friends brought us to the superb Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) Memorial in Washington. There I paid my sincere and silent homage to the great American who built, with his life-blood, the Union of the North and the South (avoiding partition) and proclaimed, with his prophetic voice, his Hymn to Democracy "of the people, by the people and for the people." His words rang in my ears, as I stood at the foot of the Lincoln Monument and we offer him our deep respects on his 150th Birth anniversary.

Touring from British Canada in the North to the United States in the middle, I wished also further progress, prosperity and peace, to the republics of Latin America (from Mexico to Chile) which I visited in 1936, during the International PEN Congress in Buenos Aires, Argentina. I shared my impressions with our learned colleagues of the London PEN and its musician Secretary, David Carver, who gave a reception, to me as a Vice-President of our Bengal PEN. Through Literature and Art Religion and Philosophy, the common men and women of the West may yet help maintaining sanity in this panicky age of Atomic destruction.

But India of Tagore and Gandhi will ever hold us to the spiritual moorings of Peace and Fellowship which, we hope, will bring all races together in a Fraternity of Faiths and World Brotherhood.

Christian centuries when the Graeco-Roman world collaborated with the Sino Indian folks, producing new schools of thought, art and culture.

India, the cradle of Hinduism and also the depository of these rich legacies, creeds and cultures, deserves to be the centre of a school in fact a University of Comparative Religion with international support. Such a school would foster a truer and deeper understanding of the East and the West which may not transcend the parochial and collaborate on a truly universal level.

Not only the Western but the Far Eastern thought also was enriched by the "cross-fertilization" with Hinduism and Buddhism which the Sinologists and the Japanologists are studying with Confucianism, Taoism, Zen Buddhism, etc., all sharing with the Hindu-Budhistic creeds and their preoccupation with the ethical foundations of man and society. For over a millennium, India collaborated with China through thought and literature, art and religion, which should be popularized now by publishing the *Encyclopaedia Asiatica*—as I pleaded before the Asian Relations Conference (Delhi 1947) and as I sketched in my book *Discovery of Asia* (1958).

Many other nations of the Far East, like Korea and Japan as well as Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Annam (Viet Nam), Indonesia, Malaya and Ceylon, have yielded valuable texts and artistic treasures which should go to inspire thousands in the East and the West; and to illustrate for them the projected "Asian Cyclopaedia" which would publicize the latest findings of theology and philosophy, anthropology and social sciences, art and archeology.

The sub-continent of India, with about 400 million souls—dominantly Hindus—presents problems of different orders of ethnic, sociological and spiritual values which I can but barely outline in my preliminary address on Hinduism intended for a general audience :

I. A quarter of a century ago no one suspected that archeological discoveries will take back the antiquity of Indian culture from the accepted date of Alexander's invasion—4th century B. C.—to the 4th millennium B. C. The discovery of the Indus civilisation by Professor R. D. Banerji in 1922-26, (vide *Modern Review*, 1923—24) proved the growth of agriculture and commerce, town planning and civic amenities, equalling the city-states of Mesopotamia and Egypt, where I personally saw many things reminding me of our "Indus Valley Civilisation" so ably described by our late Director of Archeology Sir John Marshall and his American colleague Ernest Mackay. But while the Egyptian and the Mesopotamian scripts and texts have been deciphered and translated, our Indus seals and scripts (like those of the Minoan Crete) still remain unread. The language of arts and crafts, however, together with the ritual-objects and symbols, have been analysed with reference to stratigraphy; so that we know now that, apart from the wonderful material culture of the Indus Valley, the people developed also a theogony and iconography closely related to the Mesopotamian and later Indian Hindu

forms. Terra-cotta and bronze objects of deities, with their *Vāhanas* or carrier animals, attest to the sanctity of animals found in so many early theriomorphic religions like those of Egypt and Babylonia. The Lord of Animals—Proto-Siva—with his consort, the Mother-Goddess, appear in Indian art, as we find also in Western Asia and the Aegio-Egyptian world (3000-1500 B. C.). Some psychic disciplines of the later Yoga type—for mental concentration—and ritual dances are also depicted by the Indus artists who also decorated the coffins of the "Harappa Culture", developing funerary arts, and civil and military architecture. The life after death, therefore, was a matter of speculation in the Vedas and in Indus Valley, as it was in Mesopotamia and the Nile Valley.

II. 2000-1000 B. C. : These Indus Valley folks appear to be of four different racial types ; but they are generally taken as coeval with or a little earlier than the "Aryans" entering India from the west *via* Iran, the land of the *Aira* or the Aryans. They spoke a common form of Indo-European speech, totally different from the Dravidian languages spoken by the four major races of South India who are called "Indo-Mediterranians". Now the pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian languages and cultures are being zealously studied revealing many unknown facts. (Dr Burrow : Sanskrit & Pre-Aryan tribes and languages).

Like their Iranian cousins who composed the sacred *Gāthās* of the Avesta compiled by Zoroaster), the Vedic Aryans also composed sublime Hymns of the Vedas and other spiritual-cum-ritualistic literatures—in poetry and prose. The three early Vedas—Rig, Sama and Yajur—were amplified by the addition of the fourth or the Atharva Veda (c. 1000 B. C.) published in the Harvard Oriental series. These are the oldest literatures of the Indo-European peoples and therefore these are so devotedly studied—for over a century—by the British and the French, the German and the American scholars.

Frank nature-worshippers, like their younger cousins, the Greeks, the Indian Aryans addressed Vedic Hymns while worshipping the Gods of rain and thunder (Indra), the sun (Mitra), Varuna and Nasatya (the twin-gods of health and medical sciences)—all invoked as witnesses to the Treaty of Peace concluded by the fighting Hittites and the Mitannis—Aryan races of the 14th century B. C. whom I remembered while visiting the Hittite Capital Boghaz Koi which I surveyed from Ankara. The Hittite speech was Indo-European ; and the Aryan Mitannis gave royal princesses married to the Egyptain Pharaohs ; and from that line issued Akhenaton who tried to reform Egyptian polytheism by establishing monotheistic worship of the Sun god, to whom he addressed a magnificent hymn of Vedic inspiration (1380 B. C.). Many aspects of Nature—good and evil—were worshipped by the Vedic Aryans ; but, amidst the apparently multifarious deities, whom do we actually worship ? This poignant questioning occurs in a famous hymn which marks the dawn of Vedic Monotheism ; and we see how Hindu Philosophy attempted to resolve dualism into monism, the unreal into real and death into immortality.

Vedic integration of the many into one was admitted by several scholars struck also by the general absence of image-worship (prevalent only among the lower strata of Hindu Society). But Philosophical concepts were defined, like the *Prajāpati* or the Lord of Folks, *Viśva-Karmā* or the Creator of the Universe, *Vāk* or the goddess of Speech and *Puruṣa* the Supreme Being, etc., pervading the monotheistic Upanishads.

The *Puruṣa-Sukta* or Hymns of the *Puruṣa*, also outlined the sociological pattern—not of later day four castes but of four *varṇas* or colours :

- (a) Brahmana : Priest-scholar
- (b) Kshatriya : Warrior-ruler
- (c) Vaishya : Trader-economist
- (d) Sudra : Labourer-agriculturist
forming the majority
(*avara-varṇa-prāyāḥ*) of
the nation.

When the three early Vedas (*Rig*, *Sama*, *Yajur*) came to be enlarged by the fourth *Atharva-Veda*, we find therein the veritable apotheosis of the non-Aryan or *Vrātya-Sudra* order, helping the three upper classes to direct and developing the social order ; and Hindu Polity (*Vide* Nag : "*Arthaśāstra*", Paris, 1923) emerged with the science of economics and politics (*Arthaśāstra*). The Vedic Hindus developed also the legal institutions and philosophy in their *Dharma-śāstra*, applauded by jurists all over the world. From the Vedic concept of *Rita* or world-order grew up the vast literature of Hindu Law and Custom (*vide* Jelly : *Recht und Sitte*) permitting the Aryans to absorb and assimilate the diverse races and customs, Aryan, Pre-Aryan and Dravidian of the South. The Southerners absorbed Aryan customs and speech the Sanskrit, the *lingua franca* between the North and South of the subcontinent *Bhārata-India* emerging out of primitivism into developed civilisation.

III. 1003-500 B. C. : From the Indus and the Ganges valleys in the Aryans advanced to the South where they confronted many aboriginal (Austrian) races, rituals and customs, which got mixed up with Aryanism, gradually transformed into Hinduism with its later emphasis on caste and polytheism.

The earliest Indian Epic—the *Rāmāyana*—surveys India from the North to the South as far as Ceylon or Taprobane, known to the Greek geographers. In the larger epic—the *Mahābhārata* or Greater India—we find the maximum expansion and assimilation of races and cultures. It developed into a veritable national Cyclopaedia of Culture, embracing the arts of life and society, state-craft and laws, religion and philosophy (admirably summarized by Professor E. W. Hopkins of the Yale University). The Great Epics of India with the 18 Puranas, should be properly indexed for the benefit of Western students of Hinduism and Indology.

IV. 500 B. C.-500 A. D. The next one thousand years witnessed : further social integration and political expansion when, not only the Brahmins but Kshatriyas, or the "ruling class", added new elements to Hindu religion and philosophy. Against priestly sacerdotalism we find now the first dawn of Rationalism soon developing into non-Vedic, even anti-Vedic religions like Jainism and Buddhism, both influenced by the Upanishads, the earliest texts (the Vedānta) of Hindu Monism or Unitarianism. Rising far above polytheism, the Upanishads opened the cosmic vision of Unity (*Ekam Sat*) and the horizon of world philosophy. This later on developed into the philosophy of the "*Advaita*" (non-dualism) the Vedānta or fulfilment of the Vedas, made famous by the great commentary of Sages like Śāṅkara (8th century A. D.) and Rāmānuja (11 century A. D.), who found their worthy expositors in leading Hindu philosophers of today, like Professor Dr. Radhakrishnan and the late Dr. S. N. Das Gupta. In the later Vedic and in the Epic Age, we find men and women sages (Brahma-vādīn) collaborating to develop Hindu religion and thoughts, realizing the One in the many, a sublime synthesis of real contradictions. Heterodoxy persisted here and there ; but Hindu philosophy, if not life, sublimated conflicts and contradictions into a harmonious whole. Hinduism which challenges an encyclopedic survey, embracing the voluminous works of mediæval seers as well as of our modern leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, (1869-1948) and of Sri Aurobindo (1872-1950) who transformed dynamic Hinduism for the future.

Such monotheistic synthesis apart we find pluralistic cults of the Destroyer-rebuilder Siva and Vishnu, developed later into Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism. We find also the non theistic philosophy of Sāṃkhya influencing the growth of two rebel children of later Vedic India—Jainism and Buddhism. Jainism rejected totally violence and the animal sacrifice, preaching *ahimsā* or non-violence and perfection of individual life (Arhat) manifest in the career of the Tirthankaras or Pathfinders like Pārsvanath and Mahavira.

Buddhism also preached ethical perfection ; and with the sublime life of its founder the Buddha, Buddhism developed with its philosophy of Suffering, the dynamics of Amity (*maitri*) and became the first world religion. The Graeco-Buddhist and Romano-Buddhist art of India attest to the popularity of Buddhism among our Western neighbours. So Buddhism expanded in and through Central Asia, China, Korea to Japan and the whole of South-East Asia, showing wonderful Hindu-Buddhist art, architecture and culture for a thousand years, (500-1500 A. D.). This epoch marked the transition from the "classical" to the *mediaeval* period of civilisation.

*Mahatma Gandhi proclaimed as a mouthpiece of Liberal Hinduism that he would vote an "Untouchable" woman to be President (if found competent) of the Indian Republic. His expectation was partly fulfilled when a leader of "Depressed class" Hindus—Dr. Ambedkar was made Law Minister of the Nehru Cabinet and finally drafted our Constitution, based on equal rights of all citizens, irrespective of caste, colour, creed or sex.

V. Popular Hinduism, sweepingly judged by foreigners as chaotic polytheism, magic and lower cults, should be studied with care and patience. For the vitality and assimilative capacity of Hinduism is proverbial. Wilson gave his scholarly survey of Hindu sects and his book was published over a century ago. Now, the deeper study of ethnology, anthropology and cultural sociology, has thrown new light on the history of integrating Hinduism. Even in the later Buddhist period we notice the development of Hindu-Buddhistic cult and iconography in Tibet, and Serindia, China, Japan, Indonesia and Indo-China. Vaishnavism, Sivaism and Tantricism, with the Śakti, or Mother-cult, find their artistic expression and philosophical exposition both in the Northern Sanskrit and in the Southern Dravidian languages, which again are the sources and archetypes of Hindu-Buddhistic art and culture, of millions of devotees in South-East Asia. There Buddhism, and later on Islam, jointly claim the loyalty of the masses. They may be over-religious but not irreligious and atheistic in any sense.

Islam as a world religion influenced India from the 8th to the 18th century (700-1700) forcing, through violent conflicts, on the Indians' mind the efficacy of Monotheism and Unity. Most mediæval Indian sages and philosophers, strikingly enough preached the Unity of Godhead and human Brotherhood.

Rāmānanda Kabir, Dādu, Nānak, (15th century) and Chaitanya (16th century), Princess Mira, and the humble Tukārām (17th century), among others, uniformly preached the religion of Love, of the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. Islam in India similarly developed the universal philosophy of Sufism. So we find the great Mongol Emperor Akbar (1555-1605) freely consulting non-Muslim Hindu and Christian sages; so that he proclaimed *Din Ilahi* or universal religion. His great grandson, Prince Dara Sukho collaborated with the Hindu philosophers, thus producing the first Persian translation of the Vedic Upanishads which was retranslated into Latin by the French orientalist Anquetil du Perron (1731-1805) who also gave to the West the first text and translation of the Iranian Bible—the Zend Avesta, published in the "Sacred Books of the East." But many other Oriental texts wait to be translated, in another English series which I named as the "Great Books of the Orient" series, and which may be sponsored by our Congress of Chicago, the venue of the first Parliament of Religions (1893).

Europe penetrated the Hindu world with the landing of the Portuguese Vasco de Gama in South India (1498) when Columbus was exploring the American waters to discover his so called Indies or India! *Luciad* by the Portuguese poet Camoens was inspired by India and the East; and a century after this Catholic poet had come to South India, the Protestant Dutch missionary Abraham Rogers (1660), who learned Sanskrit, published in Dutch a book on Hinduism or "Heathendom" and its "Open-door". Another century after, the West read Du Perron's "Upanishads" which inspired

Schopenhauer and read also Goethe's unstinted praise of the Hindu poet Kālidāsa's spiritual drama "Śakuntalā" available now in many English and American editions.

Thus, after the opening centuries (15th to 18th) of greedy commerce, conquest and colonialism, the West began collaborating with the East. The Catholic Missionaries of Bengal made many converts; and printed, in Roman type, their mission texts, in Bengali like *Kṛipār Śāstrer Artha Bhed* (1740). So the Baptist missionaries of Serampore, Bengal, led by Reverend Carey (1761-1835) translated the Bible into Bengali, and many other vernaculars of modern India.

Threatened with mass conversion, as in the age of the Islamic invasion, Hindu India showed its adaptability and vitality through the life and works of Rammohun Roy (1772-1833) acclaimed as the "Father of Modern India." He rejected the image worship, studied Vedānta, the basic philosophy of non-dualism; and he also studied, in original Arabic and Persian, the texts of Islamic monotheism. Then after mastering English, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, Rammohun (as a philological prodigy) studied the Old and the New Testament. Attacked on all sides by the Trinitarian Christians, Rammohun Roy took his firm stand on Hindu Unitarianism, printed the Vedānta in Bengali, Hindi and English (1815-16) and founded the first Hindu Unitarian Church, the *Brahmo Samaj* in 1828. His mission was supported by the noble Dwarkanath grandfather and the saintly Debendranath, father of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore—wellknown to America and the West. Dr. Tagore has, by his profound writings in prose and poetry, delineated the spiritual and cultural Renaissance of India, with Rammohun and his successors like Vidyāsāgara and Bankimchandra. Other theistic bodies like the *Arya Samaj* of Punjab founded by Dayananda Saraswati, as also the *Prārthanā Samaj* of Bombay, followed the anti-caste *Brahmo Samaj*; they rejected the caste system with the cooperation of pioneers of the Brahmo Samaj, like Keshab Chandra Sen, P. C. Majumder and Sivanath Sastri. In spite of minor creedal differences, they were unanimous in their grateful homage to Rammohun Roy as the spiritual reconciler and veritable founder of the science of Comparative Religion.

The Brahmo Unitarians were among the earliest to discover the rural Saint Sri Ramakrishna (1836-1886) whose spiritual life attested to the vitality of traditional and yet transcendental Hinduism, as described by Romain Rolland in his memorable biographies of Sri Ramakrishna and his noble disciple Swami Vivekananda. Written originally in French, then, translated into English and other languages, these biographies made dynamic Hinduism largely known to the modern world.

Vivekananda (1863-1902) was a member of the Brahmo Samaj when he joined the Ramakrishna Order and—with the Brahmo leader Reverend P. C. Majumdar (who visited U. S. A. in 1883 and in 1893) Swami Vivekananda profoundly moved the Chicago audience of the Parliament of Religions. Rev. Dhammapala also proclaimed here the message of International Buddhism

(1893). So I remember with gratitude those pioneers of the East and the West who built, half a century ago, the bridge of Love and Spiritual Understanding. The Sixteenth Congress of the I. A. R. F. is reviving that profound Unitarian tradition, again in the historic city of Chicago, with its University maintaining the great Oriental Institute, its museums and learned societies which all Orientals admire.

Swami Vivekananda laid the foundations of spiritual understanding of India and America. Among others he collaborated with Max Muller and with William James, noted author of "The Varieties of Religious Experience". He died in 1902 prematurely and the devoted band of the Ramakrishna Mission (founded, May 1897) are working now bravely in different parts of America and Europe, preaching Unity amidst diversities.

A decade after the death of Vivekananda, came to America, for the first time, the great poet-philosopher of Renascent India, Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941). He visited America before the First World War (1912), during the war (1916) and after the war (1921, 1929, 1930). During his last visit I was with him, and I know how he felt deeply for the spiritual awakening in America so that India and America could collaborate for human welfare and world peace. In his Hibbert Lecture on "The Religion of Man" (1930), Tagore, as a real descendant of the Vedic Seers, proclaimed the unity of man through unity of faith in our common Father. Tagore's *Saddhā* or "Realisation of Life" was based on his Lectures delivered at Harvard and others Universities (1912) and such profound works of Tagore now deserve close study even today. As the first Nobel Prize winner from Asia, he delivered also his poetic messages to millions in the New World.

India and Asia are ever calling Europe and America to come together and, defying the growing materialism, to justify the "Ways of God to Man." So, in this crisis of civilisation I conclude with the Faith and Hope inspiring the soul of our common ancestors—the Vedic poets who sang :

"May your aims be common
A common purpose do I lay before you
And worship with you, bringing common
offerings.
Common be your aim and your heart united,
And your mind be one, so that
All of us may be happy !"

Om Śānti ! Peace unto All !

(Rig Veda : X, 191 Hymn)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While teaching at the Scottish Church College (1915-1918) I was invited by my Buddhist friends of Ceylon to serve as the Principal of the Mahinda College, Galle, where I worked with the blessings of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. He inspired us, in our student days, by his memorable addresses on Education in Ancient India (Tapovana) and on the Main currents of Indian History (1908-12). The Greater India, as germinal idea, was the gift and challenge of the Poet Laureate of Asia and I bring this book to him on the eve of his Centenary.

In 1917 Gandhiji inspired us by his address to the Calcutta Congress presided over by Dr. Annie Besant ; and I watched till 1948 Gandhiji's inspired life dedicated to Non-violence and World Peace. So I open this volume with my revised booklet "Tolstoy and Gandhi", on the 90th anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. His worthy successor Jawaharlal Nehru I greeted on his 70 birthday. He has been inspiring me, ever since I met him at the Calcutta Congress of 1928, presided over by his revered father Motilal Nehru.

I toured through the Far East and China, with Dr. Tagore, in 1924 when I met many thinkers and leaders of Revolutionary China. Then I met, among others, Dr. Carsun Chang who met me again, in New Delhi in 1953-54, when I was serving as a member of the *Rajya Sabha*. Dr. Chang lost all properties, including his splendid library, after the revolution of 1949. As an erudite Refugee he was migrating to U.S.A. ; and before that he left the manuscript of a book which I published, in 1956, as "China and Gandhian India" dedicated to revered Prof. Radhakrishnan. A portion of that monograph I reproduce in Section II.

To our learned President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, I dedicate Section III compiling some of the papers and bulletins published by me and my learned colleagues of the Greater India Society.

Section IV "East West unity" is dedicated to my late lamented friend Romain Rolland with whom I had the privilege to collaborate in his three masterly biographies of Mahatma Gandhi, Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda.

The last Section V, of this global survey of events is entitled *India and the World* giving a selection of the papers and articles on World affairs, from the Indian angle of vision. While reprinting them, I was invited to preside over a section of the Congress of Religious Freedom, University of Chicago. So, I contacted many new and old friends while revisiting America, Canada and the United Kingdom. I thank them all - for helping and cheering me, in my broken health, to publish this volume. It is dedicated to Abraham Lincoln and all those inspired by him, for championing the cause of the under-privileged and of Peace through Justice.

History of Asia, ancient and modern, is closely linked up with Africa where we are now glad to greet over 70 million Africans free from colonialism. Ethiopia Egypt and Liberia were independent for years. But it is a happy sign of the postwar epoch when the UN and the Unesco began functioning, to find as their members,—over a dozen new nations, of this vast and potentially great Africa, as free members of the world community.

I completed my *Discovery of Asia* in 100 forms (809 pages) but *Greater India* goes beyond that limit. So, health permitting, I hope to publish additional materials, with gazetteers, maps and illustrations, in the next volume : *Art and Culture of the Orient* to celebrate the Centenary of the Indian Archeological Survey.

The much expected Summit Conference failed and Communist China began testing sorely Republican India, over Tibet and other Himalayan problems. But negotiations continue and we hope for friendly Co-existence, Progressive Disarmament and World Peace.

I apologize for many defects in the make-up and printing of the volume. I thank the devoted staff of the Brahma Mission Press for their careful and valued co-operation.

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